A FOURTH

COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE and VALUABLE

TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

Intereſting and *Entertaining* Subjects:

But chiefly ſuch as relate to the

HISTORY and CONSTITUTION of theſe Kingdoms.

Selected from an infinite Number in *Print* and *Mauuſcript*, in the ROYAL COTTON, SION, and other Publick, as well as Private Libraries.

Particularly that of the late Lord *SOMERS*.

Reviſed by EMINENT HANDS.

VOL. IV.

The Bent and Genius of the Age is beſt known in a free Country, by the Pamphlets and Papers that come daily out, as the Senſe of Parties, and ſometimes the Voice of the Nation. Preface to KENNET's Regiſter.

Judex qui aliquid ſtatuit, unâ parte audita tantum & inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum ſtatuerit, haud æquus fuerit. *Ld* COOK & JUST. *Inſt.*

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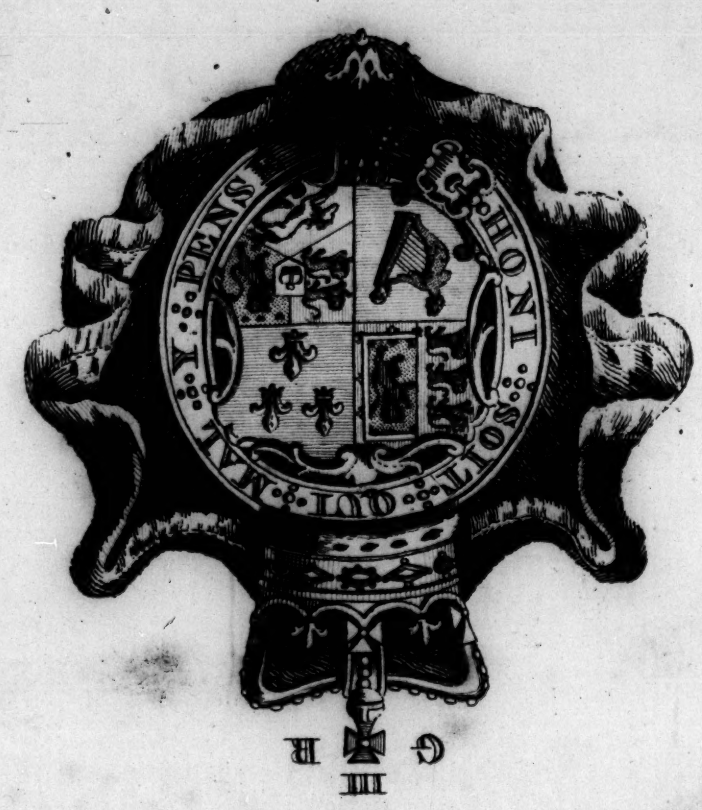

TRACTS

ON

COLLECTION

A FOURTH COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

A LETTER to the *EXAMINER*. By *Henry St. John*, Esq; Printed in the Year, 1710.

WHEN I read the Introduction to your Paper, it was great Satisfaction to me to find, that some Body had undertaken to furnish Mankind, with a Weekly Antidote to that Weekly Poison, which by the President and inferior Members of a *Factious Cabal*, is so profusely scatter'd thro' the Nation.

You have sufficiently expos'd the *Letter* which you chose to begin your *Examinations* with. How little of that Probability, which ought to be carried thro' the whole Thread of a well-invented Fable, appears in it! How little Regard is paid to that Justness and Propriety of Character, without which, Compositions of this Kind are as monstrous, as that Government must be, where Submission is made the Duty of the Prince, and Dominion the Prerogative of the Subject?

But such is the singular Modesty of that Faction, which the Ministers of the Crown have, with so much Advantage to themselves, nurs'd up, in Opposition to the Crown; that you must expect to have the same Arguments still pursu'd. The *Observator*, the *Review*, the *Censor* of *Great Britain*, who resembles the famous *Censor* of *Rome* in nothing, but espousing the Cause of the *Vanquish'd*, with the Crowd of Hireling Scriblers, will hope, by a few false Colours, and a great many impudent Assertions, at last to perswade the People, that the General, the *quondam* Treasurer, and the Junto, are the only Objects of the Confidence of the Allies, and of the Fears of the Enemies: for the Queen, and the whole Body of the *British* Nation—*Nos numerus sumus.*

Surely therefore, the Argument which you have undertaken, should be carried further. Allow that the *French* have recover'd Heart, that they rise in

their Demands, that the Conferences at *Gertruydenberg* were broke off by them, whilſt our *Plenipotentiaries* did all that poſſibly could be done to obtain a ſafe and honourable Peace; allow, I ſay, all this; not becauſe it is true, for the contrary ſhall one Time or other be made out to the World, when the true State of our preſent Condition will be ſet in a clearer Light; yet that Odium which the *Miniſters* and their Faction, endeavour to throw on the Queen, and on thoſe who have appear'd at her Call, and in her Defence, will with more Juſtice be laid at their own Door.

Paint, Sir, with that Force which you are Maſter of, the preſent State of the War Abroad, and expoſe to Public View thoſe Principles, upon which, of late, it has been carried on, ſo different from thoſe, upon which it was originally entered into. Collect ſome few of the Indignities which have been this Year offered to her Majeſty, and of thoſe unnatural Struggles, which have betray'd the Weakneſs of a ſhatter'd Conſtitution: And when this is done, *D—n* ſhall bluſh in his Grave among the Dead, *W—le* among the Living, and even *Vol—e* ſhall feel ſome Remorſe.

Forgive me, Sir, if in that Warmth which theſe Reflections occaſion, I anticipate in ſome meaſure the Subject, and encroach on the Province which belongs to you.

To reſtore the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who by their own Supineneſs, and by the Perfidy of the *French*, had loſt it; and to regain a Barrier for *Holland*, which lay naked and open to the Inſults of *France*; were the wiſe and generous Motives, which engag'd *Britain* in the preſent War. We engaged as *Confederates*, but we have been made to proceed as *Principals*: *Principals* in expence of Blood and Treaſure, whilſt hardly a *Second* Place in Reſpect and Dignity is allow'd to us.

In the Year 1706, the laſt of theſe two Motives was effectually anſwer'd by the Reduction of the *Netherlands*; or might have been ſo, by the Conceſſions, which 'tis notorious that the Enemy offer'd. But the firſt Motive remain'd ſtill in its full Force; and we were told, That tho' the Barrier of *Holland* was ſecured, the Trade of *Britain*, and the Ballance of Power in *Europe* would be ſtill precarious. *Spain* therefore was to be conquer'd, before we laid down our Arms, and we were made to expect, that the whole Attention of our *Miniſters* would be applied to that Part of the War. Like Men of reſign'd Underſtandings, we acquieſc'd, and flatter'd ourſelves, that ſince *Holland* had been ſecur'd in the firſt Place, *Britain* would be taken care of in the ſecond. But alas! theſe Expectations, like many others, have fail'd us.

From that Point of Time to this Hour, *France* has continu'd like a great Town inveſted indeed on every Part, but attack'd only in one. In *Spain*, in *Savoy*, on the *Rhine*, enough, and but juſt enough has been done, to ſerve as a Pretence for *Eſtimates*, and Demands of *Supplies*: But nothing deciſive, nothing which had the Appearance of Earneſt, has been ſo much as attempted, except that wiſe Expedition to *Thoulon*, which we ſuffer'd to be defeated, before it began. The whole Streſs of the War has been wantonly laid, where *France* is beſt able to keep us at Bay; as if we fought only to make Oſtentation of our Valour, and of our Riches. Towns have been taken, and Battles have been won; the Mob has huzza'd round Bonfires; the *Stentor* of the Chapel has

ſtrain'd

ſtrain'd his Throat in the Gallery, and the *Stentor* of *S—m* has deafen'd his Audience from the Pulpit. In the mean while, the *French* King has withdrawn his Troops from *Spain*, and has put it out of his Power to reſtore that Monarchy to us, was he reduc'd low enough really to deſire to do it. The Duke of *Anjou* has had leiſure to take off thoſe whom he ſuſpected, to confirm his Friends, to regulate his Revenues, to encreaſe and form his Troops, and above all, to rouſe that Spirit in the *Spaniſh* Nation, which a Succeſſion of lazy and indolent Princes had lull'd aſleep.

From hence it appears probable enough, that if the War continues much longer on the preſent Foot; inſtead of regaining *Spain*, we ſhall find the Duke of *Anjou* in a Condition to pay the Debt of Gratitude, and ſupport the *Grandfather* in his declining Years, by whoſe Arms, in the Days of his Infancy, he was upheld. The *Dutch* will have a larger and a better Country than their own, at the Expence of *Britain*, conquer'd for them, by thoſe *Miniſters*, who thought it once impolitick to conſent, that even *Oſtend* ſhould be made a Part of their Barrier. The Emperor has already *Bavaria*, the Dutchy of *Mantua*, the State of *Milan*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and ſome other Places dependent on theſe, may be added to his Portion; and by the little Care he takes to ſupport King *Charles*, we may eaſily judge how great his Concern will be, if that Prince ſhould be depriv'd of all the reſt.

Britain may expect to remain exhauſted of Men and Money, to ſee her Trade divided amongſt her Neighbours, her Revenues anticipated even to future Generations, and to have this only Glory left her, that ſhe has prov'd a Farm to the *Bank*, a Province to *Holland*, and a Jeſt to the whole World.

If the Facts I have mention'd are true, and the Conſequences I have drawn from them, are naturally deducible from ſuch Cauſes, may not the King of *France* reaſonably hope, tho' *Holland* ſhould be aggrandiz'd, that *Britain* will be in proportion weaken'd? May he not hope, in exchange for a few Towns, which he either bought or ſtole, in former Wars, to ſecure the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Bourbon* for ever, by happily concluding this?

Let us now ſurvey the preſent State of our domeſtick Affairs, and examine whether from the Conduct of the Miniſtry, and of the factious *Whigs*, the *French* King has not good Grounds to expect to ſee us in Confuſion, and by Conſequence the great Band of the *Confederacy* diſſolv'd.

Domeſtick Occurrences, the more they are examin'd, the greater Weight will they add to the ſame Argument.

You have, in your Second Paper, pointed out ſome few of thoſe innumerable Obligations, which the *Whigs* have laid on the *French* King. Whenever you think fit to go to the bottom of the Subject, I make no doubt but it will evidently appear, that *Lewis* XIV. has Reaſon enough to hope for Succeſs from the Meaſures taken by the *Miniſters*, and their Faction at *Home*, as I have already ſhewn, that he has from the Conduct of the War *Abroad*.

Notwithſtanding all the Pains which have been taken to leſſen her Character in the World, by the Wits of the *Kit-Cat*, and the Sages of the *Cellar*; Mankind remains convinc'd, that a Queen poſſeſs'd of all the Virtues requiſite to bleſs a Nation, or to make a private Family happy, ſits on the Throne.

By an Exceſs of Goodneſs ſhe delighted to raiſe ſome of her Servants to the higheſt Degrees of Riches, of Power, and of Honour; and in this only Inſtance can be ſaid to have griev'd any of her Subjects.

The Rule which ſhe had preſcrib'd to theſe Perſons, as the Meaſure of their Conduct, was ſoon departed from. But ſo unable were they, to aſſociate with Men of honeſter Principles than themſelves, that the ſovereign Authority was parcell'd out among a Faction, and made the Purchaſe of *Indemnity* for an offending *Miniſter*. Inſtead of the mild Influences of a gracious Queen governing by Law, we ſoon felt the miſerable Conſequences of Subjection to the Will of an Arbitrary *Junto*, and to the Caprice of an Inſolent Woman.

Unhappy Nation, which expecting to be govern'd by the beſt, fell under the Tyranny of the worſt of her Sex! But now, Thanks be to God, that Fury, who broke looſe to execute the Vengeance of Heaven on a ſinful People is reſtrain'd, and the Royal Hand is reach'd out to chain up the Plague.

Inviſum numen terras cælumque levabit.

One would expect, that on the firſt Appearance of the Queen's Diſpleaſure, theſe little Tyrants ſhould have had Recourſe to Submiſſion, and Reſignation. But they believ'd the whole Nation as debauch'd and corrupted, as thoſe profligate Wretches, who were in their Confidence; they imagin'd, that under the Name of their Prince, they ſhould be able to govern againſt her declar'd Intention; and having uſurp'd the Royal Seat, reſolv'd to venture overturning the Chariot of Government, rather than loſe their Place in it. They ſet their Miſtreſs at open Defiance, neither the Ties of Gratitude, nor the Bands of Allegiance, were any Reſtraint to them.

Their firſt Attempt was to take that Privilege from her, which the meaneſt of her Subjects enjoy, and Slavery was to purſue her even into her *Bed-Chamber*.

Here the Nation in general took the Alarm; a Spirit of Loyalty began to riſe, which the Faction foreſaw would no longer bear to have the meaneſt Submiſſion ſhewn to the *Miniſters*, whilſt common Decency was hardly us'd towards the *Throne*. The Conſpirators therefore reſolv'd to precipitate their Meaſures, and a raſh intemperate Sermon was made the Pretence of their Clamour. Thoſe who prove themſelves Friends to this Government by avowing Principles inconſiſtent with any, preſum'd daily to try the *Title* of the Queen, and to *limit* the *Allegiance* of the Subject. The Party-Agents of every Rank were employ'd to declaim in public Places, and we had the Mortification to ſee *Cabals* of Upſtarts ſit in Judgment on the Right and Authority of the Crown, who, had it not been for the Profuſion of Royal Favour, could have had no Pretence to be common Tryers in any Cauſe.

By long inſipid Harangues and fulſome Panegyrick the Merits of the *Miniſters* were exalted: The whole Succeſs of the *Adminiſtration* both at Home and Abroad was ſingly attributed to them; and leſt the Queen ſhould think fit to declare them *dangerous*, ſhe was by neceſſary Conſequence from the Poſitions laid down, declar'd herſelf to be *uſeleſs*.

This Attempt had likewiſe an Effect, contrary to what the Projectors of it expected. The Ferment, inſtead of abating, increas'd; the Bulk of the *Nobility*,

Gentry,

Gentry, *Clergy*, and *Commonalty* of *Britain* declar'd themſelves loudly in the Cauſe of their Prince; and thoſe Diſorders which the Faction had rais'd for their Security, threaten'd their Deſtruction.

Not daunted yet, they reſolve to try a new Expedient, and the Intereſt of *Europe* is to be repreſented as inſeparable from that of the *Miniſters*.

——— *Haud dubitant equidem implorare quod uſquam eſt;*
Flectere ſi nequeunt ſuperos, Acheronta movebunt.

The Members of the *Bank*, the *Dutch*, and the Court of *Vienna*, are call'd in as Confederates to the *Miniſtry*, and ſuch an Indignity is offer'd to the Crown, as no Man, who has the Honour of his Country at Heart, can with Patience bear.

What a Weakneſs in our Conſtitution, what a Sickneſs at Heart do theſe Symptoms, which appear too openly, diſcover?

Theſe are Signs which ſhew a Government to be near its Diſſolution; theſe are Things which juſtly give Encouragement to an Enemy. And if you would go to the Root of our Diſtemper, theſe are the Topics you muſt inſiſt upon, as the real Cauſes which have prolong'd the War, diſtracted the Nation, and given *France* Spirit enough at laſt to break off the Peace.

And theſe are the Things, Sir, that deſerve to paſs under your Pen, that the Nation may be truly inform'd from what ſprings our own Grievances, and the Hopes of our Enemies, have riſen.

A Letter to *Iſaac Bickerſtaff*, Eſq; occaſion'd by the Letter to the *Examiner*. By Earl *Cooper*. Printed 1710.

SIR,

I Am not apt to judge too fondly of Men by their firſt Appearance; elſe, as the Writer of the Letter to the *Examiner* has treated that Author, I might have been tempted long ſince, and when I had ſeen little more than the Introduction to your *Tatlers*, to compliment you on your Abilities.

I own that from your ſetting out, I hop'd for great Benefit to the Public from your Lucubrations; but before you had paſs'd a reaſonable Time of Probation, one could not abſolutely aſſure one's ſelf, that you would make a right Uſe of that excellent Genius which Heaven has given you. Wit had ſo long and ſo generally been made to ſerve the vileſt Purpoſes, on Pretence its End is to pleaſe, that the plaineſt Truth in Nature, namely, that Honeſty and Pleaſure are inſeparable, ſeem'd irrecoverably ſunk into Oblivion, till you undertook to bring it up again into clear Day, not by Argument, but Example, by numerous Sketches, and ſome finiſh'd Pieces drawn with irreſiſtible Strength and Beauty.

As you diſclos'd your Deſign by Degrees, you had my Eſteem in Proportion; and you will allow me to ſay you had it not intire, till in the Courſe of your Papers I had obſerv'd, that as you could diſcern and deſcribe, much better than our *Drydens* and *Leſtranges*, the true Springs of private and domeſtic Happineſs;

pineſs; you had likewiſe ſo much more Generoſity of Spirit and Benevolence for Mankind than they, as to inſinuate gradually into the Public, that as acting with all the noble Simplicity of Nature and common Reaſon carries a Man with Eaſe and Honour through all the Scenes and Offices of ordinary Life; ſo the ſame Principles, which in Friendſhip, Love, and common Converſe and Society, go to the Compoſition of the Perſon, whom both Sexes agree to call by the good-natur'd Name of *the generous honeſt Man*, muſt neceſſarily contribute to the forming of the beſt Servants of a Prince, and the trueſt Patriots.

But as in doing this you took a proper Seaſon to expoſe ſome of thoſe brutiſh Notions of Government, and vile Arts of wretched Pretenders to Politics, which are the certain Bane of national Felicity; you have provok'd your Adverſaries (while I was ſtudying a Compliment of Thanks to you) to give you ſo high an Encomium, that 'tis impoſſible for me, with all the Affection and Veneration I have for you, to go beyond them. The Writer of the *Letter to the Examiner*, comparing you to *Cato* the Cenſor, and forgetting (as Men of his Vivacity of Imagination may be allow'd to do, without bringing their reading in queſtion) that there were two *Catos*, applies to you *Lucan*'s fam'd Saying of the laſt,

Victrix cauſa Diis placuit, ſed victa Catoni.

That however Providence diſpos'd of Events, he adher'd to the juſt, tho' vanquiſh'd Cauſe. And the *Examiner* purſuing the ſame Thought, reminds you, by a ſneering Application of ſome Words of *Virgil*,

—— Tua Cælo
Præcipitant, ſuadentque cadentia Sydera ſomnos

That you have choſen a Time to declare your Sentiments, when the Patrons of both them and you are removing from Court.

Thus, Sir, I have ſtaid till nothing is left me but only to congratulate you on the very great Honour they have done you: And to confeſs the Truth, I am glad I can ſo eaſily acquit myſelf of the moſt troubleſome Part of a Viſit, Salutes and Compliments.

Permit me now to enter into free Converſation with you. We ſee a Change of the Miniſtry, and are inform'd of the Motives and Reaſons of this Alteration by a Perſon who has the Marks of being in the Secret of the prevailing Side. The *Letter to the Examiner* beſpeaks the Writer to be converſant at Court, and with the Principals of his Party; and this not only by ſome particular Paſſages, but by the Tenour of it: So that, in ſhort, it ſeems to be the Sum and Quinteſſence of what can be ſaid for them. We muſt have been content, Sir, if they had not given the Public any Reaſons at all for their Admiſſion into Royal Favour; but I ſuppoſe, if they vouchſafe to give us Reaſons, we are not oblig'd to be content with them implicitly, but may examine them freely. This I have done, and you will preſently ſee in what manner, and why I chuſe to addreſs myſelf thus publickly to Mr. *Bickerſtaff*.

This Writer's Deduction of the Actions that ſunk the old Miniſtry, and brought in the new, is ſo thick embroider'd with Oratory, that the Ground of Facts is very hard to be diſtinguiſh'd clearly, and muſt in great meaſure be ever

ſubject

ſubject to his own Interpretation; which (by the way) is the uſual Artifice of his Party. I muſt therefore quote his own Words at length.

" Let us ſurvey the preſent State of our Domeſtic Affairs, and examine whe-
" ther from the Conduct of the Miniſtry, and the factious *Whigs*, the *French*
" King has not good Grounds to expect to ſee us in Confuſion, and by Conſe-
" quence the great Band of the *Confederacy* diſſolv'd.——

" Notwithſtanding all the Pains which have been taken to leſſen her Charac-
" ter in the World, by the Wits of the *Kit-Cat*, and the Sages of the *Cellar*;
" Mankind remains convinc'd, that a *Queen* poſſeſs'd of all the Virtues requiſite
" to bleſs a Nation, or to make a private Family happy, ſits on the Throne.

" By an Excéſs of Goodneſs ſhe delighted to raiſe ſome of her Servants to
" the higheſt Degrees of Riches, of Power, and of Honour; and in this only
" Inſtance can be ſaid to have griev'd any of her Subjects.

" The Rule which ſhe had preſcrib'd to theſe Perſons, as the Meaſure of
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" *Indemnity* for an offending *Miniſter*. Inſtead of the mild Influences of a gra-
" cious *Queen* governing by Law, we ſoon felt the miſerable Conſequences of
" Subjection to the Will of an arbitrary *Junto*, and to the Caprice of an inſo-
" lent Woman.

" Unhappy Nation, which expecting to be govern'd by the beſt, fell under
" the Tyranny of the worſt of her Sex! But now, Thanks be to God, that
" Fury, who broke looſe to execute the Vengeance of Heaven on a ſinful Peo-
" ple, is reſtrain'd, and the Royal Hand is already reach'd out to chain up the
" Plague.

" One would expect, that on the firſt Appearance of the *Queen*'s Diſpleaſure,
" theſe little Tyrants ſhould have had Recourſe to Submiſſion, and to Reſigna-
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" nor the Bands of Allegiance, were any Reſtraint to them.

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" Here the Nation in general took the Alarm; a Spirit of Loyalty began to
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" This Attempt had likewiſe an Effect, contrary to what the Projectors of it " expected. The Ferment, inſtead of abating, increas'd; the Bulk of the *No-* " *bility*, *Gentry*, *Clergy*, and *Commonalty* of *Britain*, declar'd themſelves loudly " in the Cauſe of their Prince; and thoſe Diſorders, which the Faction had " rais'd for their Security, threaten'd their Deſtruction."

You ſee, Sir, our Author puſhes very gallantly, and with all the Warmth and Livelineſs he could muſter up; yet I fancy he may be diſarm'd, without putting one's ſelf into any violent Agitations.

In the firſt Place I muſt obſerve to you, that the Gentlemen who triumph at Court, are very deſirous to have the viſible Means of their getting thither forgotten. They would not have it in the leaſt imagin'd, that they owe any thing to Dr. *Sacheverell* and his Friends. Our Author tells us his Sermon was *raſh* and *intemperate*; and the Writer of the *Eſſay upon Publick Credit* ſays, *p.* 26. the Doctor ſhould have been *kick'd from the Bar for a Lunatick*. Which Harmony in theſe two Friends does not proceed from Ingratitude to any the meaneſt Inſtrument of their Elevation, but from a ſecret Conſciouſneſs, that the Principles and Deſigns of the Faction, on whoſe Shoulders the new Courtiers were born to Court, are too pernicious to be directly avow'd by Men, who are to acquire Credit from the Whigs as well as Tories, till they are rid of ſome Incumbrances. Such Caution is us'd therefore, that her Majeſty's *Hereditary Title* and abſolute *Non-Reſiſtance*, are not once mention'd by our Author in all his Letter; and yet ſo uncapable is he of concealing his Game, that the *new Counſellors*, and the *Bulk of the Nobility*, *Gentry*, *Clergy and Commonalty of* Britain, *declaring themſelves* by their Addreſſes, on Occaſion of the Trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, are repreſented by him to be all in one Intereſt, and actuated by the ſame Spirit of Loyalty; ſeeing he deſcribes the former, *p.* 5. by *Perſons who appear'd at the Queen's Call, and in her Defence*, and ſays, the latter declar'd themſelves in *the Cauſe of their Prince*. There ſeems to be ſo cloſe an Alliance between theſe two Writers, that I know not whether it be properly digreſſing to paſs ſometimes from one to the other; and therefore I make no Apology for it.

The principal Cauſe which our Author has alledg'd for the Fall of the old Miniſters and their Party, is, *The moſt undutiful Treatment of her Majeſty by thoſe very Subjects of hers whom ſhe had rais'd to the higheſt Honours*. And upon this Stock he grafts *the Conſpiracy of the Junto with thoſe Servants and others, to overturn the Chariot of Government*, &c. *Their ſetting their Miſtreſs at open Defiance, taking from her that Privilege which the meaneſt of her Subjects enjoy*, and *purſuing her with Slavery even into her Bedchamber*. And our new Courtier is pleas'd to repreſent the helpleſs Queen ſuffering this inhuman Uſage, without daring to aſſert the Royal Majeſty; only that he might with the better Flouriſh introduce to

to her Relief *the Nation in general* (by which he would have us understand his Party) *taking the Alarm, and a Spirit of Loyalty beginning to rise.*

To this 'tis impossible to answer without some Emotion, and her Majesty has a Heart so intirely *English*, and has such an innate Idea of her Imperial Dignity, that the grossest Affront and Indignity ever yet offer'd her, was this Writer's audacious Invention of so wretched a Picture of her. How much more suitable to her sacred and real Character does the Author of the *Essay upon Publick Credit* describe her? That abler Gentleman tracing the Causes of the great Credit the Government has had since her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, observes, *p.* 19. "That after the first Session of Parliament in this Reign, her Majesty gave con- "stant Assurances that every thing given should be *rightly applied*; and to en- "courage her People, generously threw in a *Hundred Thousand Pounds of her* "*own Money*, appropriated to the Civil List, to ease the Nation so much in that "Year's Burden: *These were Steps* no Prince ever was known to take before. "*After this* you never heard a Complaint of the heavy Burden of the Taxes, "though greater far than in the former Reigns: On the contrary, *the more you* "rais'd, *the easier* they were paid; *the more* the Nation ran in Debt, *the higher* "their Credit rose every Day. *After this* you never had any Commissioners of "Accounts ask'd for, or any Question about Misapplication. *No Man* need go "far for a Reason for this; *the Credit* center'd *all* in the *Queen*, whose Con- "cern was so visible for her Peoples Good, that *She* would *suffer* no *Misappli-* "*cations*; that *She* would employ none but in whom *She* could place intire "Confidence; whose *Probity* and *Exactness* her Majesty could answer for to "*Herself, &c.*"

But if we could be so irreverent, to suppose the Queen forgot herself, and her Character so far, as to suffer her own Servants *to deprive her of any Privilege the meanest of her Subjects enjoy*; our Author must have a contemptible Opinion of Mankind, if he hopes to impose so gross a Fable upon them, as that the *Junto* enter'd into a Conspiracy to support that Insolence, and keep the Queen under such Subjection; and that the Whig-Party entering into so fooliſh a Project, propos'd to give the finishing Stroke to it by the Impeachment of Dr. *Sacheverel.*

For the rest of his Romance; when our Author can find Men credulous enough to swallow so palpable a Falshood, as that her Majesty was ever hindered by the Junto from *governing by Law*, and that the Nation ever *felt the miserable Consequences of Subjection to their arbitrary Will*, he may hope to persuade them in the same Breath to believe his contradictory and poor Assertion, that this *Will* of the *Junto* was not so *arbitrary* as not to be control'd by the *Caprice* of an *insolent Woman*, and that 'twas *her Tyranny the Nation had the Unhappiness to fall under.* But I suppose such Dreams of the Nation's having been under illegal Servitude of any Kind for some Years past, never enter'd into any Brain but our Author's, charg'd with the Fumes of his own Oratory.

I am mistaken, or the very Particulars he instances of the old Party at Court, betray the Practices of the contrary Faction. Nothing is more probable, than that some Female-Attendant of the Queen might be instigated to undermine and supplant a Lady, on whom the long Favour of her Royal Mistress, and the Merits of her Lord's Services, with her own undisguis'd Zeal for the *British*

Liberty, had drawn the Envy and Hatred of the adverſe Party. And that this Lady having the Judgment to diſcern the Perſons and Principles that prompted ſuch inferior Attendant, and the Spirit and Honeſty to do her Duty, by remonſtrating (with all Modeſty, yet with all Plainneſs) againſt ſuch ſlaviſh Inſinuations of the Power of Princes, as tend, in their natural Conſequence, to the impairing her Majeſty's true Title and Intereſt, might eaſily acquire from the Party, ſo oppos'd in their Agent, the civil Appellations of *inſolent Woman, the worſt of her Sex*, a *Fury*, and a *Plague*. Nothing is more common in Courts than Calumny; and 'tis no wonder thoſe Perſons ſhould purſue that Lady with the utmoſt Malice, who could have the Diſingenuity to ſuggeſt to her Majeſty, *that the Wits of the Kit-Cat, and the Sages of the Cellar, have taken Pains to leſſen her Character in the World.* Nor can it well be doubted, that thoſe who could deſcend to ſuch pitiful Artifices, as to tell her Majeſty, ſhe was defrauded of her Glory, *the whole Succeſs of the Adminiſtration, both at Home and Abroad, being ſingly attributed (in fulſome Harangues and Panegyrics) to the Miniſters* (tho' the public Proofs to the contrary are numerous) might carry their ſervile Flattery ſo far, as to inſinuate, that the permitting the old Miniſters (each in his proper Station) to ſpeak their free Sentiments to her Majeſty on all Affairs that fell under their Cognizance, and to act accordingly in the ordinary and legal Methods, was in effect to let them *parcel out the ſovereign Authority among themſelves.* In a word, what is it indeed that Party can be ſuppos'd uncapable of attempting privately by their Principals and Agents, who, in their public Addreſſes to her Majeſty, offer her the Powers and Authority of an *Eaſtern* Sultan, rather than of a *Britiſh* Queen; and brand, with the Names of Atheiſts and Republicans, all thoſe who aſſert the Principles which put the Crown upon her Majeſty's Head; and which, if they had not been aſſerted in and by the Revolution, her Majeſty muſt at this Day have been a private Subject, notwithſtanding that Hereditary Title, which they make the Ground and Reaſon of their proffer'd unlimited Obedience?

Turning the Perſpective thus, we ſee a real Conſpiracy, not of the Whigs to inſlave their Sovereign, but of the Tories to inſlave the Nation: And all we can gather from our Author's coarſe Invectives againſt the old Miniſters and their Friends, is, that there was a Woman in the Bedchamber, as well as Men in the Council and chief Officers of the State, who conſtantly and vigilantly diſcharg'd their Truſt and Conſcience towards their Queen and Country, by remonſtrating againſt, and rendring ineffectual, the private Inſinuations and Intrigues of a reſtleſs *Faction*, who would deprive us of the ineſtimable Benefits of the Revolution; and whoſe public Attempts towards it cannot be more diſhonourable and baſe, tho' they may be more ſucceſsful, than their ſecret Machinations. For, not daunted by the Parliament's ſolemn Diſcuſſion and Condemnation of their ſlaviſh Tenets, but reſolving to convince Her Majeſty of the Truth of Mr. *Stanhope*'s Aſſertion in her Preſence, *that Dr.* Sacheverel *was the Tool of their Party*, the Doctor was encourag'd to make a triumphant Progreſs about the Country; and to turn to a ſolid Uſe the Deluſion of his Crouds of Admirers, by recommending Perſons to their Choice for the next Parliament. In the mean time Abundance of Addreſſes were procur'd from all Quarters, avowing the very Doctrines he had preach'd, aſperſing with the vileſt Language

all

all thoſe who place her Majeſty's legal Title, and their own legal Rights, on one and the ſame Foundation, and ſolliciting a new Parliament.

Thus the general Voice of the Party ſeconded the long fruitleſs Effects of their Agents at Court: And tho' the Queen's plain Speech, at the Cloſe of the laſt Seſſion, will not permit one to doubt, that the N—— C——rs owe their Advancement to Cauſes ſubſequent to that Speech, tho' no other Cauſe is viſible than theſe Motions and Addreſſes of the Tories, and tho' the Deſires of thoſe Addreſſes ſeem to be in a Way to be gratified by the Diſſolution of this Parliament; yet the Writer of the *Eſſay upon publick Credit* ſhews himſelf very ſollicitous to clear the N—— C——rs of any manner of Communication with Dr. *Sacheverel* and his Adherents. He propoſes, *p.* 26. *the long Accounts which* (for a reaſonable colour of their Fears of a bad Parliament) *ſome give of that Doctor's Progreſs*, as an Objection to Men's putting intire Confidence in the new M——y, and is ſo ingenuous to acknowledge, that Objection could not be fairly anſwer'd otherwiſe than in theſe Words: *As if the Folly and impolitick Vanity of that Gentleman could influence the People of* England *to ſend up Men as* mad *and* fooliſh *as himſelf.* To this, what is more natural than to reply, that not a few of thoſe People have ſent up Addreſſes, as *mad* and *fooliſh* as the Doctor's Sermon, and promis'd to ſend up Members who ſhall repeat their Language? And this may likewiſe ſerve for an Anſwer to his grave Queſtion, *p.* 25. *Why ſhould it be ſuggeſted, that a new Parliament ſhall not be equally zealous for the Liberties of* Britain *with the preſent?*

But to return to our Author of the *Letter to the Examiner.* As he is conſcious, that if a new Parliament be choſen according to the Mind of *the Bulk of the Addreſſers*, he may leave it to others to judge, whether *it will be equally zealous for the* Britiſh *Liberties with the preſent*; ſo having no Doubt upon him, (for he tells us, *p.* 4. he writes againſt a *vanquiſh'd Cauſe*) that the Majority of the new Parliament will truly repreſent thoſe Addreſſers, he gives ſufficiently to underſtand, that they *will not* be equally zealous with the preſent *for the Liberties of* Europe, by diſcovering the Sentiments of the Chiefs of his Party on the Management of the War and the Negotiations of Peace. Take him in his own Words.

" Paint, Sir, with that Force which you are Maſter of, the preſent State of " the War Abroad, and expoſe to publick View thoſe Principles, upon " which, of late, it has been carry'd on, ſo different from thoſe, upon which " it was originally enter'd into.——

" To reſtore the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who by their " own Supineneſs, and by the Perfidy of the *French*, had loſt it; and to regain " a Barrier for *Holland*, which lay naked and open to the Inſults of *France*, " were the wiſe and generous Motives, which engag'd *Britain* in the preſent " War. We engag'd as *Confederates*, but we have been made to proceed as " *Principals: Principals* in Expence of Blood and of Treaſure, whilſt hardly a " *ſecond* Place in Reſpect and Dignity is allow'd to us.

" In the Year 1706, the laſt of theſe two Motives was effectually anſwer'd " by the Reduction of the *Netherlands*; or might have been ſo, by the Con- " ceſſions, which 'tis notorious that the Enemy offer'd. But the firſt Motive " remain'd ſtill in its full Force; and we were told, That tho' the Barrier of

" *Holland* was ſecur'd, the Trade of *Britain*, and the Balance of Power in " *Europe* would be ſtill precarious. *Spain* therefore was to be conquer'd, be- " fore we laid down our Arms, and we were made to expect, that the whole " Attention of our *Miniſters* would be apply'd to that Part of the War. Like " Men of reſign'd Underſtandings, we acquieſc'd, and flatter'd ourſelves, That " ſince *Holland* had been ſecur'd in the firſt place, *Britain* would be taken care " of in the ſecond. But alas! theſe Expectations, like many others, have " fail'd us.

" From that Point of Time to this Hour, *France* has continu'd like a great " Town inveſted indeed on every Part, but attack'd only on one. In *Spain*, " in *Savoy*, on the *Rhine*, enough, and but juſt enough has been done, to ſerve " as a Pretence for *Eſtimates*, and Demands of *Supplies:* But nothing deciſive, " nothing which had the Appearance of earneſt, has been ſo much as at- " tempted, except that wiſe Expedition to *Thoulon*, which we ſuffer'd to be " defeated, before it began. The whole Streſs of the War has been wantonly " laid, where *France* is beſt able to keep us at Bay; as if we fought only to " make Oſtentation of our Value, and of our Riches. Towns have been taken, " and Battles have been won, the Mob has huzza'd round Bonfires, the *Stentor* " of the Chapel has ſtrain'd his Throat in the Gallery, and the *Stentor* of *S—m* " has deafen'd his Audience from the Pulpit. In the mean while, the *French* " King has withdrawn his Troops from *Spain*, and has put it out of his Power " to reſtore that Monarchy to us, was he reduc'd low enough really to deſire " to do it. The Duke of *Anjou* has had Leiſure to take off thoſe whom he " ſuſpected, to confirm his Friends, to regulate his Revenues, to increaſe and " form his Troops, and above all, to rouze that Spirit in the *Spaniſh* Nation, " which a Succeſſion of lazy and indolent Princes had lull'd aſleep.

" From hence it appears probable enough, that if the War continues much " longer on the preſent Foot, inſtead of regaining *Spain*, we ſhall find the " Duke of *Anjou* in a Condition to pay the Debt of Gratitude, and ſupport " the *Grandfather* in his declining Years, by whoſe Arms, in the Days of his " Infancy, he was upheld. The *Dutch* will have a larger and a better Coun- " try than their own, at the Expence of *Britain*, conquer'd for them, by thoſe " *Miniſters*, who once thought it impolitick to conſent, that even *Oſtend* ſhould " be made a Part of their Barrier. The Emperor has already *Bavaria*, the " Dutchy of *Mantua*, the State of *Milan*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Sicily*, " and ſome other Places dependent on theſe, may be added to his Portion; " and by the little Care he now takes to ſupport King *Charles*, we may eaſily " judge how great his Concern will be, if that Prince ſhould be depriv'd of all " the reſt.

" *Britain* may expect to remain exhauſted of Men and Money, to ſee her " Trade divided amongſt her Neighbours, her Revenues anticipated even to " future Generations, and to have this only Glory left her, that ſhe has prov'd " a Farm to the *Bank*, a Province to *Holland*, and a Jeſt to the whole World.

" If the Facts I have mention'd are true, and the Conſequences I have drawn " from them, are naturally deducible from ſuch Cauſes, may not the King of " *France* reaſonably hope, tho' *Holland* ſhould be aggrandiz'd, that *Britain* will " be in proportion weaken'd? May he not hope to exchange for a few Towns,

" which

" which he either bought or ſtole in former Wars, to ſecure the *Spaniſh* Mo-
" narchy to the Houſe of *Bourbon* for ever, by happily concluding this?"

This is a very fair Specimen of the Intentions of our new Politicians. And indeed, no thinking Man could ever doubt, that thoſe who come into play upon the Foot of complimenting the Queen with the Liberties of *Britain*, would ſecure themſelves from an After-reckoning, by ſacrificing thoſe of *Europe*. One might have expected, however, that ſome Art ſhould have been employ'd to diſguiſe this Deſign. But ſuch Contempt of the Underſtanding of the People of *England* have the prevailing Addreſſers given our new Managers, that they ſeem to think it needleſs to uſe any Ceremony with ſo ſilly and profligate a Generation.

Thus our Author ſets himſelf to open View, in the compleat Figure and Character of a profeſs'd *Jacobite*. One ſees the true Diſtinctions and Spirit of that whole Party united in his Perſon: He declaims in the ſame Tone, and on the ſame Topicks, with which they ſeek to keep themſelves in heart, and to diſcourage and delude the unthinking Populace. The whole Management of the War, on the Part of the Allies, is treated with all Contempt and Ridicule; the Emperor and the States General are maliciouſly traduc'd, and the *Britiſh* Nation are repreſented as Bubbles to thoſe Potentates, laviſhing their Blood and Treaſure to make Acquiſitions for them, and only intailing Debts on their own Poſterity. Mean time, the Conduct of the King of *France*, and of the Duke of *Anjou*, is applauded to the higheſt Degree; nothing is comparable to their Wiſdom and Foreſight: Their Meaſures are ſo well laid, that they muſt infallibly produce the Effects they propoſe; they are ſo clear in their Projects, that they ſee Events gradually ripening, long till they break forth with *Eclat*. But I doubt not, the World will be ſoon made ſenſible, that the bringing the Weight of the War into the *Netherlands* (which our Author makes the chief Subject of his Raillery) was concerted upon the matureſt Counſels; that the true State of Things on the Side of *Savoy*; the experienced Impoſſibility of penetrating into *France*, from the *Rhine* or *Moſelle*; the Certainty and Facility of drawing almoſt all the *French* Force down to the *Netherlands*, and yet of diſtreſſing them, and continually advancing upon them there; the Meaſures taken in the mean time, for duly and effectually ſupplying King *Charles*, and in conſequence the fatal Blow given the Duke of *Anjou*, will prove the *French* Monarch at laſt, to have been the *Grand Dupe*; and that impartial Poſterity will view with Aſtoniſhment the glorious Event of the patient Labours and maſterly Projects of the Allies; while they blame the moſt Chriſtian King's Conduct, in venturing too haſtily to withdraw his Troops from his Grandſon (a Fault he doubtleſs regrets now from every Vein of his Heart, and is endeavouring to repair, if poſſible.)

Nor has our Author a leſs Opinion of the Sincerity of the *French* Court, in treating of Peace, than of their Conduct in carrying on the War. He affirms directly, *p.* 5. that the *French did not break off the Conferences at* Gertruydenberg, *as ſhall one time or other*, he ſays, *be made out to the World*. He alſo tells us, that *in the Year* 1706, one of the Motives which engag'd *Britain* in the preſent War, namely, *the regaining a Barrier for* Holland, was effectually anſwer'd; *or might have been ſo, by the Conceſſions which 'tis* notorious *the Enemy offer'd.*

offer'd. I will not diſpute his Intelligence, and ſhall always be attentive to whatever can be made out; but I am perſuaded, that whoever (before that Time of Proof comes) will ground any Argument on the Sincerity of the *French* Offers in 1706. or in any Years ſince, will render himſelf *notorious.*

Judge, Sir, from this Gentleman's high Opinion of the Enemy, and from his kind Sentiments of the Emperor, the *Dutch*, and the Bank; whether if he had been in the Miniſtry ſome Years ago, we might not be now enjoying a glorious and ſafe Peace.

As to the Emperor: Our Author in his ſingular good Judgment may fancy as long as he pleaſes, that he is of little Significancy to the Alliance, and that having ſerv'd his own Turn he is indifferent what becomes of his Brother: But I believe the King of *France* will not be able to think of him without a Qualm at Heart, till he ſees him change his Generals, and thoſe Councils, which for fifty Years together have kept his Father and him ſteady in the Intereſt of *Europe.*

As to the *Dutch*: our Author has taken an admirable Method to render them odious to the *Britiſh* Nation: He is very poſitive that the French *offer'd them all the Barrier they contend for in* Flanders, *ſo long ago as* 1706. Very well, and why would they go on with the War? Truly, *that the Intereſt of* Britain *might be ſecur'd as well as theirs.* What a ſelf-intereſted People are theſe *Dutch!* they won't be content even *with a larger and better Country than their own,* but obſtinately inſiſt from 1706 to this Hour, *that the Intereſts of* Britain be ſerv'd, before they will agree to ſheath the Sword.

And as to the Bank: Does our Author really think that *England* is *farm'd* to it? I confeſs I have always thought ſome ſuch Thing: That is to ſay, I have ever been perſuaded, that the Liberties of *England* ought to be maintain'd inviolably, till not only the Bank, but all others who have advanc'd Money to the Public Service, upon Annuities, Lotteries or other Funds, are fairly repaid; and upon the ſame Foot thoſe Liberties were when the Money was lent. And ſurely no Alteration can honeſtly be made in their true and only Security, namely *a free Government of equal Laws,* (without a firm Perſuaſion of which they would not have lent a Groat) till the longeſt Term of the Loans be expir'd at leaſt. After that, if our Author's Succeſſors will lend Money to a King of *England* upon his own Perſonal Security, we cannot hinder them. But the preſent Generation have Monſieur *Bernard*, with the reſt of the Bankers and Merchants of *Paris*, *Lions*, &c. too freſh in their Memory, to be willing to be made Bankrupts ever ſo illuſtriouſly.

Upon the whole, Sir, the World will do our Author the Juſtice to own, that the Abſtracts he has given of the Sentiments of his Party, is faithful, and as particular as was neceſſary; and muſt take in good part this Condeſcenſion of the new M——s, in declaring themſelves by the Mouth of this Gentleman ſo intelligibly. For their Honour, a Refugee of my Acquaintance has tranſlated it into *French*, and ſent it abroad; that both our Allies and Enemies may have the Satisfaction to ſee they have not, on either Side, in the leaſt miſunderſtood their Deſigns. But the Jeſt on't is, that after the Party have acted ſo bare-fac'd and ſpoken out ſo plain, Years together, that 'twas impoſſible they ſhould be miſtaken by any Court or Nation in *Europe*; they will make the Apprehenſions which the Emperor and the States General cannot help entertaining of them, the ground

ground of a new Clamour againſt the old Miniſtry and the Whigs. And this obliges me to explain to you, Sir, the following Paſſage at the Cloſe of our Author's Letter. *Not daunted* (by the Bulk of the Addreſſers) *they reſolve to try a new Expedient, and the Intereſt of* Europe *is to be repreſented as inſeparable from that of the Miniſters: The* Dutch *and the Court of* Vienna *are called in as Confederates to the Miniſtry, and ſuch an Indignity is offered to the Crown, as no Man who has the Honour of his Country at Heart, can with Patience bear.*

When the Seals of Secretary of State were taken from the Earl of *Sunderland*, Her Majeſty was pleaſed to order that it ſhould be ſignified to the Miniſters of the Emperor and States General here, *that tho' her Majeſty had thought fit to remove the Earl of* Sunderland, *'twas only a perſonal Affair, and not with Deſign to proceed to a Change of the Miniſtry.*

In Return to this voluntary Signification from Her Majeſty, their High Mightineſſes ſent Order to M. *Vrybergen, to thank Her Majeſty in the beſt Manner poſſible, and to acquaint Her, that they rejoyc'd extremely for the Aſſurances ſhe had been pleas'd to give them that ſhe would not change the Miniſtry; and that thoſe Aſſurances had deliver'd them from the great Diſquiet given them by the Rumour which the Enemy and ill-deſigning People had induſtriouſly ſpread abroad of Her Intention to change the Miniſtry and diſſolve the Parliament, they being perſuaded that the ſame Reaſons which had induc'd her Majeſty not to do the one, might determine her not to do the other.*

To much the ſame Purpoſe 'tis ſaid the Emperor has written from *Vienna*; and that the Elector of *Hanover* (to whoſe Miniſter at the *Hague* my Lord *Townſhend* was order'd to make the like Signification) has return'd his Thanks to her Majeſty, expreſſing likewiſe his Deſires of the Continuance of the Miniſtry and Parliament, as pathetically as the other two Potentates.

I think, Sir, I have more real Zeal for maintaining in every Point her Majeſty's Prerogative, than this Gentleman and his Party affect to boaſt of; as believing her to have the very ſame Title to her Crown, and to all the Prerogatives of it, that I or any of her Subjects have to breathe in *Engliſh* Air, and to enjoy the Properties we lawfully acquire, (which is a Loyalty not founded on Jargon, that flutters in the Head and cannot ſink down into the Heart, but on the moſt natural and rational, and conſequently the moſt ſolid and laſting Principles;) and therefore I ſhall treat this Subject very ſeriouſly.

The Emperor and the States General are the two chief Potentates engag'd in an Alliance with Her Majeſty againſt *France*. Among the Cauſes for which this War is made, one (and that the Principal ſpecified in the Declaration on the Part of *Britain*) was the *French* King's declaring and acknowledging the Pretender to be King of *England* by the Name of *James* III. And accordingly, by the Preliminaries concerted by the Plenipotentiaries of thoſe three Potentates, 'twas ſtipulated that the *French* King ſhould own Her Majeſty for Queen of *Great-Britain*, and that the Pretender ſhould depart *France*. Now if in the Courſe of the War, Reports ſpread by the Enemy, and by the Roman Catholicks, profeſs'd Non-Jurors, and other diſaffected Perſons in *Britain*, give the Emperor and the States General ground to apprehend, that the preſent Diſſenſions may have a very bad Influence on the Common Cauſe in general, and particularly on Account of the Pretender, ſhould the M——y be chang'd and a new Parliament

ment chosen in the Heat of those Dissensions: And if Her Majesty, being sensible that those Potentates were under Disquiet and Apprehension, think fit voluntarily to signify to them that she had no Intention to change her M——y; may not those Potentates return Thanks to her for such her voluntary Communication of that her Intention, and express their Hopes and even their Desires, that the same Reasons which had prompted her to make them easy by those Assurances with respect to the M——y, might also induce her not to dissolve the Parliament? I shall be told this is a domestic Affair; but is it not such a domestic Affair, as immediately affects the Common Cause, of which the keeping out of the Pretender is a Part? Let those to whom it belongs pronounce upon this Case: But as our *Author*, and after him the *Examiner*, have taken upon them to pass Sentence upon it, and the latter to censure the *Dutch* very heavily for this Proceeding, tho' he confesses he never saw their Memorial; I will say this for the *Dutch*, that whether they can justify the *Terms* of their *Memorial* or not, all the World must justify them in their *Apprehensions* of a New Parliament, when so great a Number of Electors have declared they hold such Principles as are utterly inconsistent with those that effected the Revolution, and establish'd the Government subsequent thereto. The *British* Nation will possibly have the Benefit of the Word *Abdication*, if ever the Pretender carry his Point: There was no *Force* us'd on our Part (or at least none ought to have been us'd) against King *James*, if Dr. *Sacheverell* and his Adherents may be believ'd; but the States are conscious, and I suppose scorn to deny, that they did employ *Force* on that Occasion. And now towards the End of a most burthensome War, if they see a Party in *England* insulting and vilifying a Parliament, which but a few Months ago so solemnly justify'd the Revolution, and the Means of bringing it about, condemning *Sacheverell*'s contrary Doctrines; if they see the Conferences of Peace broke off by the Enemy, in hopes of some Event to their Advantage from our Dissensions; it must be allow'd they have more than sufficient Reasons to dread the Consequences, not only to *Europe* in general, but to their own State in particular. And what Consequences may not we apprehend at Home, if neither the Fears of the Allies, nor the Hopes of the Enemy can prevail with our N——w C——s to forbear advising the Dissolution of the present Parliament, when they themselves would be thought to design or desire nothing, (if we may take the Word of the *Writer* of the *Essay on Public Credit*) but what this Parliament will surely and thoroughly enable them to do? Nay, that *Writer* says, the best that can be expected from a New Parliament, is, *that they will be but equally zealous with the present for the Liberties of* Britain *and carrying on the War*; nor does he himself expect even that from them, *if the Electors should chuse Men as mad and fooliſh as Dr.* Sacheverell.

Here, Sir, I end with this *Writer*; and applying myself to you, recommend it to your inimitable Pencil to describe the Progress of the War till now, in the most shining Colours: Describe the vast Extent of the Kingdoms and Provinces undertaken to be wrested out of the Enemy's Hands: Pass leisurely from the Battle of *Blenheim* to that of *Saragoſſa*; and all the Way observe, that Heaven, to prevent our undervaluing the glorious Cause which the Allies contend for, has suffered no Acquisition to be made but by true military Conduct and Fortitude; and permitted Disgrace to fall on those only of their Commanders, who have

have acted raſhly or careleſly, and without Counſel or Diſcipline. Place in the cleareſt Light thoſe Generals, who faithful to their Sovereigns, juſt to themſelves, purſuing Honour with an honeſt Affection, not irregular Luſt, have by the Sword in bpen Day recover'd almoſt all the *Spaniſh* Dominions in *Europe*;

Non cauponantes Bellum, ſed belligerantes.

Deſcribe them negotiating with Caution and and Probity in the Cabinet, equal to their Generoſity and Vigilance in the Field; and give them the ſame Superiority in one as in the other, over the boaſtful vain Pretenders to Maſtery in both. Then ſet to View in all Magnificence, the Head and Soul of the Alliance the Pious, Royal *ANNE*; and next her thoſe Miniſters and Patriots who have given ſo many illuſtrious and immortal Proofs of their Duty and Zeal for her Perſon, and Love to their Native Country. You cannot want Shade ſufficient for all this bright Scene of beauteous Images: The black Hypocriſy and Prevarication, the Servile Proſtitution of all *Engliſh* Principles, and the malevolent Ambition of a perverſe and arrogant Faction, will ſerve to make the ſtrongeſt Contraſt. And from whole Piece the World ſhall judge and own, in ſpite of ſenſeleſs Flattery, that the Perſonal Glory of Monarchs is built upon the Ability and Integrity which their Generals, Miniſters and Councils ſhew, in diſcharging their reſpective Truſts with juſt Regard, as well to the Laws as to the Prince.

A True Narrative of what paſs'd at the *Examination* of the Marquis *De Guiſcard*, at the COCK-PIT, the 8th of *March*, 1710-11. His ſtabbing Mr. HARLEY, &c. Printed in the Year 1711.

THERE is nothing receiv'd with more Pleaſure in Hiſtory, than the minute Paſſages and Circumſtances of ſuch Facts as are extraordinary and ſurprizing: We often lament to ſee an important Accident nakedly told, ſtript of thoſe Particularities which are moſt entertaining and inſtructive in ſuch Relations: This Defect is frequent in all Hiſtorians, not through their own Fault, but for want of Information. For while Facts are freſh in Memory, no Body takes care to record them, as thinking it idle to inform the World in what they know already; and by this means the Accounts we have of them are only traditional, the Circumſtances forgotten, and perhaps ſupplied with falſe ones, or form'd upon Probabilities, according to the Genius of the Writer.

But beſides the informing Poſterity on ſuch Occaſions, there is ſomething due to the preſent Age: People at a Diſtance are curious and concern'd to know the Particulars of great Events, as well as thoſe in the Metropolis; and ſo are the neighbouring Nations. And the Relations they receive are uſually very imperfect, or miſrepreſented on Purpoſe, by the Prejudice of Party in the Relators.

I ſhall endeavour to avoid both theſe Errors in the Fact I am going to relate;

and having made Uſe of ſome good Opportunities, to be informed from the firſt Hands, of ſeveral Paſſages not generally known, I hope it will be in my Power to give ſome Satisfaction to the Public.

About ſix Years ago there came into *Englaud*, a *French* Papiſt, the younger Brother of a noble Family in that Kingdom, call'd *Antoine De Guiſcard*, Abbot *de Borly*, near the *Cevennes* in *France*. And as it is the uſual Cuſtom for Cadets of Quality there to betake themſelves to the Army or the Church; *Guiſcard* choſe the latter, and had an Abbey given him of a conſiderable Revenue; but being of a vicious and profligate Nature, he fell into the moſt horrible Crimes that a Man can commit. Among other Inſtances, it is ſaid, that he ſeduc'd a Nun: It is likewiſe reported, that he and his younger Brother, ſuſpecting their Receiver had cheated, got the poor Man to their Houſe, and put him to the Torture, to force a Diſcovery from him. Beſides keeping a *Serail* in his Abbey, when he uſed to receive a Sum together from his Revenue, his Cuſtom was to go to *Tholouſe* and laviſh it in all ſorts of Exceſſes. A young Lady of a good Family was ſo unhappy to be prevail'd on, to her Diſhonour, by his Brother. Monſieur *de Guiſcard* was afterwards employed to ſteal her from her Father, but falling in love with her himſelf, he carry'd her off from his Rival into *Switzerland*. Satiety not long after ſucceeding, he was ſo inhuman to poiſon the poor unfortunate young Lady. After his Flight he was hanged in *Effigy* by the Magiſtrates at the principal Town in *Rouergue*, for his intended Rebellion. 'Tis agreed on all Hands, that upon account of his many Enormities (but as himſelf terms them in his Memoirs, *private domeſtick Concerns, and the crying Injuſtice done his Family)* he withdrew to his own Lands, in the Province of *Rouergue*, contiguous to that Part of *Languedoc*, called the *Cevennes*, where he endeavoured to raiſe Inſurrections amongſt the Diſcontented People, of which he has publiſh'd a very fooliſh Account; but having neither Credit nor Ability for ſuch an Undertaking, his Succeſs was anſwerable. He was forc'd to fly into *Switzerland*, without taking any Meaſures for the Safety of thoſe poor Wretches involved with him, and who had been ſo unhappy to be wrought upon, by his Inſinuations: Thirty of the *Roman* Catholick Perſwaſion, ſeduced by *Guiſcard* into the Deſign of rebelling for *Liberty*, not for *Religion)* fell under the Sentence of the Magiſtrate, and were broke upon the Wheel; tho', it is ſaid, if Monſieur *de Guiſcard*, upon whom they depended for Intelligence, had but delay'd his Flight only ſo long as to ſend Notice to thoſe Gentlemen of the Danger impending, they might all, or at leaſt the greater Number of them, have eſcapedas well as himſelf.

The Marquis *de Guiſcard* had an early, an undoubted Propenſity to Miſchief and Villainy, but without thoſe fine Parts, uſeful in the Cabinet; he had not Capacity to conduct a Deſign, tho' he might have Brain enough to form one; was wholly unacquainted with War, had never been in an Army, a profligate Abbot who knew nothing of the Soldier; yet this Man, we find immediately made a Colonel of a Regiment of Horſe, and a Lieutenant General, with a Penſion, as 'tis ſaid, from *Holland*, as well as from *Us*: To do all this for one wholly ignorant of a Camp, was fooliſh as well as ſcandalous.

Nor had Adverſity made any Impreſſion upon his Manners; His Behaviour here was Expenſive, Luxurious, Vicious, Laviſhing at Play, and upon Women, what was given him for his own Support. Beſides his continual good Fortune

with

with other Ladies, he kept two in conſtant Pay, upon whom he made a profuſe and regular Expence: One of thoſe Creatures was married, whom that he might poſſeſs with the greater Eaſe, he procur'd her Huſband to be preſs'd and ſent away into the Service: A Tranſcript of that State-Cunning ſometimes practiſed by great Politicians (when they would diſincumber themſelves of an *Incommode*) in Affairs of the like Emergency.

At firſt there was none more careſs'd than our foreign Favourite: A late Miniſter ſeldom ſaw a *Levee* without him; though we adm t that is not always a Proof of being a Favourite of thoſe to whom they make their Court; There are who croud themſelves where they have done the moſt ſenſible Injuries, and againſt whom they have been guilty of the higheſt Offence: But want of Shame is one Part of an ill Man's Character, as another is, that he can ſubmit to the meaneſt Things.

Monſieur *de Guiſcard* had the Misfortune to ſink under his Character, even to thoſe great Men who, at firſt moſt indulg'd him: His Parts were too mean to uphold him againſt a juſt Contempt: He was found an uſeleſs Villain, whoſe inferior Underſtanding could not anſwer Expectation: Proving unſerviceable, he was conſequently diſcountenanced, drop'd by degrees, and afterwards totally neglected; his Penſion ill-paid, and himſelf reduced to Extremity. This put him upon making his Peace with *France*; a common Practice of ſuch Villains, whoſe only Buſineſs being to ſupport an infamous Life, in Fullneſs of Luxury, never weigh what ſtands between them and the End.

The Marquis *de Guiſcard* had no Religion, knew nothing of Principles, or indeed Humanity: brutiſh, bold, deſperate, an Engine fit for the blackeſt Miſchief; revengeful, buſy to deſign, though full of Inconſiſtencies, and prepoſterous in his Management: His Schemes impracticable to any leſs raſh and inconſiderate, as may be ſeen in thoſe his ill-formed Projects of Rebellion againſt his Prince: His Aſpect gloomy and forbidding, no falſe Indication of the Malignancy within. Nor could the Evil in his Nature be diverted by Benefits. The preſent Miniſtry regarding him as a Man of Family, one who had been careſs'd in *England*, though they liked neither his Principles nor his Practice, thought it againſt the Glory of the *Queen* (who is the Sanctuary of Diſtreſſed Foreigners) to let ſuch Birth want the Supports of Life; and therefore enter'd upon Meaſures to pay him Four hundred Pounds a Year, as Part of that Penſion which at firſt was granted him, and had been, for ſome time diſcontinued. He could no longer, with any Pretence, be a Malecontent: but he wou'd not forego his treacherous Deſign, nor his Deſire to make his Peace at Home. Mr. *Harley* diſcover'd his Correſpondence: He knew he had wrote three Letters to *France*, with Advice of our Affairs. This Diſcovery was made a Fortnight before Monſieur *de Guiſcard*'s Seizure. Mr. *Harley* was willing to convict him under his own Hand; and accordingly took all neceſſary Precaution, to have what Letters he ſhould write brought to the Secretary's Office. In the mean Time Perſons were employ'd who ſhould give an Account of all his Motions; ſuch who Play'd with him, Drank with him, Walk'd with him; in a Word, thoſe who under the Pretence of Diverſion and Friendſhip, ſhou'd never loſe Sight of him, till that Day, when he went to a Merchant of his Acquaintance in the City, and gave him a Letter, with this Requeſt, *That he would be pleas'd*

to forward it, and let it be ſent away with his own Foreign Letters.

This Letter was brought to Mr. *Harley*, where he read Monſieur *Guiſcard*'s Advice to the Miniſters of *France*, *That they ſhould invade* England *as ſoon as poſſible, whether they ſucceed or no; becauſe the Miſchief it would do us would be irreparable: 'Twou'd diſconcert and divide us, ruin our Credit, and do us a vaſt deal of Hurt, &c.*

On the Eighth of *March*, the *Queen*'s Inauguration-Day, Monſieur *de Guiſcard*, between Two and Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, was ſeized in the *Mall* in *St. James*'s *Park*, by a Warrant of High-Treaſon from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, and carried by the *Queen*'s Meſſengers to the *Cock-Pit*. He ſeem'd then to have taken his Reſolution, and to determine that his Ruin ſhould be fatal to thoſe who occaſion'd it, by deſiring leave to ſend for a Glaſs of Sack, ſome Bread and Butter, and a KNIFE; the Woman of the Coffee-Houſe ſent him all but the Knife, which was accidentally omitted: He was brought into the Clerk's Room, and kept there till the Cabinet Council was aſſembled; in that Room he found a PENKNIFE, and took it away unperceiv'd, which, as 'tis ſuppos'd, he hid in his Sleeve, for there was none found in his Pockets, which were ſearch'd before his Examination.

There were preſent at the Committee of Cabinet-Council, the Lord Keeper, Lord Preſident, Duke of *Ormond*, Duke of *Newcaſtle*, Duke of *Buckingham*, Duke of *Queensborough*, Earl *Poulet*, Lord *Dartmouth*, Mr. *Harley*, Mr. Secretary *St. John*.

[*Mr.* Tilſon, *Mr.* Hare, *Under-Secretaries, ſat at a little Table by themſelves*]

Monſieur *de Guiſcard* being brought in to be examin'd, Mr. Secretary *St. John*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to interrogate him, aſk'd him ſome Queſtions about his correſponding with *France?* and whether he had not ſent Letters thither? Monſieur *de Guiſcard* deny'd it boldly: Mean Time his Colour came and went. Earl *Poulet*, before he was brought in, had deſir'd Mr. *St. John* to change Places with Mr. *Harley*, that *Guiſcard*'s Face might be full in the Light, and his Countenance better perceived, in any Alteration that might happen, at the Queſtions that ſhould be aſk'd him.

The Preſence of that Auguſt Aſſembly, the Obligations the Criminal had to ſome in particular, who had honour'd him with their Favour, and to all in general, as they were of the firſt Rank, amongſt a People who had ſo generouſly Refuged him in his Misfortunes; his own Guilt and Dread of being detected, might well cauſe an Emotion in the Mind and Face of the moſt reſolved, moſt hard'ned Perſon; he fluſh'd and turn'd pale, the Poſture of his Feet reſtleſs and unaſſured, his Hands in perpetual Motion, fumbling in his Pocket; which ſome of that Noble Aſſembly reflecting on, cou'd yet well account for, by remembring it was his uſual Manner: A *French* Air, which has long ſince received in *England*, among ſome of our fine Gentlemen, to a great Degree of Imitation.

Could one have look'd into *Guiſcard*'s guilty Soul, how terrible, at that Moment had been the Proſpect! His Dread of Conviction, his Ingratitude, his Treachery, his Contempt or Deſire of Death, his Deſpair of Heaven, his Love of his native Country, his Spirit of Revenge, embroiled his Thoughts, fermented his Blood, rouzed his Shame, and work'd up his Reſolution to a Pitch of doing all the Service to *France*, and Miſchief he could

to

to *England*: Like falling *Sampſon*, to involve in his Fate the Strength of the Enemy; yet he wou'd make one Puſh for Life, and till Proof was produced, not give up a Cauſe he could defend ſo eaſily, as by denying the Crime he was charged with; which he did with an undaunted Aſſurance, till Mr. Secretary aſk'd him if he knew ſuch a Gentleman, naming the Merchant with whom he had left the Letter? At that *Guiſcard* roll'd his Eyes, aſſured of his Ruin, yet ſurpriz'd and ſhock'd at the Approach: The ſame Queſtion being repeated, he anſwer'd Yes, what of that? Being preſſed again to diſcover what he knew of his correſponding with *France*, he continued obſtinate in his pretended Ignorance; when Mr. Secretary *St. John* produced his Letter, and with a Force of Eloquence inſeparable from what he ſpeaks, repreſented to Monſieur *de Guiſcard*, the Baſeneſs, the Blackneſs of his Crime; to betray the *Queen* his Benefactreſs, *Britain* the Country that had Refuged, Supported, Truſted, Honoured him by the Command of her Troops with ſuch noble Confidence, that made it double Villainy in him to be a Villain; exhorting him yet to be ſincere, and give up to their Information what he knew of the treacherous Deſign he had formed.

Whilſt the Secretary's Words were making an irreſiſtible Impreſſion upon every Mind, but his to whom they were addreſs'd; the Criminal form'd to himſelf the Deſtruction of thoſe two dreadful Enemies of *France*, Mr. *Harley* and Mr. *St. John*: it ſeem'd to him to him too hazardous, to attempt the Deſign at the full Board; not in regard of his own Life, that was already devoted, but leſt they ſhould not be both involved. It appear'd reaſonable to him, that if, upon the Pretence of Diſcovery, he could get Mr. *St. John* to withdraw, Mr. *Harley* might poſſibly be of the Party, and he have a Chance to murder both before they could be aſſiſted: Accordingly, when he was preſs'd to diſcover, he deſir'd to ſpeak with Mr. *St. John* apart. The Secretary told him, that was impracticable: He was before the whole Committee as a Criminal, and what he had to ſay, muſt be ſaid to all. Upon *Guiſcard*'s perſiſting to ſpeak only to the Secretary, they went to ring the Bell to call in the Meſſengers, to carry him away; which he obſerving, cry'd out, *That's hard, not one Word, Pas un mot*, and ſtooping down, ſaid, *J'en voux donc a'toy, Then have at thee*; ſo Stabb'd Mr. *Harley*. Redoubling the Stroke the Knife broke, which he was not ſenſible of; but ruſhing on towards Mr. *St. John*, overthrew the Clerk's Table that ſtood between. Mr. *St. John* ſaw Mr. *Harley* fall, and cry'd out, *The Villain has kill'd Mr.* Harley: Then he gave him a Wound, as did the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Duke of *Newcaſtle*. Mr. *St. John* was reſolv'd to have kill'd him, but that he ſaw Mr. *Harley* got up and walking about, and heard Earl *Poulet* cry out not to kill *Guiſcard*. The Meſſengers laid hold of him, and tore his Coat; he rag'd, he ſtruggled, he overthrew ſeveral of them, with the Strength of one deſperate, or frantic, till at laſt they got him down, by pulling him backwards by the Cravat. Like a Lyon taken in the Toils, he foam'd, he grinn'd, his Countenance ſeem'd deſpoiled of the Aſpect of any thing Human; his Eyes gleam'd Fire, Deſpair, and Fury: He cry'd out to the Duke of *Ormond*, whilſt they were binding him, amidſt his Execration and his Raving, My Lord *Ormond*, *Pour quoy ne may depeches vous*; *Why don't you diſpatch me.* The noble Duke made this memorable Anſwer, *Ce n'eſt pas l'affaire des honeſtes Gens: Ceſt l'affaire d'une autre: 'Tis not the Work of Gentlemen, 'tis the Work of others.*

Let.

Let us turn our Eyes from ſo deteſtable an Object, to another not leſs ſurprizing, tho' of a quite different kind, where we ſhall behold a Gentleman, arriv'd by long Practice, to that difficult Attainment of poſſeſſing his Soul in all Conditions, in all Accidents, whether of Life or Death, with Moderation: This is the Man who may be truly ſaid to know himſelf, whom even Aſſaſſination can't ſurprize; to whom the Paſſions are in ſuch Obedience, they never contend for Sway, nor attempt to throw him from his Guard. Mr. *Harley* falling back in his Chair, by the redoubled Stroke that was given him, and ſeeing them buſy about taking *Guiſcard*, by whom he imagin'd himſelf kill'd, did not call or cry for Help, but getting up as well as he could of himſelf, apply'd his Handkerchief to the Wound, to ſtop the Blood, and keep out the Air, walking about the Room, till they had Time to come to him, not complaining nor accuſing, nor encouraging them to revenge him upon *Guiſcard*; his Countenance ſerene, unalter'd, ſo that from his own Behaviour all his Friends, particularly his tendereſt Mr. *St. John*, hoped he was but ſlightly hurt; When *Buſſier* the Surgeon ſearch'd the Wound, they were all ſurpriz'd to find it ſo dangerous; the Penknife was ſtruck aſlant, and buried in the Wound, which Mr. *Harley* himſelf took out, wiped, called for the Handle, and ſaid, *They belong to me*: He aſk'd if the Wound were Mortal, he had Affairs to ſettle. Even in our incredulous Age, we may term his Eſcape a Miracle, the Blow was ſtruck exactly upon his Breaſt-bone; which broke the Knife; had it been an Inch lower, it had touch'd the *Diaphragma*, and all the World could not have ſav'd his Life; or a Nail's Breadth deeper, 'twould have reach'd his Heart. I have heard it affirm'd, that if one ſhould attempt a thouſand times, at an Imitation of *Guiſcard*'s Deſign, without his Rage and Force, not once in that thouſand Times would it be probable, that a Life could eſcape the Blow, as Mr. *Harley*'s has done. He had a double Deliverance, firſt from the Knife ſtriking upon the Breaſt-bone, and then from its breaking there, he muſt elſe have infallibly been murdered by the Repetition of the Blow; neither was the Cure leſs doubtful, the Contuſion was more dangerous than the Wound itſelf: About a Week after the bruiſed Blood fell down, which held his Life in Suſpenſe. He had been ill for ſome Time before, and was not as yet recovered.

As ſoon as Mr. *Harley* was dreſs'd, he order'd the Surgeon to take Care of Monſieur *de Guiſcard*; and was himſelf carried home in a Chair, follow'd by the Lamentations and Prayers of the People for his Recovery, who attended him to his own Door with their Sighs and Sorrows.

The Bold Marquis, tho' ſubdued, was ſtill untamed: His Fury, Deſpair, and Deſire of inſtant Death, made him uſe his Efforts to prevent the good Intentions of the Surgeon and the Aſſiſtants; they were forced to keep him down by Strength of Hand, whilſt his Wounds were ſearch'd and dreſs'd; After which he was ſent to *Newgate*, where he continued in the ſame Violence of Mind: He begg'd to die, he ſtrove to die, by rubbing the Plaiſters from his Wounds; which to prevent, there were Perſons perpetually employ'd to watch on each Side of the Bed.

If we read his Sentiments in his own Memoirs, we may find they are always diſpoſed to Violence. Speaking to thoſe whom he would draw into a Confedecy againſt the King, *That it was better to die once for all, than to die in a Manner houſand Times a Day, always at the Mercy of Men, who made it their Buſineſs to*

to imbitter their Life, and make it inſupportable. In another Place, (P. 14.) *How can we better ſpend ſome few and uncertain Days, which every Moment are ended by ſome Diſeaſe, by Misfortune, or Old Age, than by making our Name famous and immortal?* And thus, (P. 46.) *Puſillanimous Men, who for want of Courage dare not attempt any thing at their Peril, will never ſee an End of their Misfortune.*

Theſe being his avow'd Tenets, may give us ſome Light into a Deſign ſo execrable, that 'twere Sin to look into it, with any other Eyes but Deteſtation. Monſieur *de Guiſcard* was to reconcile himſelf to *France*, which could not probably be done, but by ſomething more notorious than his Diſaffection: Upon his Death-Bed-Examination, he told the Lords, *There was ſomething horrible, he had to tell them! — for which he ought to be torn in Pieces! — ſomething inconceivable! — exceeding all Barbarity!* — there ſtopt, as if for Breath, a Reanimation of Spirits, or to recollect what he had to ſay; after a while, ſeeing he did not proceed, they reminded him to go on — He repeated thoſe, and many more ſuch Expreſſions. Being preſs'd to proceed, he fell into ſomething very trifling, which he knew they knew already; ſaid, *It was no Matter — Content — Content* — meaning to die.

Upon their Examination of him in *Newgate*, he ſeem'd to boaſt his Reſolution and Performance; bid them judge what he was able to do in a good Cauſe, had they thought fit to employ and truſt him, ſince he could go ſo far in an ill one. The Vanity of his Nation kept him Company to the laſt; he valued himſelf upon his Intrepidity, his Contempt of Death, and Thirſt of Honour, *&c.* The laſt time the Lords were with him, he deſir'd Mr. *St. John*'s Hand, and ſaid *Pardonne, Pardonne.* Mr. *St. John* reply'd, *Je vous Pardonne — Dieu vous Pardonne! — Guiſcard* repeating *Content, — Content,* — he became delirious.

The Roughneſs of his Nature ſeems to have hindred him from incouraging that Remorſe which approaching Death might occaſion, elſe we ſhould doubtleſs have had diſcloſed the blackeſt Scene that any Age has ſhown; 'tis very well known the eager Deſire he had for ſome time expreſs'd to ſee the *Queen* alone; the Pretence of that Audience he ſo earneſtly importun'd, was to get his Penſion aſſured: He was of late often found in the *Anti-chamber*, and at the *Back-ſtairs*; He generally carry'd a Bottle of Poiſon about him, ſuppoſed to anſwer the Diſappointment of ſome foreſeen Event. This, compared with his own Words, and ſeveral Letters from *France* and *Holland*, at that Time, mentioning it was expected they ſhou'd hear of a *Coup d' Eclat en Angleterre*, makes it almoſt paſt doubt that he did deſign to kill the *Queen*; and failing of his Attempt there, Stab'd Mr. *Harley*, as by his own Confeſſion he wou'd have done Mr. *St. John*, becauſe they were the two important Lives that gave Dread and Anguiſh to that Monarch, who has ſo long and often been the Terror of others.

The *Queen*, all merciful and Saint-like as ſhe is, had herſelf the Goodneſs (notwithſtanding Appearances were againſt him in the Suppoſition of his horrible Intentions to deſtroy her) to appoint two Surgeons and two Phyſicians, to attend him in *Newgate*, with whatever was befitting a Man of Family. This gracious Treatment cou'd depart only from a Mind ſo converſant with Heaven, ſo near of Kindred, as that of our pious *Queen!*

Her Cares and Prayers were the Balm that healed Mr. *Harley*'s Wound: The Honour that was done him by the Addreſs of Parliament, ſhall never be

forgot-

forgotten; nor Her Majeſty's gracious Anſwer. 'Tis remarkable, that when it was brought into the H—— of L—— the *Whigs* all went out, except one who rais'd a weak Objection, that Monſieur *de Guiſcard* was not a *Papiſt-convict*.

Notwithſtanding the Surgeons and Phyſicians Art and Care, Monſieur *de Guiſcard* dy'd in *Newgate*. His Wounds, of which he receiv'd four in the Forepart of his Body, were cured; the fifth was in his Back, which the Surgeons depoſed was not mortal. The Jury gave in their Verdict, *That his Bruiſes were the Cauſe of his Death.* It appear'd upon the Examination of Mr. *Wilcox*, the *Queen*'s Meſſenger, That it was he that wounded the Marquiſs in the Back, and gave him thoſe Bruiſes of which he dy'd. Monſieur *de Guiſcard*, in ſtruggling with *Wilcox*, threw him againſt a Window, which cauſed him to void above a Quart of Blood the ſame Night.

His Reſolution, or rather Obſtinacy, continued to the laſt: He wou'd not permit his Wounds to be dreſs'd, nor accepted of any Nouriſhment, but what was forced upon him: He made no Profeſſion of Religion, had no Shew of Remorſe or Contrition, nor deſired the Aſſiſtance of a Prieſt. He was privately interred, [aged 52.] by Order from the Court. A Mercy no Nation but ours would have conferred upon a Spy, a Traytor, and an Aſſaſſin.

Is it not obvious to all *England*, what had been our Diſtreſs, in the Confuſion wherein ſo long a Run of Miſmanagement has plunged us, if Heaven had permitted the Knife of a barbarous Foreigner to have rob'd us of a Miniſter, whoſe Conduct, wiſe, ſtedfaſt, vigorous, extricates our Affairs, and embroils the Enemies! Does not the flouriſhing Church of *England* owe him all things for her Deliverance from *Preſbytery* and *Atheiſm?* A Miracle no leſs ſeaſonable, than when ſhe was aſſaulted by all the Force of *Rome?* Were he not a ſincere Worſhipper at our increaſing Altars, would he not Reduce rather than Multiply? Is not even our *Gracious Sovereign* indebted to him for ſcattering thoſe Perſons from about Her, whoſe exceſſive Tyranny ſtrove to ruin all thoſe who aim'd to come at the *Queen*, but by them? Does he not ſacrifice his Quiet to the Good of his Country, without enriching his own Family with her Treaſures, or decking himſelf with her Honours; though ſhe has none but what, with Pride and Joy, ſhe is ready to beſtow upon him? Was not his Blood, (even now, devoted to the reſtleſs Genius of *France*) ſpilt in dread of his Purſuits and Endeavours to reduce that Monarch to Humanity and Reaſon? Is not his Modeſty ſo exceſſive, that he conceals from thoſe Perſons who have treated him as a Traitor, the Extent of his Power, leſt he ſhould ſeem to inſult their Diſgrace? Free from that falſe Delicacy which ſo often makes People uneaſy at what either the Miſtaken, or our Enemies, ſay of us: His Actions have their Foundation on ſolid Judgment, prop'd by a moſt extenſive Genius, unlimited Foreſight, and immoveable Prudence. *France* records her *Richlieu*, *Mazarine*, and *Louvoy:* we talk with Veneration of the *Cecils*; but Poſterity ſhall boaſt of *Harley* as a Prodigy, in whom the Spring is pure as the Stream; not troubled by *Ingratitude* or *Avarice*, nor its Beauty deformed by the Feature of any Vice: The coming Age will envy ours, a Miniſter of ſuch accumulated Worth; they will ſee and know how happy we were. Why then ſhould we ourſelves be wilfully blind, or wilfully ignorant of it? Is it not his Diſtreſs to be born among a People ſo divided? Could he in any other Country have fail'd of univerſal Love

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and Veneration? How long ſhall our Diviſions make us the Sport and Proverb of the neighbouring Nations? Monſieur *Quillet*, by the Purity of his *Latin*, has diffuſed our Character throughout the World; and when the Curious would be inform'd of the Genius of the *Britiſh* People, the Learned refer to him: It is thought to be the moſt beautiful Part of his *Calipædiæ*; and however the Spirit of the Author may have ſuffer'd by the Change, I will preſent it the Reader in the *Engliſh* Tranſlator's Words.

At Calais, *if you croſs the Streight, you'll find*
The cruel Engliſh *from the World disjoyn'd.*
Cruel indeed, with Royal Blood defil'd,
A Rabble, Raſh, Untameable and Wild.
With Holy Lunacy they're all poſſeſt,
And every Man's a Prophet, or a Prieſt.
Humour's with them Religion's only Guide,
And each that fatal Rule purſues with Pride.
Each on his Neighbour would his own impoſe,
And thence This *Sect to* That *are mortal Foes.*
Hence Wars and Woes, whilſt each his Dreams would ſpread,
Miſlead the reſt, as he's himſelf miſled.
Each by the Sword, his Doctrine would defend,
Which each believes he has a Right to mend.
To Kings alike Rebellious, and the Skies,
All ancient Rites and Worſhip they deſpiſe.
This Madneſs to a thouſand others leads,
Soon as it ſprings, a new Opinion ſpreads.
By every Sex and Age with Heat eſpous'd
'Till tir'd by that, they're by the next abus'd.

Is it not time to redeem our Character, that the World, in applauding our Courage, may no longer object our Diviſions? Tho' we diſagree in Religion, yet for common Good, we ſhould, methinks, be glad to *Unite* in Politicks: Our Ceremonies may differ, but our Eſſentials are the ſame; and to People of Reaſon, one would imagine there needed not much Perſuaſion to joyn in thoſe advantagious Particulars, *Reputation* and *Intereſt*.

Parties break their Force againſt one another, do the Work of our Foes, are weakned by perpetual Animoſities, hate their Adverſary at Home much more ſtrenuouſly than a foreign Enemy, incapacitate themſelves from doing all the Injury they ſhould to *France*, all the Good they ought to *England:* Our Piques and Diſtaſtes for Trifles, have run us up to Frenzy; the World beholds the Hatred and Averſion amongſt us, as Lunacy in our Blood, incurable but by letting forth; they foreſee and long for a Civil War, to reduce us to Miſery and Reaſon; they flatter themſelves, that our Diſſenſions tend that Way, and Propheſy they can have no End but with our Ruin.

'Tis ourſelves only can diſappoint the Hopes of our Enemies, and extricate ourſelves: The very *Mahometans* claim our Pity, for being miſled by their grand Impoſture; and ſhall a Fellow-Chriſtian be hated? Have we no Arguments but Bitterneſs and Reproach? Muſt we continue as violent againſt our

Neighbour at Home, as Brave in the Field Abroad? If we were not all *Britains*, or had different Intereſts, ſomething might be ſaid for that eager Deſire of Ruin, ſo conſpicuous, in the contending Parties.

How ridiculous it appears to a reaſonable Man, who reflects how greatly our happy Conſtitution is envied by our Enemies, and how little valued or enjoyed by ourſelves; we boaſt of *Liberty*, and yet do all we can to enſlave others to our Opinions; mean while the common Intereſt of the Iſland is loſt or forgotten in the Deſire of gratifying our particular Revenge and Averſions.

We have now a *Queen* and *Miniſtry* of conſummate Piety, Prudence and Abilities, who know the true Intereſt of *England*, and will purſue it. The *Church* is deliver'd from Oppreſſion and Fears, Religion ſecur'd, according to every *Engliſh* Man's Hearts Deſire; What ſhould we next conſider, but the Intereſt of the Body-Politick? Which way can that be ſo effectually carry'd on, as by calming our Heats and Animoſities, by taking off the Veil of *Prejudice* and *Party*, which ſo long has blinded us? To have every Individual conſider what would be for the Good of the Whole, and ſincerely to give into it? Were theſe Meaſures faithfully purſued, *France* could never be formidable to *England*; nor the Proteſtant Religion here, under any Apprehenſion from the reſtleſs and encroaching Spirit of the *Roman*.

The COMPARISON, or Accounts on both Sides *Fairly Stated*; In a View of the Management of the *War* in SPAIN, Under the reſpective Commands of the Earls of *Peterborough* and *Gallway*, Occaſion'd by ſome late Enquiries in the *Houſe* of PEERS; With their Lordſhip's Proceedings thereupon. Printed in the Year 1711.

THE Debates of the Houſe of Lords upon the Affairs of *Spain*, occaſion'd by a Want of Conduct in thoſe Parts that ſeem almoſt irretrievable, having given Being to various Opinions and Conjectures, and to ſeveral Pamphlets on that Head; amongſt which, one entituled, *An Account of the Earl of* Gallway's *Conduct in* Spain *and* Portugal, ſeem'd to call in queſtion their Lordſhip's Deciſion: It may not be improper to undeceive ſuch People as run away with falſe Appearances for Matter of Fact, by ſetting Things in a true Light, and preſenting them to the View of the Publick with a Freedom that is altogether impartial and diſintereſted.

In order to this, the faireſt Method I can think of, is to leave the Detail of the *Accounts* on both Sides to the Judgment of the Reader; and ſince I confine myſelf to the Tranſactions in *Spain* during the ſeveral Commands of the Earls of *Peterborough* and *Gallway*, (there being no room for a Diſpute concerning the Behaviour of their Succeſſor, General *Stanhope*) I ſhall proceed by way of *Compariſon*; that is, by laying down the Particulars of each of their Actions, that he may make an Eſtimate from thence, which has been moſt deſerving of the *Thanks*

of

of Parliament, the Noble Perſon that has been honour'd *with* them, or *He* that in all probability will go *without* them.

To begin with the Earl of *Peterborough*, his Lordſhip having been conſtituted and appointed Captain-General of her Majeſty's Forces, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet bound for the *Mediterranean*, ſail'd on Board the *Ranelaugh*, with King *Charles* III. on the 28th of *July*, 1705. from *Lisbon*, and appear'd off *Barcelona Auguſt* the 16th following; when, at a Council of War call'd in the Preſence of his Catholic Majeſty, it having been offered to the Conſideration of the General Officers, Whether the Siege of *Barcelona* ought to be undertaken? they came to this unanimous Reſolution, That the ſaid Siege cou'd not be undertaken with any probability of Succeſs. However at another Council held *Auguſt* the 26th, ſeeing his Lordſhip their Chief Commander, had declar'd in favour of the aforeſaid Siege, it was agreed to form it; tho' ſoon after, on the 28th of the ſame Month, to ſail with all the Troops to *Savoy*; which, indeed was the firſt Deſign of his Lordſhip's Expedition. But the King of *Spain* taking a Reſolution to ſtay by his faithful Subjects of *Catalonia*, his Lordſhip ſaw himſelf reduced to a Neceſſity of either going home *re infectâ*, or taking this Attempt upon himſelf: Wherefore, not caring for being a General without doing ſomething, he choſe rather to truſt to the Good-nature of his Country, which he hop'd would pardon his ſucceeding in ſo conſiderable an Action, tho' not ſtrictly undertaken by a formal Order. My Lord, therefore, now made uſe only of his own Thoughts, and by an uncommon Artifice made the never-to-be-forgotten Attack upon *Fort Montjuic*; which has been ungenerouſly attributed to the Prince of *Heſſe*, who was only a Voluntier in the Action, and never ſo much as appriz'd of its being to be made till the Execution; and which, by its Surrender, occaſion'd that of the Town, which was garriſon'd by as many Troops as the Army was compos'd of that laid Siege to it.

The Reduction of this important Place was follow'd by thoſe of *Gironne*, *Lerida*, *Tortoſa*, *Tarragona*, &c. and by the Expulſion of the whole *French* Army (that ſate down before *Barcelona* in order to retake it, to the Number of 24000 Men, commanded by King *Philip* in Perſon, and the Mareſchal *de Theſſe*) out of *Spain* into the Province of *Rouſillon*, by the Means of his Lordſhip, who ſo diſtreſs'd them in their Camp by a flying Army, not more than 2500 ſtrong, which he brought with him from *Valencia*, that they were forc'd to abandon it and their Artillery, with all their Baggage; and had never ſet footing in *Spain* again, had his Lordſhip's Advice for the King's immediate March to *Madrid*, taken Place with that Court. For he plainly foreſaw what Deſigns the Common Enemy had to put in Execution for the Recovery of *Spain*, and therefore made all the preſſing Inſtances imaginable to his Majeſty to haſten his Departure, becauſe it was beyond contradiction that the King's Preſence in his Capital at that Juncture would have made all the chief Places in his Dominions declare for him; and an ordinary Force upon the Frontiers of *Navarre* would have ſecur'd the Paſſage there againſt any ſecond Entrance of the *French* into *Spain*. Theſe Motives and Arguments urg'd by my Lord *Peterborough*, had their proper Weight with the Court and the Army; and accordingly it was twice unanimouſly reſolv'd in a General Council of War, by all the Miniſters and Officers, that the King ſhould

with all Diligence march towards *Valencia*, and that his Lordſhip with 6000 Men ſhould go before, and prepare every thing to carry on his Majeſty to *Madrid*.

Yet were theſe Reſolutions ſo far from being put in Practice, that, tho' his Lordſhip had brought the whole Kingdom of *Valencia* before this, under his Majeſty's Obedience, they were wholly neglected; though the Day was ſettled for his Majeſty's Departure from *Barcelona*; nay, what is more, the very Rout of his Journey adjuſted, and his Lordſhip having ſent all the Cavalry before, went on Board the Fleet with the Foot, who were in no condition to march for want of Baggage-Neceſſaries, and landed at *Valencia* in few Days after. His Lordſhip thought he could make no better uſe of his ſhort Stay here, than to recruit his ſhatter'd Cavalry; which he not only did, but mounted a new Regiment of Dragoons, draughted out of the Companies of Foot; there being always in this Country, eſpecially in his Circumſtances, which requir'd Diſpatch, a neceſſity for a good Body of Horſe: In which ſingle Regiment his Lordſhip ſav'd the Queen (which may ſeem a Paradox to ſome) 20000 Pounds; the Horſes, one with another, coſting not above Ten Pounds apiece, which, if they had been tranſported from *England* or *Ireland*, would have ſtood her Majeſty at leaſt in Sixty Pounds, as thoſe were actually found to do, which firſt went upon the Deſcent into *Catalonia*; And this Regiment, to ſhew his Lordſhip's earneſt Deſire to march inso *Caſtile*, had its Rout given it the very ſame Day it was mounted.

To facilitate this Entrance into *Caſtile*, his Lordſhip immediately ſent Lieutenant General *Wyndham* with a Body of 1500 Horſe to beſiege *Requena*; a ſtrong and troubleſome Garriſon, and indeed the only one in the Road to *Madrid*, and the firſt Frontier-Town of the Enemy. The Enterprize ſucceeded to his Wiſhes, and the Way lay open for his Majeſty's March; for his Lordſhip proved to the King, by the conſtant paſſing of Deſerters, as well as Expreſſes, that there was nothing now to hinder his Majeſty from reaching *Madrid* with a ſmall Party of Horſe only; and he thought a King needed not much Perſuaſion to take Poſſeſſion of a Crown, when 'twould be rather a Journey of Pleaſure than a March, and this to be eaſily perform'd in a Fortnight's time.

Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe Preparations for carrying on the King and his Troops, and tho' by frequent Meſſengers and Letters he had urg'd the Neceſſity of the King's immediate Departure from *Barcelona*, his Majeſty did not think fit to ſet out from that Place till near a Month after the Time agreed on. 'Twas yet a greater Surprize to his Lordſhip, that the King upon his Arrival at *Terragona*, had quite alter'd the Scheme of his March, and taken a Reſolution of going round by *Saragoſſa*; whereupon he remonſtrated to his Majeſty, with all the Earneſtneſs imaginable, the Danger of the leaſt Delay in ſuch a critical Conjuncture. But neither the Hazards nor Inconveniencies of ſo dangerous a March, wherein his Majeſty might run the riſque of being intercepted by the Enemy, nor the more than ordinary Zeal his Lordſhip ſhew'd in perſuading the King from it, by diſpatching Letters after Letters, a Deputation from the *Valencian* Nobility, and the Opinion of ſeveral Councils of War for that Purpoſe, were of any Force or Weight. Some particular Perſons about the King had more Authority with him, and he perſiſted in his Meaſures; always giving it as a Reaſon of his going by *Saragoſſa*, that the Generals of the *Portugueſe* would move that Way,

Way, and had promis'd to ſecure his March to their Camp. Wherefore his Lordſhip ſtill flatter'd him with Hopes, ſince he perceiv'd there was a Correſpondence between his Majeſty and the *Portugueſe* Army, who were now (as he was *told)* Maſters of *Madrid*, thoſe who had the Command there would make all the Advantages of ſo happy a Conjuncture, and not only ſecure that Capital till they had ſafely conducted the King thither, but take care to ſeize and fortify the Paſſes in *Navarre*, the only and obvious Expedient left, ſince the King was reſolv'd on theſe new Methods, to keep him in the quiet Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom.

What Motives his Majeſty had for this extraordinary Change of his Sentiments, is beſt known to his Majeſty; that they could not ariſe from any want of Reſpect or Obſervance in his Lordſhip is very manifeſt, ſince, tho' ſome of his Ill-wiſhers attribute the Cauſe of this Journey through *Arragon* to his Lordſhip's peremptory denying the King Money for his neceſſary Charges, tho' he had receiv'd 103000*l.* at that Time remitted from *England* for his Majeſty's Service; his Lordſhip was ſo far from refuſing the King upon this Account any Money which he had in his Power to give him, that his Lordſhip not having receiv'd any Part of the pretended 103000*l.* was forc'd to order for that Purpoſe 40000*l.* appropriated to other Uſes. And 'tis well known to all thoſe that are well acquainted with what paſs'd in *Spain*, that his Lordſhip, to clear himſelf from theſe Calumnies, brought Mr. *Mead*, the Queen's Paymaſter, before the King and Mr. *Stanhope*, who, in regard to theſe Points, gave this Account to the King, *That all his Troops had been paid ten Days Advance, for which he produc'd their Receipts; that no Part of the* 103000 l. *was come to his Hands; but that however* 40000 l. *had been advanc'd for his Majeſty's Service, at the earneſt Sollicitations of the Earl of* Peterborough, *which was deſign'd and appointed for* other Services.

Nay, when, upon his Arrival at *Saragoſſa*, his Majeſty was in want of a Supply, and wrote to my Lord of *Peterborough* for it, his Lordſhip immediately ſent all the Money he had of his own, and what he could get upon Credit, and had his Majeſty's Thanks return'd for it in a very obliging Letter: So far was he from refuſing the King's Money towards ſupporting the March that was at firſt deſign'd, and ſo much wiſh'd for by his Lordſhip, that he took care his Majeſty ſhould not want it, even in a Journey which his Lordſhip could by no means approve of.

What remain'd for his Lordſhip to do, now there were no Hopes of the King's coming through *Valencia*, which he was oblig'd to wait for, by the Fundamental Council of War at *Barcelona*, was to order all the Forces to advance into *Caſtile*, except about 1000 Men, which were left for the neceſſary Security of the Kingdom of *Valencia:* And in this he was forc'd to have the Opinion of a Council of War, of both *Spaniards* and *Engliſh*, to releaſe him from the Obligation he lay under of ſtaying for the King; his Lordſhip having been always ſo cautious as to act by a Council of War, ever ſince that Action of taking *Barcelona* without one.

Thus though his Majeſty did not think fit at that Time to be conducted to his Capital by the Earl of *Peterborough* (the King having ſent him Word juſt before the abovemention'd March, that the *Portugueſe* Army would be ſufficient

to

to protect him from any Attempts the Enemy could make againſt him,) the Earl thought it his Duty to be near at hand to ſuccour him upon any Emergency, and therefore made it his Choice rather to neglect ſending the Forces under his Command to the Relief of the Duke of *Savoy* purſuant to his Majeſty's Orders, than preventing the Return of the *French* into *Spain*, and ſecuring the Country round *Madrid:* wherefore he deſir'd to be excus'd from complying with his Majeſty's Directions, and continu'd on his March thro' *Caſtile*. So far was his Lordſhip from ſhewing any Unwillingneſs to carry his Troops thither, or refuſing to advance when he had Orders for it; that when he did march 'twas contrary to the King's Deſires, who urg'd him immediately to purſue the Orders he had received from the Queen, and embarque the Succours for *Italy*.

And indeed his Majeſty was quickly convinc'd that his Lordſhip had judged right; for inſtead of being able to go on triumphantly from *Saragoſſa* to *Madrid*, his Majeſty ſaw a neceſſity of writing preſſingly to that Lord, to come up to him with all the Diſpatch imaginable, to ſecure his March to the Army at *Guadalaxara*. This his Lordſhip inſtantly comply'd with, by joining his Majeſty near *Praſtana*, and had *at laſt* the Honour of conducting him to the Confederate Forces; and this within a Fortnight after he had receiv'd the Advices mention'd above, that his Majeſty had no further Occaſion for the Preſence of Him or his Troops.

So that his Lordſhip, contrary to the Intentions of the Earl of *Gallway* and thoſe who commanded the *Portugueſe* Army, came up with them to be an Eye-witneſs of their Retreat from that Capital, which he perſuaded them (to no Purpoſe) to repoſſeſs themſelves of, now they had the King among them, and, in deſpight of their keeping no manner of Correſpondence with him by Letter or otherwiſe, as appears by the Teſtimonies of ſeveral Couriers that went to the *Portugueſe* Army through *Valencia* to his Majeſty, came to aſſiſt them with his Forces and Advice.

Here his Lordſhip expected to have met a flouriſhing Army ready to carry the King in thro' to *Madrid:* not queſtioning but in thoſe Forty Days, wherein he not only made Preparations to march into *Caſtile*, but took *Carthagena*, *Cuenha*, *Alicant*, and *Requena*, (Places of great Strength and Conſequence) that the *Portugueſe* General had with the like Caution and Activity ſecur'd the Country round *Madrid*; his Lordſhip being confident with good Reaſon, that ſuch Opportunities as thoſe in his Hands would have enabled him to drive the Duke of *Berwick* beyond the *Ebro:* or at leaſt not to have been ſo deſtitute of Information, as to have ſuffer'd an Army of 20000 Men to come within two Hours March of him, without the leaſt Intelligence of their Approach; or to have given them the Opportunity of retaking *Madrid* without a Blow.

Yet this was the State in which Affairs were at his Lordſhip's Arrival in the *Portugueſe* Camp; and he found the Confederates, not only not prepar'd (as he had hop'd) for a Glorious Entrance into *Madrid*, but retreating before the Enemy, and every Body did that Juſtice to the Lord *Tyrawly*, as to own, 'twas in a great meaſure owing to his Conduct, that upon ſuch a Surprize they were capable of making any Retreat.

To recover the Diſgrace of this almoſt fatal Miſcarriage, the general Opinion inclin'd to Fighting; but the Earl of *Peterborough* knowing too well the irre-

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trievable Conſequences of a *loſt Battle*, oppos'd this Motion, our Circumſtances at that time being the moſt improper for ſuch Expedients, that would hazard the entire Loſs of what they were poſſeſs'd of in *Spain*. Yet at the ſame time his Lordſhip made an Offer to attempt, with 5000 Men, the Recovery of *Madrid*; and the Methods he deſigned to take were allowed ſo likely to ſucceed, that they were approved of more than once by the King and all the Generals. But at this time all Conſultations were tedious, and Executions ſlow; ſo that after two or three days Debate, the Deſign was laid aſide meerly for want of Bread, there being as little Preparation there, as there had been for purſuing the Duke of *Berwick*.

Wherefore ſince the Camp at *Guadalaxara* was no place for a Man of Enterprizing Genius to abide in, and the Reſolutions of the other Generals were ſo fluctuating and uncertain as not to be any ways depended upon, his Lordſhip, after a few days continuance there, reſolved to put in execution the Queen's Orders that commanded him to *Italy*; which being ſhewn to the King and the Generals at a Council of War, had their Approbation in writing according to form. To which Powers that authoriz'd him to leave *Spain*, his Lordſhip had very ſtrong and prevailing Reaſons to be added from the Poſture of Affairs For the Condition of the Army was extremely miſerable for want of Money, and the Proſpect ſtill worſe, unleſs effectual Means were uſed for a ſpeedy Supply. In this Neceſſity, the Miniſters and Generals very preſſingly recommended that Affair to the Marquis *das Minas* and the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador gave him Bills to tranſact for them at *Genoa*; and the King, to ſhew both his want of Money, and the great Confidence he had in his Lordſhip's Fidelity, gave him full Powers, ſign'd and ſeal'd by his Royal Hand, to mortgage any Part of his Dominions, rather than he ſhould fail in his Negotiations. Which is a ſufficient Coufutation to all groundleſs Reports, ſuch as his leaving the Army under Diſcontent on account of his not having the ſole Command of it, and making it a Voyage of Pleaſure rather than of Buſineſs, or by any Orders.

What ſtill confirm'd his Lordſhip in this Reſolution of going to *Italy*, was, that he found at that Juncture no occaſion for his Preſence in *Spain*: For the Campaign to all appearance was then at an end, and the Generals ſeem'd to propoſe nothing elſe than going into Winter Quarters, and maintaining themſelves there till the Seaſon would give them leave to take the Field; and that this was the Deſign when his Lordſhip left them, will appear by the loud Remonſtrances of all the *Spaniards* againſt the Retreat into *Valencia*, and how much poſſeſs'd the King and all his Officers were with this Opinion of keeping their Ground in *Caſtile*, the Count *Noyailles*, Velt-Mareſchal of the Emperor, and General of the King of *Spain*, has in the fulleſtand moſt ſenſible manner explain'd in a Letter to the Earl of *Peterborough* while they were retreating; which, amongſt other material Points, has theſe Paſſages: *With all the* Spaniards *of my Opinion, I could not procure our March from* Chincon, *or retard the Paſſage over the* Tagus, *in a Seaſon ſo little advanc'd, and ſo proper for Action. We were flatter'd that Winter Quarters ſhould be eſtabliſhed in* Caſtile, *between the* Xucar *and* Gabriel, *where we are now encamp'd but it is plainly ſeen that we ſhall march into the Kingdom of* Valencia, *ſo contrary to the King's Deſires*, &c.

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His Lordſhip, thro' the means of a deep Penetration into Affairs, as it were foreſeeing what would happen to the Army in *Caſtile*, was for providing againſt the Conſequences of it before he left *Valencia* for *Italy*, and took care before his embarking to fortify and ſecure the Country and Coaſt againſt the Inſults of the Biſhop of *Murcia*; and therefore, tho' preſs'd by the King and the Lord *Gallway* to ſend up the Forces there into *Caſtile*, his Lordſhip had the unanimous Opinion, not only of all the Gentlemen of the Country, but of a Council of War held *Sept.* 6. 1706. at the General's Quarters in *Alicant*, That, conſidering the ill Circumſtances of our Affairs in thoſe Inland Parts, and the neceſſity of keeping a ſure footing towards the Sea, it was of the higheſt Conſequence, that the little number we had then in *Alicant* ſhould continue there, the whole being not more than 900 Men, as well for ſecuring the Kingdom of *Valencia*, as preſerving the Communication with *Caſtile*, which, if cut off to the Sea, might expoſe the King's Perſon and the Army to the utmoſt Hazard. And had not this prudent Foreſight of his Lordſhip, back'd by the Conſent of the Commanding Officers in *Valencia*, kept open this Communication between the Sea and the Caſtle, whither could they themſelves that deſir'd theſe Forces have made their Retreat? or where could their Army have ſubſiſted till the Battle?

'Twas for the ſame Reaſons that his Lordſhip reſolv'd not to carry any of thoſe Troops with him to *Italy*, and that he deſigned upon any emergent Occaſion from that Quarter to have drawn Supplies out of the Garriſons of *Catalonia*: But having been ſome days at Sea, he had the good Fortune to hear of the deciſive Battle of *Turin*, which had put it in the Duke of *Savoy*'s Power to be much ſuperior to the Enemy in the Forces he already had, and to ſtand in need of no Auxiliaries from a Kingdom that could ſo very ill ſpare them.

How ſerviceable this Voyage to *Genoa*, and how all the Views of it were anſwered, cannot be more evidently manifeſted than they were by the Univerſal Applauſe of the *Spaniſh* Nation, and the Eſteem and Reſpect paid by all the Princes abroad; and in particular, how ſenſible his *Catholic* Majeſty was of the Advantages gain'd by it, appears fully by an Inſtrument under his own Hand, lately produc'd before the Houſe of Lords, which makes mention of that very *Expedition put in execution with his Approbation, and the Opinion of all the Miniſters and Generals*; and of his Lordſhip's *obtaining in that Voyage moſt known Advantages to his* Majeſty's *Service*; and particularly commends *that Vigour which is always found to diſtinguiſh his Actions, and which recommends thoſe Meaſures which his Zeal and Ability hath adjuſted with the Duke of* Savoy *and Prince* Eugene, *to whom he would notify upon the firſt Occaſion his* entire Satisfaction *in all that he had tranſacted*, &c.

This Royal Teſtimony not only ſhews his Majeſty's entire Approbation of this Voyage, but is a ſufficient Reply to thoſe malicious Inſinuations that have been made of the King's Diſpleaſure to the Earl. In his Abſence, indeed, falſe Suggeſtions, and the Contrivances and Cabals of others, have too often prevail'd: and during the Correſpondence of the *Portugal* Army, not only unfortunate Methods took place, but, as his Lordſhip found at his Return from *Italy*, the King had been by ſome Artifices wrought upon to ſignify to the Court of *England* ſome kind of Diſſatisfaction with his Conduct.

Others likewiſe charge this Noble Peer with giving too large *Premio*'s for the Money that was advanc'd for his Majeſty's Uſe, and taking it at an extravagant

Intereſt

Intereſt of 20 *per Cent.* for procuring the Money at *Genoa*, (which would have amounted to 20000 *l.*) whereas not above 1000 was allow'd by his Lordſhip above the current Exchange; and ſuch a Sum obtained in ſuch difficult Circumſtances, as 100,000 *l.* in ſo little time, and at ſo little loſs, is as Extraordinary as any of thoſe many Services he did in the *Spaniſh* War.

'Tis pity his Enemies did not ſay he over-rated his Baggage that was ſuffer'd to be taken after he had taken leave of the Army at *Guadalaxara*, that was offer'd to be made good to him at the rate of 10000 Piſtoles, which it was actually worth, and which he generouſly refus'd; rather making it his choice to have the Army ſupply'd with two Month's Proviſion of Corn, tho' it was under another General's Command, than have any Misfortune happen to the Confederate Arms, through his having the leaſt Regard to his own Intereſt. An Action as unprecedented, and for ſome time as indifferently ſpoke of, as his taking *Barcelona* with as few Troops as the Garriſon of the Town, and relieving it after, when the Troops within and without were but a Handful of Men in reſpect to the Numbers of the Beſiegers.

To come to a Period: His Lordſhip after his Return from *Spain* acted in no Public Poſt; yet upon all Occaſions ſhew'd the ſame Concern and Zeal for the Public Good, and the Proſperity of her Majeſty's Arms. And tho' he was diſmiſs'd from the Command of the Army, yet he did not think himſelf exempt from uſing his utmoſt Endeavours to promote the Intereſt of the Common Cauſe: Wherefore having brought them Monies to carry on the War with, he could not but think it adviſeable to leave behind him Rules to conduct it with, which his Experience and Knowledge of the Country made him highly capable of giving, and in a Council of War held at *Valencia*, *Feb.* 4. 170$\frac{6}{7}$. gave in writing his Opinion concerning the Management of the Campaign, which he would have had to be on the Defenſive, and which, if carry'd on after that manner, would have hinder'd the diſmal Effects of a contrary Judgment in a very few Months after, at the fatal Battle of *Almanza*, which was the Prelude to all our Misfortunes in that Country that have happen'd ſince.

His Lordſhip being ſenſible how things would go after his Departure, but zealous to turn them another way, that the Advantages He gain'd with ſo much Prudence might not be loſt through the want of it in others, wrote from *Turin* the 21ſt of *April* following, where, having urg'd the Neceſſity of a Defenſive War to the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador, and ſaid, *I know my Reaſons, tho' good, will have little Force with the Generals; They have the laſt Campaign in their thoughts, and have not perhaps the ſame Tranquility of Mind and Quiet which, I thank God, I enjoy. I am well aſſured that the Intereſt of your Country needs Precaution; ſince your beſt Troops are in* Spain, *and that a Defeat muſt expoſe* Portugal *before Succours can arrive; ſince* England *has left herſelf almoſt unprovided with Troops, and that Forces in* Italy *being deſigned for other Services, it will be difficult to obtain any of them, tho' the Circumſtances preſſingly require it. I therefore intreat your Excellency to think again of the Conſequence of a* loſt Battle. *God be prais'd you are not under a Neceſſity of a Victory; that is the Circumſtance of* France, *&c.* Whether the *Portugueſe* follow'd this Advice or not, and voted againſt coming to a General Action, it is not in my Power to determine; but this Letter from my Lord plainly ſhews how well the Author of it could judge of the Poſture of

their Affairs, and how reaſonable it was to think of nothing but a *Defenſive War*. My Lord, without all peradventure, wiſhes he had been miſtaken in his Judgment; but in a few days after the writing of it, thoſe who had no regard to what he foretold, took care moſt punctually to fulfil it.

As their not liſt'ning to his Lordſhip's Advice in *Spain* was the Occaſion of irretrievable Loſſes in that Kingdom, ſo it likewiſe prov'd of very pernicious Conſequence to the Affairs in *Italy*, which had been ſo well concerted between the Duke of *Savoy*, Prince *Eugene*, and the Earl of *Peterborough*; for by the means of the Defeat at *Almanza*, the *French* were able to make large Detachments from thence to *Provence*, which rendered the Siege of *Thoulon*, that afterwards was ſo glorioufly undertaken of no effect.

His Lordſhip's Stay in *Italy* was very ſhort after the foregoing melancholy Accident; and tho' he loſt no Time at the ſeveral Courts; he viſited after his diſmiſſion from the Command of the Army, in Conſultations for the good of his Country in particular, and the whole Confederacy, he was earneſtly recall'd Home by the Miniſtry then in being, who were none of his beſt Friends; and was forc'd to leave a very worthy Son dangerouſly ill of his Wounds, and the Court of his Royal Highneſs of *Savoy*, where he was receiv'd with all poſſible Marks of Diſtinction, for nothing like a Reception at that of *Great Britain*; ſo much was the Intereſt of his Enemies ſuperior to his own.

But tho' he could have the Favour of no other means to juſtify himſelf, than by the Preſs, and neither the Court, nor the Houſe of Peers, thought fit to ſet his great and unparallelled Services in a true Light, till the preſent Seſſion of Parliament: His Lordſhip has had the Honour at laſt and very lately, to the no ſmall Diſappointment of the *Faction*, not only to be publickly acquitted from having any Share in the Miſmanagements of the War in *Spain* or elſewhere, but very honourably thank'd for diſcharging the Truſts repos'd in him with Zeal, Courage, and Fidelity; a Reward, though not anſwerable to the great Things he has done for us and our Allies, yet nothing ſhort of the Manors of *Woodſtock* and *Wooton*, if we conſider the Dignity of that great Aſſembly that gave it. On which Occaſion Sir *Simon Harcourt*, the Lord Keeper of the great Seal, addreſs'd his Lordſhip as follows;

My Lord Peterborough,

"I am commanded by my Lords to return their Thanks to your Lordſhip, "for your many Eminent and faithful Services to your Queen and Country, du- "ring your Command in *Spain*.

My Lord,

"The Thanks of this Illuſtrious Aſſembly is an Honour, which has been "rarely paid to any Subject, but never, after a ſtrict Enquiry into the Nature "of any Service, upon a more *mature Deliberation*, or with *greater Juſtice*, than at "this time to your Lordſhip. Such is your Lordſhip's known Generoſity, and "truly Noble Temper, that I aſſure myſelf the Preſent I am now offering to your "Lordſhip, is the more acceptable as it comes *pure* and *unmix'd*, and is unatten- "ded with any *other Reward*, which your Lordſhip might juſtly think would be "an Allay to it.

My

My Lord,

" Had more Days been allow'd me, than I had Minutes, to have call'd to " mind the wonderful and amazing Succeſs, which perpetually attended your " Lordſhip in *Spain* (the Effect of your Lordſhip's Perſonal Bravery and Con- " duct) I would not attempt the enumerating your particular Services, ſince I " ſhould offend your Lordſhip, by the mentioning of ſuch as I could recollect, " and give a juſt Occaſion to this Honourable Houſe, by my involuntary O- " miſſion of the far greater Part of them.

" Had your Lordſhip's Wiſe Counſels, particularly your Advice at the " Conncil of War in *Valencia*, been purſued the following Campaign, the fa- " tal Battle of *Almanza*, and our greateſt Misfortune which has ſince happen'd " in *Spain*, had been prevented, and the Deſign upon *Thoulon* might have hap- " pily ſucceeded.

" I ſhall detain your Lordſhip no longer, than in Obedience to the Order I " have receiv'd to return your Lordſhip, as I do, the *Thanks of this Houſe, for* " *your eminent and remarkable Services to your Queen and Country, during your* " *Command in* Spain.

His Lordſhip's Anſwer.

My Lords,

For the great Honour I have receiv'd from your Lordſhips, I return my moſt humble Thanks, with a Heart full of the trueſt Reſpect and Gratitude: No Service can deſerve ſuch a Reward. It is more than a ſufficient Recompence for any paſt Hardſhips, and to which nothing can give an Addition. I ſhall endeavour in all my future Actions, not to appear unworthy of the unmerited Favours I have this Day receiv'd from this Great Aſſembly.

Thus the Reader may ſee, that notwithſtanding all the Efforts of his Enemies, to render his Lordſhip's Services of leſs Importance and Significance than they were, they appeared in their true Luſtre; and that this Noble Peer has this to comfort him under the ungrateful Returns he before met with from a thankleſs and ungenerous Party, thoſe who deny'd him the juſt Rewards of his unwearied Application and Diligence for the Common Good, would have deny'd his Royal Miſtreſs herſelf the Exerciſe of her juſt Rights, and that he has no other Enemies to his extraordinary Merits, but ſuch as are for leſſening and impairing the Queen's; ſince through vindicating the Prerogatives of Her Majeſty, their Lordſhips have at laſt aſſerted the Privileges of a very deſerving Subject.

What remains for me to do in the next Place, is to *Account* for my Title, by looking into the Merits of his Lordſhip the Earl of *Gallway*, that thoſe who are not acquainted with his Actions may from hence be at liberty to judge, how much he falls ſhort of the other Peer, or how near he comes up to him, for none can draw ſuch a Concluſion as can make him excell him.

And here as we went through the Earl of *Peterborough*'s Conduct from his very firſt Landing in *Spain*, till after his leaving it, ſo it is but neceſſary we ſhould do the ſame by his Lordſhip, eſpecially ſince the Tranſactions in *Spain* have ſuch a dependence on thoſe in *Portugal*, and are ſo cloſely interwoven with them. Wherefore, omitting the Dialogue between him and the Great Man at *Windſor*, which you'll find in the Annals of Queen *Anne* for 1704, I ſhall take

him from his first Arrival in *Portugal*, where having waited on the King, and been graciously received, he took a Review of the *Portuguese* and Auxiliary Forces, which were upwards of 18000 Men, and caus'd them to pass the little River *Coa*, and so encamp at *Almeida* on the 23d of *September*, 1704. It is observable the two Kings, of *Spain* and *Portugal*, encourag'd his Royal Army with their Presence, with design to Invade *Castile*, but things were so carry'd (no doubt by the Prudence of the Generals) that when they came to the River *Agueda*, which they intended to pass near *Ciudad Rodrigo*, they found the opposite Banks so well guarded by the *Spaniards* under the Duke of *Berwick*, (whose Army was near 9000 effective Men) that it was thought fit not to hazard the Loss of *double the Number*; and so retiring further into the Territories of *Portugal*, the Troops were sent into Quarters, *without any such thing, beyond all question, as the Earl of* Gallway's *Consent for their so doing*. As for the *Spaniards*, they were so weaken'd by the Battalions sent under the Command of the Marquis de *Villadaris*, to form the Siege of *Gibraltar*, that they held themselves to have Business enough on their Hands to defend their own Country, and had no thoughts of invading *Portugal*; so that all things were wonderfully quiet on those Frontiers till the 24th of *April*, 1705. *N. S.*

The Conde *das Calveas* a Grandee of *Portugal*, acted as Generalissimo, and under him the Conde *de la Cursona*, the Earl of *Gallway*, and Baron *Fagel*, who commanded each other as Captain Generals in their respective Turns for the Space of a Week; the Conde *de Villaverde* being General of the Horse, and the Viscount *Barbacena* General of Artillery. The first day the Army made but a small March of a League and a half; on the 25th they marched two whole Leagues; on the 26th and 27th they kept the same sort of pace; and on the 28th were muster'd, and found to consist of more than 24000 Men; the Train of Artillery being found to consist of 20 heavy Cannon, 24 Field-pieces, 7 great Mortars, and 10 small Mortars. The 29th the Army march'd a League and a half, and the next day advanced a League and encamp'd in sight of *Albuquerque*. The 1st of *May* they marched a League and a half, and encamp'd near *Vincento*, which having *submitted* the day before *upon Terms*, was *plunder'd* by the Foreigners. The 2d the Army having advanced two Leagues, arriv'd before *Valencia d'Alcantara*, which surrender'd after a stout Resistance on the 9th following, the Garrison being made Prisoners of War. *Note*, General *Fagel* commanded this Week, so that the taking of this Town cannot, without manifest Injury to that Gentleman, be imputed to the Earl of *Gallway*.

The Army decamp'd from *Alcantara* the 14th of *May* (*N. S.*) and encamp'd the same Evening at St. *Vincent*, and the 17th came before *Albuquerque*; but the March being very long, they could not invest it till the 16th. On the 22d the Garrison was allow'd to march out upon very honourable Terms, by the Earl of *Gallway*, who, instead of making them Prisoners of War by Force, endeavour'd to win their Affections by Treats, and allow'd them a Piece of Cannon not included in the Articles, as a particular and much-applauded Act of Generosity. This is look'd upon by his Lordship's Vindicator as a Master-piece in Politics, to encourage other Towns to surrender as *cheaply* as this did, which cost so much Powder and Ball against it, that He himself says the Besiegers had but

200 Cannon-Ball left; tho' other People think it the only Way to put Arms in their Hand to make a Defence with.

The remaining Part of the Seaſon for this Summer's Campaign was ſpent in Marches and Countermarches, Conſults about the Siege of *Badajox*, but no Reſolutions taken thereupon; wherefore the Army went into Quarters of Refreſhment; though I ſhould have told the Reader another remarkable Action that his Lordſhip had a Share in, which was to ſend out 600 *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Horſe to ſecure a Convoy of Proviſions coming from *Campo Major*, that otherwiſe might have been in Danger; and that the Mareſchal *de Teſſe*, tho' he hover'd about this Camp with more than 2500 Horſe at a Time, did not dare to attack them, becauſe they were ſo very much upon their Guard, through the wiſe Precautions of their Generals.

On the 30th of *October* following after the Earl of *Gallway* had prevail'd with the Marquis *das Minos*, and the other General to form the Siege of *Badajox*, all the Forces decamp'd, and rendezvous'd on the *Caya*, and on the 3d of the following Month encamp'd before *Badajox*; the Trenches were open'd on the 4th, and daily reliev'd by the Troops of the ſeveral Nations which the Army was compos'd of, till the 7th, when his Lordſhip thought fit to change the Diſpoſition of the Army, by ſending one half of the Forces over the *Guadiana*, to hinder the Enemy from throwing any Succours into the Place. The 8th General *Fagel* arriv'd in the Camp. The 9th and 10th was ſpent by the Beſiegers in making their Approaches, throwing Bombs into the Town, and firing upon it from three Batteries of Cannon. On the 11th a Bomb from the Town blew up the Powder at one of their Batteries, and ſeveral of the Gunners, whereupon the reſt ran away. The Earl of *Gallway* and the Baron *de Fagel* repairing thither to remedy the Diſorder, found the Platform ſpoil'd; and as they were upon the Battery to encourage the Soldiers, and had both their Arms lifted up, ſo that they touch'd one another, a Cannon-Ball from the Old Caſtle came between them, and ſtruck off the Right-hand of my Lord *Gallway* a little below the Elbow; Whereupon General *Fagel* took upon him the Command of the Army as Campmaſter-General under the Marquis *das Minas*, and on the 12th the Beſiegers continu'd to fire with ſuch Succeſs, as they hope to be Maſters of the Town by the 15th. The 13th a *French* Dragoon came over to them, and gave them to underſtand that the Enemy were marching to relieve the Town; and in the Night between the 13th and 14th two other Dragoons deſerted, and made their Report that the Army was in Motion, tho' two *Spaniſh* Troopers that were taken ſoon after contradicted it, and affirm'd that they were in their old Camp. Tho' they were within ſight of the Confederate Army, ſoon after, and before the latter could come up with them, they paſs'd the *Chevora* over a Stone-bridge, (which ought to have been broken down at the forming of the Siege) and drawing up their Army behind that River, with *Badajox* in their Reer, flung a Thouſand Grenadiers into the Place, leaving the Confederates to retire to their Camp without being able to hinder the Relief of the Town, by a Body of Troops that was ſcarce a third Part of their Number, it conſiſting only of 3000 Horſe and 5000 Foot, when theirs was upwards of 24000 effective Men.

Badajox being thus reliev'd, the Beſiegers withdrew their Artillery from the Batteries, and on the 17th decamp'd for *Elvas*, where they arriv'd the 19th following, and ſeparated, and went into Winter-Quarters. Various were Opinions about this Diſgrace; the Earl of *Gallway*'s Friends imputed it wholly to General *Fagel*; and on the contrary, thoſe that were Well-wiſhers to the General charg'd his Lordſhip with it, in the firſt Place, becauſe General *Fagel* was not at the Council of War, but on his Way homeward when the Siege was undertaken, and in the ſecond, becauſe his Lordſhip had ſo diſpoſed of the Troops, as to inveſt only Part of the Town, inſtead of the Whole. 'Tis true, the King of *Portugal* did his Lordſhip the Honour of a Letter of Condolance on the Loſs of his Arm, and the Queen his Miſtreſs made him a Preſent upon that Diſaſter: But as neither of theſe were of Force enough to juſtify his Conduct with his Enemies, ſo many as were impartial in their Sentiments to the two Generals, had very favourable Sentiments of the Baron *Fagel*'s Vindication, which he cauſed to be printed, and which it will not be improper to inſert on this Occaſion.

SIR,

" I Hope your Majeſty will pardon the Boldneſs I take to proſtrate myſelf at " your Royal Feet, and give you, by theſe Lines a Relation of what paſſed " the 14th Inſtant, when the Enemy threw Succours into *Badajox*.

" Having obtain'd Leave of their High Mightineſſes to return to *Holland*, I " thought to obtain the ſame Permiſſion of your Majeſty, when you order'd me " to repair to the Army, which I found before *Badajox*. I arrived there four Days " after the Opening of the Trenches, which was done without having ruined, or " poſſeſſed the Magazine the Enemy had at *Talavera*, two Leagues from the " Front of your Majeſty's Army, where was then 3 or 4000 of their Troops, " but they were conſiderably reinforced, when I arrived at the Army. I confeſs " I was of Opinion, that it was adviſeable to quit the Siege for a Time, in " order to march to the Enemy, and drive them from a Place which was ſo " near us; but, contrary to my Advice, the Siege was carried on. In the mean " Time the Enemy, who were but two Leagues from your Majeſty's Army, " having their Right towards the River *Guadiana*, were daily reinforced, and " your Majeſty's Army, ſo far from being able to ſurround and inveſt the " Town on all Sides, that they did only cover the Trenches. The Generals " of your Majeſty's Horſe were ordered to have conſtantly Parties abroad, to " obſerve the Enemy's Motions; being ſo near them, we feared to be ſurprized. " The Earl of *Galway* having had the Misfortune to have his Hand ſhot off, " the Function of *Meſtre de Camp* fell to me. The 12th. I gave the moſt exact " Orders poſſible, that the Generals ſhould have Notice of any Thing that " might occaſion an Alarm. I was willing alſo by Way of Precaution, to " have made Works to hinder the Execution of the Enemy's Deſign, but it " was too late. The Night between the 13th and 14th, at two in the Morning, " we had Notice given us by two Deſerters, that the Enemy were in Motion " ſince the Evening before, but they could not tell us on what Side of the Ri- " ver they march'd. I adviſed immediately the aſſembling all the Generals, " but came to no Reſolution; and it being fear'd the Enemy might march to " our Left, I propoſed to the Generals who were on Duty, that we ſhould all

" repair

" repair to the Left, in order to take there the neceſſary Meaſures. No Notice " being taken of what I ſaid, I reſolved to go thither in Perſon, and being ar- " rived there, the Generals gave me ſo many Aſſurances that the Enemy was " not moving, that I return'd in hopes of meeting the Marquis *das Minas*. I " was no ſooner gone, than Intelligence was brought me, that the Enemy " appear'd before our Poſts. I diſpatch'd immediately *Manuel d' Aſevedo* " *Fortes Tenente*, General under the Marquis *das Minas*, to give him " Notice that the Enemy were before our Flank, and deſired him to " join us forthwith. The Sieur *Manuel d'Aſevedo Fortes*, has ſince re- " ported to me, that he found the Marquis in his Quarters, that he mounted " on Horſeback immediately, and repaired to the Left, without loſs of Time, " I went myſelf, immediately to Count *St. Juan's* Poſt on the other Side of the " River, but did not arrive there, till the Van of the Enemy's Army had gained " the Bridge on the *Chevra*, and was already drawn up againſt us. I aſk'd all " the Generals and experienced Officers, *viz.* Lieutenant General *Windham*, " Major Generals *Harvey* and *Teghnagel*, Colonel *Baron* of *Winterfield*, Count " *St. Juan*, and Count *St. Vincent*, of your Majeſty's Troops, if they thought " it was ſtill poſſible for me to paſs the Army, and draw them up; but, by " reaſon, four Soldiers only could paſs over a Bridge, and that the two Fords " were likewiſe very narrow, and the Channel over the River large, all the Ge- " nerals and other Officers unanimouſly concluded it was not to be done, and " that I ought to draw up the Army on the other Side. Had the Generals thought " it poſſible, I would have ventured to paſs ſome Troops, in order to draw " them up before the Enemy's Front, and attack them; but it is highly proba- " ble they would not have ſuffered a Body ſtrong enough to fight them, to " paſs; and the Generals being of a contrary Opinion, I could not undertake " to paſs; the Army without their Conſent, and without the Approbation of " the General in Chief. In the mean Time I order'd Count *St. Juan* to with- " draw his Troops, leſt he ſhould be driven into the River: I went to the other " Side of the River to draw up the Troops that were already in Motion to paſs " it, and waited on the Banks of the ſame for the Arrival of the Marquis *das* " *Minas*, that I might follow his Directions. No Time was loſt; for the " Troops that were ſtill before the Camp moved on in order to paſs the ſooner. " Hereupon the Marquis *das Minas* arriv'd, and the Troops were likewiſe in Mo- " tion, in order to paſs the River and ſuſtain one another: But the Artillery " I had ſent for was not yet arrived: The Marquis *das Minas* having heard my " Report, did not only approve what I had done, but alſo ſtaid above an Hour " before he let the Army paſs, in order to fall upon the Enemy's Rear.

" *Sir*, I hope your Majeſty will pardon me, if I leave it to the General in " Chief to give your Majeſty an Account of the reſt that paſſed that Day: yet, " nevertheleſs, I have diſpatched with the preſent, the Baron of *Winterfield*, Co- " lonel in my Maſter's Armies, who is a ſkilful and experienc'd Officer, and " was preſent in all that happened, in caſe your Majeſty will be inform- " ed of ſome Particulars.

Sign'd *The Baron* de FAGEL.

News

News being brought to *Portugal* of the great Preparations made by the Court of *Madrid* againſt that of *Barcelona*, and their Reſolutions to beſiege that City, it was propos'd in a Council held at *Liſbon*, the King and the chief Generals preſent, to make a Diverſion in *Spain*, and hinder King *Philip* from ſtreightening the Affairs of King *Charles*. In order to this, it was reſolv'd to open the Campaign with the Siege of *Alcantara*. Accordingly the Troops left their Garriſons to form the Army. The greateſt Body, which was encamp'd near *Elvas*, between the *Caya* and *Cayala*, march'd on the laſt Day of *March* (*N. S.*) to *Salvador*, the 2d of *April* to *Mayorga*, and the 3d to St. *Vincent*, where the ſeveral Bodies join'd, to the Number of 26 *Portugueſe* Battalions, 5 *Engliſh*, 4 *Dutch*; 36 *Portugueſe* Squadrons, 2 *Engliſh*, and 4 *Dutch*; being provided with 24 Pieces of heavy Cannon for Battery, 12 Field Pieces, Proviſions for 24 Days, and Waggons and Carriages in Proportion. The 4th of *April* the Army advanc'd to *Membrilla's*, and encamp'd near the River *Selor*. The 5th and 6th was taken up in levelling the Roads and paſſing the River. The 7th it was reſolv'd to attack the Duke of *Berwick*, who was encamp'd at *Brocas*, and might have been entirely defeated, but for the Confederates being unacquainted with the Ground in thoſe Parts: So that the Rear was only put to flight, and ten of its Squadrons overthrown. The Army reſted themſelves the 8th at *Brocas*, and march'd on the 9th towards *Alcantara*, into which the Duke of *Berwick* had, three Days before, thrown ſeven Battalions, and which was formallly Beſieg'd on the 10th, the Trenches being open'd on the ſame Night. The Garriſon ſurrendered themſelves Priſoners of War on the 16th, and march'd out at the Breach, headed by Don *Miquel de Guaſco*, Mareſchal de Camp, and Don *Diego d'Avila*, Brigadier, in all 3282 Men. The 19th the Marquiſs *de Frontire* made the Garriſon of *Moraleja*, another fortify'd Town, likewiſe ſurrender at Diſcretion, after a Siege of three Days: It conſiſted of 400 regular Troops; under the Command of a *French* Governor; and on the 23d Don *Juan d'Atayda* did the ſame by *Coria*, and ſecur'd the Magazines juſt at the Time that Mr. *Jefforeville* was advancing that Way with twelve Squadrons to burn the Ovens and Stores the Enemy had in the Place. The Army broke up from *Coria* the 26th, and on the 27th reach'd *Galliſtro*, a little Town with pretty good Walls and a Caſtle, belonging to the *Conde* of that Name. The 28th they encamp'd at *Placentia*, where a Council of War was held about the farther Operation of the Campaign, and the Earl of *Gallway* inſiſted to march directly to *Madrid*, to which the *Portugueſe* would by Means conſent, as believing *Barcelona* to be loſt, by reaſon of its being beſieg'd by the *French*; and being of Opinion, that they ought to improve the Time, and poſſeſs themſelves of the Places upon the Frontiers before the Duke of *Berwick* was join'd by the Reinforcements he expected from *France*. However, they march'd as far as *Almaras*, and deſtroy'd the Bridge there, that the Enemy might have no Paſſage over that River from *Alcantara* to *Ponte de Arcobiſpo*.

Here another Council of War was held, the Reſult of which was to march into *Old Caſtile*, and attack *Ciudad Rodrigo*, from whence they might advance towards *Madrid* through *Salamanca*, in caſe they had News of the raiſing the Siege of *Barcelona*. On the 10th of *May* Don *Joſeph Belvis*, a Gentleman of one of the beſt Families in *Valencia*, arriv'd in the Camp from the Earl of *Peterborough*,

rough, with Advice, " That the Siege would draw out into Length, from the " Difficulties the Enemy met with, and would be rais'd at the Approach of the " Confederate Fleet, which would make it impoſſible for them to retreat thro' " *Arragon*, and oblige them to fetch a great Compaſs thro' *France*; wherefore " he deſir'd my Lord *Gallway* to march directly to *Madrid*, where he ſhould " be join'd as ſoon as poſſible by all the Forces that were on that Side." But this Meſſage, which ſhews that there was no want of Correſpondence on the Side of the Earl of *Peterborough*, made no Impreſſion on the *Portugueſe*; they would march backward to *Ciudad Rodrigo*, which they inveſted the 21ſt of *May*, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of by Articles on the 26th, that oblig'd the Garriſon not to bear Arms for the Space of a Year. On the 27th the Generals receiv'd the News of the raiſing the Siege of *Barcelona*, whereupon it was unanimouſly reſolv'd to march towards *Madrid*. They decamp'd from *Ciudad Rodrigo* the 2d of *June*, and arriv'd the 7th at *Salamanca*, from whence the Duke of *Berwick* retir'd towards the Paſs of *Guadarama*. From thence they ſent a Detachment to poſſeſs themſelves of *Alva de Tormes*, and put a Garriſon in the Caſtle; and on the 12th left *Salamanca*, taking *Peneranda* in their Way, where they receiv'd Deputies from *Segovia*. The 7th the Army encamp'd at *Villacarſeri*, where they erected Ovens and a Magazine under a Guard of one Battalion. The 18th they came to *Eſpinal*, where Deputies from the *Eſcurial* came to offer their Submiſſion, and on the 23d paſs'd the Mountain at the *Puerta de Guadarama*, and encamp'd near a Village of that Name, within a League and a half of the *Eſcurial*. The 24th the Army encamp'd at *Nueſtra Signora de Ratamal*, where they receiv'd Deputies from *Madrid*, ſent from the Nobility, Corrigidor, and all Perſons of Note, and where likewiſe the Earl of *Gallway* receiv'd Letters from King *Charles* and the Count *Noyelles*, importing, *That my Lord* Peterborough *had embark'd the Infantry for* Valencia, *where the King was to join him with all the Cavalry, and then march towards* Madrid.

On the 27th the Allies encamp'd near *Madrid* on the Banks of the *Manſanares*, where moſt of the Perſons of Diſtinction in that City came to ſee them, and caus'd King *Charles* to be proclaim'd in that City three Days after; which had Effect upon ſeveral Towns, amongſt which *Toledo* was the firſt, and Cardinal *Portacarero*, the Archbiſhop of it, wrote to the Marquis *das Minas*, and the Conde *de la Corſona*, aſſuring them in expreſs Terms of his Obedience to that Prince. On the 7th of *July* my Lord *Gallway* ſent the Captain of the Huſſars and 30 Troopers to the King by the Way of *Valencia*, to preſs his Majeſty to join the Army at *Madrid*; which Commander, tho' he loſt moſt of his Men by the Peaſants in his March, reach'd the King, *without any Letters for the* Earl *of* Peterborough, *becauſe it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe that his Lordſhip was with the King*; *and, upon that Suppoſition, according to the Rules of War and Decency, he thought that, out of Reſpect to his Majeſty, he ought to ſend* Him *all the Intelligence, and to* Him only. The 8th brought the Confederates News of the Revolt of the greateſt Part of thoſe Places in *Old Caſtile* that had declar'd for them, which retarded the coming up of the Convoy of Proviſions the Allies expected, cut off their Communication with *Portugal*, (*an unpardonable Neglect*) and hinder'd them from receiving any more Corn from the conquer'd Country. The Inhabitants of *Mancha* ſoon after took up Arms in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou*,

and the City of *Toledo* declared for, and proclaimed Him again. Theſe Conſiderations, backed with their want of Proviſions at *Madrid*, where thoſe they had contracted with to furniſh them with Bread, failed in the Performance, and the Murmurs of the Inhabitants who ſeemed One and All in another Intereſt, induced the Confederates to decamp from thence and march to *Alcala*, that they might be nearer their own Proviſions, which they did on the 11th of the Month, at the ſame time ſent ſome Detachments towards the *Mancha*, in order to reduce the Rebels; One of which conſiſting of 200 Horſe and 300 Foot, was obliged to fight a Body of Foot at *Quintanar*, and they defeated them; did it with the loſs of a Colonel of Horſe, who commanded the Party, five Captains, and fifty private Men.

The 15th of *July* the Confederate Generals march'd with the Horſe and Foot of the firſt Line to *Guadalaxara*, upon account as (*as they gave out*) the Goodneſs of the Air and Water, the Conveniency of Forage, and the Advantagiouſneſs of that Poſt; from whence they ſent the Quarter-Maſter-General *du Bourget*, to the King at *Saragoſſa*, to haſten his March to the Army; and having receiv'd an Anſwer to their Meſſage, that the King was to be at *Molina* in *Arragon* on the 28th, and deſir'd them to cover his March, that was to be within thirteen Leagues of the Enemy, they laid the Project which had been concerted to fortify *Toledo*, aſide, and reſolv'd to march towards the Enemy at *Xadraque*, which they did; and having recall'd their ſecond Line from *Alcola*, and being arrived near it, found the Van of the Enemy's Army marching towards them, who *repaſs'd the Defiles as ſoon as they perceiv'd the Allies*; but the Country was ſo difficult, that it was not poſſible to come to a general Engagement, and therefore the Armies did only Canonade each other, and Skirmiſh for two Days.

The Enemy's Camp being daily reinforced from *France*, the Confederates thought of returning to *Guadalaxara*, and encamped the firſt at *Junquiera*, and were follow'd by the Enemy, who encamped within two Leagues of them. On the 1ſt of *Auguſt* they marched from thence towards *Guadalaxara*, but *loſt their Communication with* Portugal, *by not poſting themſelves behind the* Caruma; *and marching from thence to* Guadalaxara, and obſerving that the Enemy deſigned to *force* them to a general Engagement, and put the River *Henares* between the Enemy and themſelves. The 2d of *Auguſt* the Duke of *Berwick* came, and encamped before the Allies, and on the 3d repoſſeſſed themſelves of *Madrid*, making ſome Miquelets that were left to garriſon the Caſtle, Priſoners of War.

To proceed: On the 6th, King *Charles*, attended by the Earl of *Peterborough* and the other Generals joined the Army at *Guadalaxara* with his Regiment of yellow Dragoons, which made four Squadrons; another of Horſe of Don *Pedro Moras*, making alſo four Squadrons in a very good Condition; and three compleat Battalions more, one *Italian* in his Majeſty's Pay, and two *Dutch*; which were followed two Days after by three Battalions more, one of *Caſtilians*, the other *Germans*, and the Royal Regiment of *Ruby*'s Dragoons, making three Squadrons, and that of *Pierce* one; which could not put them in a condition to go in queſt of the Enemy, who were ſuperior in Number to them (*but by whoſe Fault?*) both in Horſe and Foot.

The

The Earl of *Peterborough* ſtayed but a very little Time with the Army, but left it (*as my Lord* Gallway's *Vindicator gives out*) on account of the Marquis *das Minas* his refuſal to ſhare the Command according to his Propoſal; which, if true, adds very much to the Praiſe of the former, who would not ſubmit to let the *Portugueſe* take the Poſt of Honour of the *Engliſh*, out of their own Country, as that Lord did. To proceed, the Confederates having conſumed the Proviſions and Forage gathered at *Guadalaxara* in ſix Days after his Majeſty's Arrival, (*a great Token of their Preparations for the Reception of him and his Troops*) thought fit to march for *Chincon*, where they arrived the 14th of *Auguſt*, and continu'd a whole Month, nothing of Moment happening but ſome Skirmiſhes with the Enemy; which often happened to the Diſadvantage of the former, ſince the Peaſants always gave them wrong Intelligence, on account of their Willingneſs to get rid of them, which is an Argument likewiſe of the *ſtrict Diſcipline* they are ſaid to have kept.

At length the Confederate-Generals ſaw there were no hopes of receiving any more reinforcements either from *Portugal*, or from the Earl of *Peterborough* (who is falſely ſaid in the Lord *Gallway*'s Account, to have had 13 Battalions of *Valencia*, when the whole Body of Forces, *Engliſh* and other, amounted to no more than nine hundred Men) they reſolv'd to paſs the *Tagus*, which they did the 14th of *September*, and were joined by General *Wyndham* with three Battalions and a Regiment of Horſe, all of my Lord *Peterborough*'s raiſing, as likewiſe ſeaſonably ſupplied with Bread, Biſket, and other Proviſions for the Army, which his Lordſhip had generouſly accepted of in lieu of 10000*l.* the Town of *Hueta* would have preſented him with for the Loſs of his Equipage and Baggage.

The Enemy paſſed the *Tagus* at the ſame Time at *Aranjuez*, with all their Forces; and with a ſtrong Body of Horſe obſerved, and endeavoured to diſturb the March of the Allies; but they never found an Opportunity to attack them with Advantage: So that at laſt the later paſſed the *Xucar* near *Vilverdo*, from whence they march'd to *Montila*, and thence to *Peral*, where they ſtayed 'till the 25th, when the Duke of *Berwick* being informed that they were to march thro' a Plain to *Yniesta*, in order to draw near the *Xabriel*, drew all his Forces together, and advanced with ſo great Diligence in the Night, that his Van appeared in the Plain juſt as they began their March, the Confederate Army took their Quarters from *Requena* to *Denia*, having poſted themſelves at *Cofrentes*, and put a Garriſon into *Cuenca* (*which had not been done but for Count* Noyelles's *Advice*) they preſerved an Entrance into *Caſtile*, and at the ſame Time were able to protect thoſe Countries that had before ſubmitted to King *Charles*, who for the ſame Purpoſe ſent moſt of his own Troops into *Arragon*.

The Earl of *Peterborough*, being returned from *Italy*, and having performed his Commiſſions for Money with Succeſs, gave his Opinion in a Council of War held at *Valencia* the 15th of *January*, 170$\frac{6}{7}$. for the Confederates to be upon the Defenſive, (as has been already ſaid in that part of this Narrative that more particularly belongs to him) but by the Majority of the Generals, contrary to the Sentiments of his Catholic Majeſty, the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador, and the Count *Noyelles*, it was reſolved to act offenſively; which the Earl of *Rivers* perceiving at his Arrival with the Forces from *England*, declined making any Stay with

them, and in a few Days after Landing, ſail'd homewards, accompanied by the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Brigadier General *Gorges*.

What Effect thoſe unpremeditated Reſolutions had, may be ſeen by the fatal Battle of *Almanza*, that was fought on the 25th of *April* following, and which might have been avoided, had the Earl of *Gallway* not ſided with the *Portugueſe*; firſt, in the Attack of the Caſtle of *Villena*, which was of little or no Significance; and afterwards, falling upon an Enemy that was ſuperior to them, not only in Number but the Goodneſs of Troops, after they had been join'd by 10000 of the beſt Soldiers in *France*: But as the ſucceſsful March that was made in Sight of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Army before, was wholly to be imputed to the Earl of *Gallway*, ſo now his Lordſhip's Vindicator is ſo dextrous as to ſhift off the Misfortunes of this Battle upon the Marquis *das Minas*.

After this Defeat, from which his Lordſhip did not bring off 2500 effective Men, he retreated with the Remains of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Horſe to *Alegra*, and having left a Garriſon in that Place, and in *Xativa*, *Denia* and *Alicant*, march'd with the *Portugueſe* Cavalry, that ſav'd themſelves by Flight, to the other Side of the *Ebro*, near *Tortoſa*, in order to join the reſt of King *Charles*'s Forces, and defend the Province of *Catalonia*. The Reſult of this unfortunate Campaign was the Loſs of the Kingdom of *Valencia*, the ſtrong Town of *Lerida*, and the raiſing the Siege of *Toulon*, which was done by Forces from *Rouſſillion*, which could not have been ſpar'd, had the Confederates only acted upon the Defenſive.

Whom the Loſs of this Battle may be imputed to, may be ſeen by the following Letters.

Letter of the Count of Cardona's *from* Valencia, *May* 2. 1707.

"WE find ourſelves at this Time full of Regret by reaſon of the Loſs of "the Battle of *Almanza*, which might have been eaſily avoided, could "the Eagerneſs of the Earl of *Gallway* have been diverted; but the Matter "was carried ſo far, that neither the ſeveral Advices of the Officers the Day "before, nor thoſe of the Country People, which confirm'd the former, were "of any Effect towards making him alter his Deſign. However, the greateſt "Fault conſiſted not in rejecting the ſeveral Informations given him, but in "not falling upon the Enemies Flank, which might have been done eaſily. "This Overſight, together with the great Interval in the Middle of the main "Body, gave the Enemy an Opportunity to improve it to their own Advan-"tage, and wholly to cut off our right Wing, the Conſequence of which was, "that all the Cavalry fell upon the Infantry, now totally abandon'd, and cut "them all in Pieces.

"This unhappy Accident may juſtly make us fear more fatal Conſequences "than at preſent we can well imagine."

The

The Letter of Brigadier Drinborn's *to Count* de Noyelles.

My Lord,

" I Doubt not but the Baron *Frieſheim* hath already tranſmitted unto your " Excellency a Relation of the unfortunate Battle of *Almanza*; which was " ſuch, that it's impoſſible for me to give your Excellency an exact Account " of it. We quitted the Siege of the Caſtle of *Villena* on the 23d, having re- " ceiv'd Intelligence that the Enemy's Army was come to *Almanza*; and on " the ſame Day, after we had withdrawn our Men and Cannon, we march'd the " 24th as far as *Candette*; and after a Reſolution had been taken to attack the " Enemy, notwithſtanding their Superiority, who encamp'd four Leagues from " us, we began our March the 25th, early in the Morning, with ſuch Expedi- " tion, that by Noon we enter'd the Plain, by a Place call'd the Tower of Don " *Henry*, and found the Enemy had not decamp'd, as we flatter'd ourſelves " they would. We alſo found that their Army was join'd, and much ſtronger " than ours: However, we perſiſted in the Reſolution to fight them; and our " Army advancing on the Plain towards *Almanza*, my Lord *Gallway*, with a " Detachment, poſſeſs'd himſelf of ſome riſing Ground, leſs than a Mile and a " half diſtant from the Enemy's Front, from whence he could ſee their Army " drawn up in order of Battle, having the Town of *Almanza* in the Rear of " their main Body; which was ſo poſted, that the ſecond Line was near the " Walls, extending its right Wing on a riſing Ground, and the left into a great " Plain, having three Lines to the Wings, which were very cloſe. We were " commanded to extend ourſelves more and more towards the left; and ſeeing " we were too weak to equal their Front, this Wing was reinforced with *das* " *Minas*'s Horſe, that were drawn from the ſecond Line, which yet would not " do: And as my Lord *Gallway*'s Deſign was, he being then on our left, to " hem in the Enemy's right, by keeping us to extend ourſelves as we march'd " towards the left, with ſo much Precipitancy, without taking Notice, that " we did thereby make large Intervals between our main Body and the Wing; " yet we ſtill preſt on; and about three the Fight began towards the left: The " Enemy ſoon broke the *Engliſh* and *Portugueſe* Dragoons, but they rallied again. " The main Body came to engage at the ſame Time, ſo far as the *Portugueſe*, " who continued in the Rear, and our Infantry penetrated through the Enemy's " Body, who were deſtitute of Horſe to ſupport them. I ſuſtain'd the left " Wing with the firſt Squadron of my own Regiment; we broke in upon " them, and all that Battalion were made Priſoners, and their Colours taken by " my Troopers: At the ſame time two other of the Enemy's Battalions, that " they might ſuccour their main Body, which was then on the Rout, took my " Squadron in Flank, whoſe Fire we bore, and then were oblig'd to ſuccour the " Battalion of *Walderen*, who fought with their wonted Courage. The *Portu-* " *gueſe* did not come on all the while, but we ſaw their Horſe on the right, " who fell upon two or three Squadrons. There was, at that time, on the left, " no more than *de Neudes*'s, and one or two Batallions more, the two Squadrons " of *Harvey*, and my ſecond Squadron, with the *Dutch* Dragoons, who being " attack'd by a treble Line of Foot and Horſe, yet ſtood their Ground: But

the

" the Infantry, after they had rallied three times, were broke in upon by the " Enemy, and almoſt all cut to Pieces; ſo that our Troops being now routed " on all Sides by the Flight of the Left Wing, we found it very difficult to ſave " the Remainder of my Regiment, that of the Dragoon's, and that of *Harvey's*, " after we had charged ſeveral Times. In the mean time the Count *de Dona* " had rallied the Remains of Fourteen Regiments, and we were informed next " Day that he was retired to the Hills of *Don Henry*, and entrenched himſelf " there. I went out with a ſmall Detachment beyond *Catina*, becauſe they " flatter'd my Lord *Gallway* that he would defend himſelf ſtill if he had but " Proviſions. The Intention was to endeavour the Relief of thoſe Troops; " but I ſoon learn'd, that upon Summons, they had ſurrendred, though upon " a formal Capitulation, which was confirmed Yeſterday by Count *Dona* and " ſeveral other Officers. It is ſtrange, that ſo ſmall a Body ſhould, for ſo " long a Time, reſiſt the great Number of the Enemy; and ſome have aſſured " me, that the Priſoners taken in this Place, did not exceed 1500 Men. As " for the reſt of our Infantry, we have no more here than thoſe who guarded " the Baggage, and the Sick and Wounded in the Action at *Catina*. I have " found 147 recovered of their Wounds; this is the ſad Condition of our Army. " We ſhall leave ſome Men in Garriſon here, and for the reſt I cannot tell " what they will do, or how will they ſave themſelves. There is ſtill above " 100 good Horſe in my Regiment, and ſeveral wounded. Certainly there " was never ſuch a Piece of Work as we have made of it. I was not of the " Council of War, as not having received my Commiſſion for a General Offi- " cer; but I cannot underſtand how thoſe who have been the Cauſe of this Miſ- " fortune can anſwer it. However, I ſhall not enlarge upon this Head, but " wiſh I could ſpeak in Perſon to your Excellency; there is an abſolute Ne- " ceſſity for it, and to that End I endeavoured to go towards *Catalonia*; but " the Baron *de Frieſheim* refuſing me that Liberty, this has put me upon writing " in this Manner, being very ſorry I could not do it ſooner. The Evil is irre- " trievable, and I look upon our Affairs to be ruined; and I am afraid, when I " conſider the State and Management of our Affairs, that they will be attended " with fatal Conſequences. The Recruits are ſent towards *Tortoſa*, and Mon- " ſieur *Frieſheim* told me, that he would have them incorporated with our *Arra-* " *gon* Battalions. Your Excellency knows much better than I, after what " manner, if it be poſſible, this Misfortune may be redreſſed. My Lord *Gall-* " *way* has a broken Pate, *Das Minas* is Sick, and *Frieſheim* knows not what to " do in this Exigency. I wiſh I could have ſent better News to your Excellen- " cy, but God has ordered it otherwiſe, and the Blindneſs of our People was " the Occaſion of it.

Alcira, April the 30th, 1707.

A Secret Letter to the States of M. Schonenberg, *June* 1, 1707.

My Lords,

THO' I don't doubt but their High Mightineſſes ſhall have e'er this Time received a very exact and particular Account of what happened in the diſgraceful Battle of *Almanza*, yet I am of Opinion, they will by no means find the

the Circumſtances and Particulars herein mentioned, to be ſuperfluous. That under the Letter *A.* is an Original of the Count *de Noyelle's*, writ to me, accompanied with a full Relation of the Action under *B.* tranſmitted to his Excellency by Brigadier *Drinborn*, and the other under *C.* is an Extract and Tranſlation of the Remarks made by the Count *Cordona* Governor of the Kingdom of *Valencia*, on my Lord *Gallway*'s Conduct, in a Letter to King *Charles*'s Miniſter reſiding here. From all which it plainly appears with what little Coherence, and how indiſcreet Counſel, a Reſolution ſo unneceſſary, and yet of the higheſt Importance, was undertaken; with what blind Zeal and Confuſion they carried it on, and with what fatel Succeſs it was attended. It is alſo very remarkable, that we have not yet received at this Place, either one Scrip of Paper from the Marquis *das Minas*, the Earl of *Gallway*, or the Baron *de Frieſheim*; which makes us imagine, that the Two laſt, at leaſt my Lord *Gallway*, has ſent directly an ample Relation of the Fight, by a Frigate into *England*. To this give me leave only to ſubjoin that by the ſeveral Advices we have receiv'd from divers good Hands out of divers Quarters, the Confuſion among the reſpective Generals was ſo great, that they were almoſt all cut to Pieces, and the unbroken *Portugueſe* Cavalry, left the Kingdom of *Valencia*, and retired towards *Tortoſa* without diſputing the Paſſage of the River *Joncar* with the Enemy, who have already penetrated as far as *Valencia*; and in all Appearance the Garriſon left in the Caſtle of *Alicant*, cannot long hold out againſt them. In the mean Time his Majeſty has diſpatched the Marquis *d'Fuencalada*, a *Spaniſh* Gentleman, into *Italy*, to ſollicit for a ſpeedy and ſtrong Reinforcement of Foot and Dragoons; with which, the Imperial Court, notwithſtanding the preſſing Neceſſity of it, and the Conveniency ariſing from the Nearneſs of the Expedient, perhaps has no Inclination to comply with, will preſume it to be againſt their own particular Intereſts in *Italy*, unleſs their High Mightineſſes and the Queen of *Great-Britain* go roundly to work to haſten ſuch a Reinforcement ſo greatly wanted in *Spain*. The ſame Marquis is alſo ordered, after he has concluded his Buſineſs with the Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene*, to ſet forwards for the *Hague* and *London*, to repreſent the urgent Neceſſity of quick Supplies. As for this Court, they have been ſo far from employing what Forces they have on this Side, to make a ſpeedy and vigorous Diverſion in order to ſtop the Enemy; that they have on the contrary countermanded and ſent back thoſe Troops that were on the March from the Province of *Alentaja* to reinforce the Body of the Army about *Ciudad Rodrigo*, in order to cover, as much as poſſible, the Frontiers of *Algarve*, where the Enemies little Flying Camp under the Duke *d'Oſſuna* have taken the Town of *Serna*. Moreover, ſince the aforementioned little Army is augmented to about 5000 Men, Horſe and Foot, though chiefly Militia; and make a Shew of penetrating farther; I do my utmoſt by continual Repreſentations to the Court to let them ſee, that by the Junction of theſe Troops, and the Operations of ſuch a Body of Men, the Frontiers on this Side may not only be ſufficiently ſecur'd, but alſo that this only Succour which is yet at Hand, may ſeaſonably contribute to retrieve our Affairs, againſt the Progreſs of the Enemy in *Valencia*, and elſewhere, and oblige them to divide their Force for the Defence of their own Country; but that, on the contrary, by ſeparating this Army, they would be ſo far from covering the Frontiers of *Portugal*, that the Enemy would with more

Facility,

Facility attack and maſter the remote Quarters one after another, and even penetrate into the Heart of *Portugal*, without the leaſt Stop or Diverſion given to the Operations of their Grand Army againſt King *Charles*. All theſe, and ſeveral other convincing Arguments, make no Impreſſion on the timorous and obſtinate Counſels of the Miniſters, who content themſelves with proteſting, that if *England* and the States do not ſend ſpeedy and large Succours, they ſhall not only be incapable here, of making a Diverſion in favour of the *Common Cauſe*, but likewiſe be unable to defend and ſecure themſelves. I have ſo evidently ſet forth the cool Temper of this Council every Poſt, that it would be ſuperfluous to trouble their High Mightineſſes any more about it. Wherefore I recommend myſelf to their Favour, and leave it to their great Prudence, their Knowledge in Matters of State, and exemplary Zeal, to find out Expedients proper for the Good of the Common Cauſe, and the Service of our Country.

Count de Noyelles's *Letter to M.* Schonenberg.

My Lord,

THE Letter you did me the Honour to write to me on the 29th of *March*, came to my Hands; and I have communicated to the King your Thoughts in relation to what we may expect on the Side of *Portugal*. You will be ſurprized with the bad News contained in the Papers I do herewith ſend you.

It's matter of Amazement, to find People, without any Reaſon or Neceſſity, march four Leagues to find out an Enemy much ſtronger than themſelves, very advantageouſly poſted, and eager to engage; to alter the Scheme that had been laid and approved of by the King, that the Army ſhould march into *Arragon*, where there are Magazines already provided; where his Majeſty was to act in Perſon; and where being joined with 2000 Horſe under the Command of Count *de les Poebla*, and 3 *Dutch* Battalions, they ſhould have been at leaſt equal to the Enemy.

But what will ſurprize you the more is, that from the * 25th of the laſt Month, on which the Battle of *Almanza* was fought, to this very Day [*May* 6.] there has no Account been tranſmitted to the King from the General, which makes me believe they do not know what Turn to give it.

In ſhort, my Lord, they have play'd the Fool with themſelves, and we ſuffer here for it.

You may well imagine, how they have expoſed the Army and the King there; never did this Prince ſhew more Conſtancy than now, making a Virtue of Neceſſity; he has ſent for a Reinforcement of Foot from *Italy*.

The Frontiers of *Valencia* and *Arragon* are in great Danger; and if, with the Remains of their Army, they do not defend the Paſſage of the River *Ceucar*, the Firſt is loſt, and the other Kingdom is loſt, and the other Kingdom wherein there is no tenable Poſt, will be much expoſed: We have not been wanting to make neceſſary Remonſtrances to them, the Reſult of which we do not yet know.

* There is ſcarce ſuch an Inſtance of Neglect not to be met with in Hiſtory, and it is the more ſo, becauſe the Diſtance between *Almanza* and *Barcelona*, is not above 250 Miles.

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It has been propoſed to ſend the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe* Recruits, which were not in the Battle, to *Valencia* and *Tortoſa*.

It is abſolutely neceſſary, that a Diverſion ſhould be made on the Side of *Portugal*, by which Means the Enemy will be obliged to recall the Troops which they drew from thence to this Frontier.

Finally, my Lord, we will do what we can; though after all, our beſt will be bad enough.

I'll let you know the Conſequences of ſuch extravagant Management, and what Reaſon my Lord *Gallway* can give for ſuch extraordinary Conduct.

I am,

Barcelona, May 6. 1707.

C. de Noyelle.

In the Year 1708, the Earl of *Gallway* being recalled from *Spain* to his Embaſſy in *Portugal*, did not go into the Field on Account of the ill State of his Health: But next Spring (1709.) The Confederate Army under the Marquis *de Fronteira*'s and his Lordſhip's Command, having taken the Field about the End of *April*, came to an Engagement with the Forces under the Marquis *de Bay* on the 7th of *May*, where the latter with 5000 Horſe, took three *Engliſh* Regiments Priſoners, with their Commanding Officers, five Pieces of Cannon, and great part of the Army's Baggage, after putting the *Portugueſe* to flight, and making his Lordſhip, and his Secretary, Colonel *Bladen*, who both narrowly eſcaped, ride four Leagues about, 'till at laſt they join'd the Run-away Army near *Elvas*.

Upon this uninterrupted Courſe of Misfortunes, his Vindicator ſays, his Lordſhip deſir'd to be recall'd, and the Queen having at laſt granted his Requeſt, and appointed the Earl of *Portmore* to ſucceed him in the Command of the *Britiſh* Forces in *Portugal*, my Lord *Gallway* ſail'd for *England*, as ſoon as he heard his Succeſſor was ready to embark; and arriving in *London*, had the Honour to *kiſs the Queen*'s *Hand* at *St. James*'s, and met with a very gracious Reception.

Though that he has not had the ſame Honour from the Houſe of Peers, may be ſeen from their Lordſhip's Repreſentation to her Majeſty, where, that his Lordſhip is not Faultleſs, appears in his being charged jointly with *the Lord* Tyrawley *and General* Stanhope, *for inſiſting in a Conference held at* Valencia *ſome time in* January, 170$\frac{6}{7}$. *in the preſence of the King of* Spain, *and Her Majeſty*'s *Name being uſed in maintainance of their Opinion for an Offenſive War, contrary to the King of* Spain's *Opinion, and that of all the General Officers, and Public Miniſters there (except the Marquis* das Minas,) *and the Opinion of the Earl of* Gallway, *Lord* Tyrawley, *and General* Stanhope, *being purſu'd in the Operations of the following Campaign, was the unhappy Occaſion of the Battle of* Almanza, *and one great Cauſe of our Misfortunes in* Spain, *and of the Diſappointments of the Duke of* Savoy's *Expedition before* Toulon, *concerted with Her Majeſty.*

It is likewiſe repreſented by their Lordſhips to Her Majeſty, *That as the Earl of* Gallway *has, in yielding the Poſt of Her Majeſty's Troops to the* Portugueſe *in*

Spain, *acted contrary to the Honour of the Imperial Crown of* Great Britain, *ſo they find the Earl of* Peterborough, *during the Time he had the Honour of Commanding the Army in* Spain, *did perform many great and eminent Services, and if the Opinion he gave in the Council of War at* Valencia, *had been follow'd, it might very probably have prevented the Misfortunes that have ſince happen'd in* Spain, *&c.*

Yet, though their Lordſhips have not thought fit to give this Noble Perſon Thanks, or the ſame Acknowledgements as they have done to the Illuſtrious Earl of *Peterborough*; ſince a very able Pen has congratulated him upon his ill Succeſſes, after a very artful Manner; and it is not in my Power to preſent the Reader with any thing in Proſe, like what has been ſaid by the preſent Lord Keeper, in favour of his Antagoniſt, I think it not foreign to the purpoſe to conclude with the following moſt excellent Poem, which will ſhew how ready I am to make uſe of any Materials that are conducive to his Lordſhip's Praiſe, tho' I cannot allow them for his Juſtification.

To the Lord Gallway, *occaſion'd by the unfortunate Battle of* Almanza.

REpine not, Sir, at Fortune's partial Laws,
Who often frowns upon the juſter Cauſe:
The Lawrel-wreath, with like deſerv'd Renown,
May both the Victor and the Vanquiſh'd crown;
Nor mourn the ſwift Viciſſitudes of *Fate*,
That Name ſhould teach you what attends the Great:
Succeſsful Acts depend not on the Will,
And Virtue, though 'tis croſt, is Virtue ſtill.
Think on *Rome*'s Eagles by *Marcellus* led,
Think on the *Fabii* and *Emilius* dead,
Who to their Country ſacrificing all,
Roſe by Defeat, and triumph'd in their Fall.
Will not Great *Wiliam*'s Fame outlaſt the Sun?
And has not *Luxemburgh* a Battle won?
Churchill, 'tis own'd ne'er yielded to a Foe;
But *Pompey* was o'ercome, and *Cæſar* too.
Apply, great Sir, theſe juſt Examples Home,
Britain *can ne'er be more ingrate than* Rome.
Fate's dark Decrees did that black Day ordain,
That Wrong ſhould triumph, and Oppreſſion reign;
Yet *Gallway* long 'gainſt Numbers kept the Field,
Numbers by *Mars* led on, by *Jove* upheld,
With Fury ſo heroically great,
Repell'd the Torrent and diſputed Fate,
So well the *Chief* and *Soldier* did maintain,
That Victory was partial long in vain:
The Gods ſuſpected much their own Decree,
And Fate grew doubtful of her Deſtiny.
Thy honeſt Wounds will teſtify thy Fame,
And ſhow, tho' Fortune waves, that thour't the ſame.

Wounds

Wounds deck the Hero with diſtinguiſh'd Grace,
And write the beſt Encomium in his Face.
From thoſe red Monuments of Fame we're taught,
To think of nothing but how *Gallway* fought.
We view no more *Almanza* with Regret,
But in his Deeds our Country's Loſs forget.
The Painter's Pencil may with artful Care
Nicely deſcribe the Prelude of a War,
Or ſet the Hero in a glorious Light,
Eager of Fame, and burning for the Fight:
But who can tell the Vigilance and Pain
That fill'd thy Breaſt, and work'd thy lab'ring Brain;
Buſy to act the General's better Part,
And to ſupply the Want of Force with Art?
What Hand can paint thoſe unexampled Toils,
That mock'd the Victor's Arms, and ſham'd his Spoils;
That could retrieve that gallant ſlaughter'd Hoſt,
Which *Britiſh* Arms *unaided* had not loſt?
Berwick could now more humble Thoughts endure,
In Victory itſelf but ill ſecure.
The Warrior's Wreath he drop'd, and bluſh'd to own,
The fruitleſs Trophies he ſo late had won.
Is this the Harveſt which my Lawrels bear,
And do my boaſted Triumphs vaniſh here?
Are theſe th' Effects of ſlaughter'd Foes? *He ſaid,*
Thus *Pyrrhus* vanquiſh'd, and thus *Pyrrhus* fled.
What means this Riddle in the conquering Cauſe?
Or ſure my Fancy gives my Judgment Laws,
And never ſuch a Scene of Triumph roſe,
Or *Hydra*'s are renew'd in *Britiſh* Foes,
Or ſome nocturnal Fantom *France* deceives,
And decks my Brow with viſionary Wreaths.
Not ſo: Unerring *Gallway*'s prudent Aim
Retards the Progreſs of my growing Fame,
He ſtill determines all Events in One,
To croſs my Meaſures, and advance his own;
And as to Nutriment Men Poiſons turn,
Makes ev'n malignant Planets kindly burn.
Such Praiſe I muſt (however ſo ſevere
The Sound may prove in Royal *Philip*'s Ear)
On my great Adverſary's Worth beſtow,
And love the Warrior, tho' I hate the Foe.
He ſpoke, and did the adverſe Chief behold,
With Valour cautious, and with Caution bold;
Buſy his ſhatter'd Legions to repair,
And give a different Proſpect to the War:

Induſtrious each commodious Ground to gain,
And watchful to redeem *Almanza*'s Plain.
So when fierce *Hannibal* (his Foes o'ercome)
Inſulted *Italy*, and threatned *Rome*,
The wary *Fabius*, with deluſive Wiles,
And cunning Feints, the Conqueror beguiles;
Watchful and wiſe diverts impending Fate,
And, by *delaying well*, preſerves the State.
Homer, who beſt of Poets underſtood
To temper Heroes, or to form a God,
Makes bold raſh Heat to cooler Conduct yield,
And Hotſpur *Mars* to *Pallas* quits the Field.

The Humble *Repreſentation* of the Houſe of COMMONS to the *QUEEN*, with *Her Majeſty's* Moſt Gracious Anſwer thereunto. By the Right Hon. Sir *Thomas Hanmer*. Printed in the Year 1712.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament aſſembled, having nothing ſo much at Heart, as to enable your Majeſty to bring this long and expenſive War to an honourable and happy Concluſion; have taken it into our moſt ſerious Conſideration, how the neceſſary Supplies to be provided by us, may be beſt applied, and how the Common Cauſe may in the moſt effectual Manner be carried on by the united Force of the whole Confederacy. We have thought ourſelves obliged in Duty to Your Majeſty, and in Diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in us, to enquire into the true State of the War in all its Parts; we have examin'd what Stipulations have been entered into between Your Majeſty and Your Allies, and how far ſuch Engagements have on each Side been made good; We have conſidered the different Intereſts the Confederates have in the Succeſs of this War, and the different Shares they have contributed to its Support; We have with our utmoſt Care and Diligence endeavoured to diſcover the Nature, Extent, and Charge of it, to the End that by comparing the Weight thereof with our own Strength, we might adapt the one to the other in ſuch Meaſure, as not to continue Your Majeſty's Subjects under a heavier Burden than in Reaſon and Juſtice they ought to bear, nor deceive Your Majeſty, Your Allies, and ourſelves by undertaking more than the Nation in its preſent Circumſtance is able to perform.

Your Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed, upon our humble Applications, to order ſuch Materials to be laid before us, as have furniſhed us with the neceſſary Information upon the Particulars we have enquired into; and when we ſhall have laid before your Majeſty our Obſervations and humble Advice upon this Subject, we promiſe to ourſelves this happy Fruit from it, That if Your

Majeſty's

Majeſty's generous and good Purpoſes for the procuring a ſafe and laſting Peace ſhould, through the Obſtinacy of the Enemy, or by any other Means, be unhappily defeated; a true Knowledge and Underſtanding of the paſt Conduct of the War, will be the beſt Foundation for a more frugal and equal Management of it for the Time to come.

In Order to take the more perfect View of what we propoſed, and that we might be able to ſet the Whole before Your Majeſty in a true Light, we have thought it neceſſary to go back to the Beginning of the War, and beg Leave to obſerve the Motives and Reaſons upon which his late Majeſty King *William* firſt engag'd in it. The Treaty of the Grand Alliance explains thoſe Reaſons to be for ſupporting the Pretenſions of his Imperial Majeſty, then actually engaged in a War with the *French* King, who had uſurp'd the entire *Spaniſh* Monarchy for his Grandſon the Duke of *Anjou*: And for the aſſiſting the States-General, who, by the Loſs of their Barrier againſt *France*, were then in the ſame or a more dangerous Condition, than if they were actually invaded. As theſe were the juſt and neceſſary Motives for undertaking this War, ſo the Ends propoſed to be obtained by it were equally Wiſe and Honourable: For as they are ſet forth in the Eighth Article of the ſame Treaty, they appear to have been, the procuring an equitable and reaſonable Satisfaction to his Imperial Majeſty, and ſufficient Securities for the Dominions, Provinces, Navigation, and Commerce of the King of *Great-Britain* and the States-General; the making effectual Proviſion that the two Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain* ſhould never be united under the ſame Government, and particularly, that the *French* ſhould never get into the Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, or be permitted to ſail thither upon the Account of Traffick, under any Pretence whatſoever; and laſtly, the ſecuring to the Subjects of the King of *Great-Britain* and the States-General, all the ſame Privileges and Rights of Commerce throughout the whole Dominions of *Spain*, as they enjoyed before the Death of *Charles* the Second King of *Spain*, by Virtue of any Treaty, Agreement, Cuſtom, or any other Way whatſoever. For the obtaining theſe Ends, the three Confederated Powers engaged to aſſiſt one another with their whole Force, according to ſuch Proportions as ſhould be ſpecified in a particular Convention afterwards to be made for that Purpoſe: We do not find that any ſuch Convention was ever ratified; but it appears, that there was an Agreement concluded, which by common Conſent was underſtood to be binding upon each Party reſpectively, and according to which the Proportions of *Great-Britain* were from the Beginning regulated and founded: The Terms of that Agreement were, That for the Service at Land, his Imperial Majeſty ſhould furniſh 90,000 Men, the King of *Great-Britain* 40,000, and the States-General 100,000, of which there were 40,000 intended to ſupply their Garriſons, and 60,000 to act againſt the Common Enemy in the Field; and with regard to the Operations of the War at Sea, they were agreed to be performed Jointly by *Great-Britain* and the States-General; the Quota of Ships to be furniſhed for that Service, being five Eighths on the Part of *Great-Britain*, and three Eighths on the Part of the States-General.

Upon this Foot the War began in the Year 1702, at which Time the whole yearly Expence of it to *England*, amounted to 3,706,494 Pounds; a very great Charge, as it was then thought by your Majeſty's Subjects, after the ſhort Interval

val of Eaſe they had enjoy'd from the Burden of the former War; but yet a very moderate Computation in Compariſon with the Load which hath ſince been laid upon them; for it appears, by Eſtimates given in to your Commons, that the Sums neceſſary to carry on the Service for this preſent Year, in the ſame Manner as it was performed the laſt Year, amount to more than 6690000 Pounds, beſides the Intereſt of the Publick Debt, and the Deficiencies accruing the laſt Year; which two Articles require 1143000 Pounds more: So that the whole Demands upon Your Commons, are riſen to more than 8000000*l.* for the preſent annual Supply. We know your Majeſty's tender Regard for the Welfare of your People will make it uneaſy to you to hear of ſo great a Preſſure as this upon them; and as we are fully convinced of the Neceſſity of our preſent Enquiry, ſo we beg Leave to repreſent to You from what Cauſes, and by what Steps this immenſe Charge appears to have grown upon us.

The Service at Sea, as it hath been very large and extenſive in itſelf, ſo it hath been carried on through the whole Courſe of the War, in a Manner highly diſadvantageous to Your Majeſty and Your Kingdom; for the Neceſſity of Affairs requiring, that great Fleets ſhould be fitted out every Year, as well for the maintaining a Superiority in the Mediterranean, as for oppoſing any Force which the Enemy might prepare, either at *Dunkirk* or in the Ports of *Weſt-France*, Your Majeſty's Example and Readineſs in fitting out your Proportion of Ships for all Parts of that Service, have been ſo far from prevailing with the States-General to keep Pace with You, that they have been deficient every Year to a great Degree, in Proportion to what Your Majeſty hath furniſhed, ſometimes two Thirds, and generally more than Half their Quota. From hence Your Majeſty has been obliged, for the preventing Diſappointments in the moſt preſſing Services, to ſupply thoſe Deficiencies by additional Reinforcements of Your own Ships; Nor hath the ſingle Increaſe of ſuch a Charge been the only ill Conſequence that attended it; for by this Means the Debt of the Navy has been inhanced, ſo that the Diſcounts ariſing on the Credit of it, have affected all other Parts of the Service; from the ſame Cauſe, Your Majeſty's Ships of War have been forced in greater Numbers to continue in remote Seas, and at unſeaſonable Times of the Year, to the great Damage and Decay of the *Britiſh* Navy: This alſo hath been the Occaſion, that Your Majeſty hath been ſtreighten'd in Your Convoys for Trade, Your Coaſts have been expoſed for want of a ſufficient Number of Cruizers to guard them, and You have been diſabled from annoying the Enemy in their moſt beneficial Commerce with the *Weſt-Indies*, from whence they receive thoſe vaſt Supplies of Treaſure, without which they could not have ſupported the Expences of this War.

That Part of the War which hath been carried on in *Flanders*, was at firſt immediately neceſſary to the Security of the States-General, and hath ſince brought them great Acquiſitions both of Revenue and Dominion: Yet, even there, the Original Proportions have been departed from, and, during the Courſe of the War, have been ſinking by Degrees on the Part of *Holland*; ſo that, in this laſt Year, we find the Number in which they fell ſhort of their Three Fifths to Your Majeſty's Two Fifths, to have been 20837 Men. We are not unmindful, that in the Year 1703, a Treaty was made between the two Nations, for a joint Augmentation of 20000 Men, wherein the Proportions were

were varied, and *England* conſented to take Half upon itſelf: But it having been annexed, as an expreſs Condition to the Grant of the ſaid Augmentation in Parliament, That the States-General ſhould prohibit all Trade and Commerce with *France*; and that Condition having not been performed by them, the Commons think it reaſonable, that the firſt Rule of Three to Two ought to have taken Place again, as well in that as in other ſubſequent Augmentations: more eſpecially when they conſider, that the Revenues of thoſe rich Provinces which have been conquered, would, if they were duly applied, maintain a great Number of new additional Forces againſt the Common Enemy, yet notwithſtanding which, the States-General have raiſed none on that Account, but make Uſe of thoſe freſh Supplies of Money, only to eaſe themſelves in the Charge of their firſt eſtabliſh'd Quota.

As in the Progreſs of the War in *Flanders*, a Diſproportion was ſoon created, to the Prejudice of *England*, ſo the very Beginning of the War in *Portugal* brought an unequal Share of Burden upon us. For, altho' the Emperor and the States-General were equally Parties with Your Majeſty in the Treaty with the King of *Portugal*, yet the Emperor neither furniſhing his Third Part of the Troops and Subſidies ſtipulated for, nor the *Dutch* conſenting to take an equal Share of his Imperial Majeſty's Defect upon themſelves, Your Majeſty hath been obliged to furniſh Two Thirds of the entire Expence created by that Service. Nor has the Inequality ſtopped there; for ever ſince the Year 1706, when the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Forces march'd out of *Portugal* into *Caſtile*, the States-General have entirely abandon'd the War in *Portugal*, and left Your Majeſty to proſecute it ſingly at your own Charge, which You have accordingly done, by replacing a greater Number of Troops there, than even at firſt You took upon You to provide. At the ſame Time, Your Majeſty's generous Indeavours for the Support and Defence of the King of *Portugal*, have been but ill ſeconded by that Prince himſelf; for notwithſtanding that by his Treaty he had obliged himſelf to furniſh 12,000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe, upon his own Account, beſides 11,000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe more, in Conſideration of a Subſidy paid to him; yet, according to the beſt Information Your Commons can procure, it appears, that he hath ſcarce at any Time furniſhed 13,000 Men in the Whole.

In *Spain* the War hath been yet more unequal and burdenſome to Your Majeſty, than in any other Branch of it; for being commenced without any Treaty whatſoever, the Allies have almoſt wholly declined taking any Part of it upon themſelves. A ſmall Body of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Troops were ſent thither in the Year 1705, not as being thought ſufficient to ſupport a Regular War, or to make the Conqueſt of ſo large a Country, but with a View only of aſſiſting the *Spaniards* to ſet King *Charles* upon the Throne, occaſion'd by the great Aſſurances which were given of their Inclinations to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. But this Expectation failing, *England* was inſenſibly drawn into an eſtabliſh'd War, under all the Diſadvantages of the Diſtance of the Place, and the feeble Efforts of the other Allies. The Account we have to lay before your Majeſty, upon this Head, is, That altho' this Undertaking was enter'd upon at the particular and earneſt Requeſt of the Imperial Court, and for a Cauſe of no leſs Importance and Concern to them, than the reducing the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of

Auſtria:

But this Expectation failing, *England* was inſenſibly drawn into an eſtabliſhed War, under all the Diſadvantages of the Diſtance of the Place, and the feeble Efforts of the other Allies. The Account we have to lay before Your Majeſty, upon this Head, is, That altho' this Undertaking was enter'd upon at the particular and earneſt Requeſt of the Imperial Court, and for a Cauſe of no leſs Importance and Concern to them, than the Reducing the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; yet neither the late Emperors, nor his preſent Imperial Majeſty, have ever had any Forces there on their own Account, till the laſt Year, and then only one Regiment of Foot, conſiſting of 2000 Men. Tho' the States-General have contributed ſomething more to this Service, yet their Share alſo hath been inconſiderable; for in the Space of Four Years, from 1704, to 1707, both incluſive, all the Forces they have ſent into that Country, have not exceeded 12,200 Men; and from the Year 1708, to this Time, they have not ſent any Forces or Recruits whatſoever. To your Majeſty's Care and Charge, the Recovery of that Kingdom hath been in a Manner wholly left, as if none elſe were intereſted or concerned in it: And the Forces which Your Majeſty hath ſent into *Spain*, in the Space of Seven Years, from 1705, to 1711, both incluſive, have amounted to no leſs than 57,973 Men, beſides 13 Battalions and Eighteen Squadrons, for which your Majeſty hath paid a Subſidy to the Emperor. How great the eſtabliſhed Expence of ſuch a Number of Men hath been, Your Majeſty very well knows, and Your Commons very ſenſibly feel: But the Weight will be found much greater, when it is conſidered how many heavy Articles of unuſual and extraordinary Charge have attended this remote and difficult Service; all which have been entirely defrayed by Your Majeſty, except that one of Tranſporting the few Forces which were ſent by the States-General, and Victualling of them, during their Tranſportation only. The Accounts delivered to Your Commons ſhew, That the Charge of Your Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels employed in the Service of the War in *Spain* and *Portugal*, reckon'd after the Rate of Four Pounds a Man per Month, from the Time they ſailed from hence, till they returned, were loſt, or put upon other Services, hath amounted to 6,540,966 *l.* 14 *s.* The Charge of Tranſports, on the Part of *Great-Britain*, for carrying on the War in *Spain* and *Portugal* from the Beginning of it till this Time hath amounted to 1,336,719 *l.* 19 *s.* and 11 *d.* That of Victualling Land Forces for the ſame Service, to 583,770 *l.* 8 *s.* and 6 *d.* and that of Contingencies, and other Extraordinaries for the ſame Service, to 1,840,353 *l.*

We ſhould take Notice to Your Majeſty, of ſeveral Sums paid upon Account of Contingencies and Extraordinaries in *Flanders*, making together the Sum of 1,107,096 *l.* But we are not able to make any Compariſon of them, with what the States-General have expended upon the ſame Head, having no ſuch State of their extraordinary Charge before us. There remains, therefore, but one Particular more for Your Majeſty's Obſervation, which ariſes from the Subſidies paid to Foreign Princes: Theſe, at the Beginning of the War, were borne in equal Proportion by your Majeſty and the States-General; but in this Inſtance alſo the Ballance hath been caſt in Prejudice of Your Majeſty and the States-General: For it appears, That your Majeſty hath ſince advanced more than Your equal Proportion, 3,155,000 Crowns, beſides Extraordinaries

paid

paid in *Italy*, and not included in any of the foregoing Articles, which ariſe to 539,000,553 *l.*

We have laid theſe ſeveral Particulars before Your Majeſty, in the ſhorteſt Manner we have been able; and by an Eſtimate grounded on the preceding Facts, it does appear, That over and above the Quota's on the Part of *Great-Britain*, anſwering to thoſe contributed by Your Allies, more than 19,000,000 *l.* have been expended by Your Majeſty during the Courſe of this War, by way of Surpluſage or Exceeding, in Ballance of which, none of the Confederates have furniſhed any thing whatſoever.

It is with very great Concern, that we find ſo much Occaſion given us to repreſent, how ill an Uſe hath been made of Your Majeſty's and Your Subjects Zeal for the Common Cauſe, that the Intereſt of that Cauſe hath not been proportionably promoted by it, but others only hath been eaſed at Your Majeſty's and your Subjects Coſt, and have been connived at in laying their Part of the Burden upon this Kingdom, altho' they have upon all Accounts been equally, and, in moſt reſpects, much more nearly concerned, than *Britain*, in the Iſſue of the War. We are perſuaded, Your Majeſty will think it pardonable in us, with ſome Reſentment to complain of the little Regard which ſome of thoſe, whom Your Majeſty of late Years entruſted, have ſhewn to the Intereſts of their Country, in giving way, at leaſt, to ſuch unreaſonable Impoſitions upon it, if not in ſome Meaſure contriving them: The Courſe of which Impoſitions hath been ſo ſingular and extraordinary, that the more the Wealth of this Nation hath been exhauſted, and the more Your Majeſty's Arms have been attended with Succeſs, the heavier hath been the Burden laid upon us; whilſt on the other Hand, the more vigorous Your Majeſty's Efforts have been, and the greater the Advantages, which have redounded thence to your Allies, the more thoſe Allies have abated in their Share of the Expence.

At the firſt Entrance into this War, the Commons were induced to exert themſelves in the moſt extraordinary Manner they did, and to grant ſuch large Supplies, as had been unknown to former Ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the Miſchiefs of a Lingring War, and to bring that, in which they were neceſſarily engaged, to a ſpeedy Concluſion: But they have been very unhappy in the Event, whilſt they have ſo much Reaſon to ſuſpect, That what was intended to ſhorten the War, hath proved the very Cauſe of its long Continuance; for thoſe to whom the Profits of it have accrued, have not been diſpoſed eaſily to forgo them: And Your Majeſty will from thence diſcern the true Reaſon, why ſo many have delighted in a War, which brought in ſo rich an Harveſt Yearly from *Great-Britain*.

We are as far from deſiring, as we know Your Majeſty will be from concluding, any Peace, but upon ſafe and honourable Terms; and we are as far from intending to excuſe ourſelves from raiſing all neceſſary aud poſſible Supplies for an effectual Proſecution of the War, till ſuch Peace can be obtained. All that Your Faithful Commons aim at, All that they wiſh, is, an equal Concurrence from the other Powers engaged in Alliance with Your Majeſty, and a juſt Application of what hath been already gained from the Enemy towards promoting the Common-Cauſe. Such large Countries and Territories have been reſtored to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; ſuch as the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Dutchy of *Milan*,

and other Places in *Italy:* Others have been conquered, and added to their Dominions, as the two Electorates of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, the Dutchy of *Mantua*, and the Biſhoprick of *Liege*: Theſe having been reduced in great Meaſure by our Blood and Treaſure, may, we humbly conceive, with great Reaſon be claimed to come in Aid towards carrying on the War in *Spain*; and therefore we make it our earneſt Requeſt to Your Majeſty, That you will give Inſtructions to your Miniſters to inſiſt with the Emperor, that the Revenues of thoſe ſeveral Places, excepting only ſuch a Portion thereof as is neceſſary for their Defence, be actually ſo applied. And as to the other Parts of the War, to which Your Majeſty hath obliged Yourſelf by particular Treaties to contribute, we humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, That you will be pleaſed to take effectual Care that your Allies do perform their Parts ſtipulated by thoſe Treaties; And that Your Majeſty will, for the future, no otherwiſe furniſh Troops or pay Subſidies, than in Proportion to what your Allies ſhall actually furniſh and pay. When this Juſtice is done to Your Majeſty, and to Your People, there is nothing which Your Commons will not chearfully grant, towards ſupporting Your Majeſty in the Cauſe in which You are engaged. And whatever farther ſhall appear to be neceſſary for carrying on the War, either at Sea or Land, we will effectually enable Your Majeſty to bear Your reaſonable Share of any ſuch Expence, and will ſpare no Supplies which Your Subjects are able, with their utmoſt Efforts, to afford.

After having enquired into, and conſidered the State of the War, in which the Part Your Majeſty has borne appears to have been not only ſuperior to that of any one Ally, but even equal to that of the whole Confederacy: Your Commons naturally inclined to hope, that they ſhould find, Care had been taken of ſecuring ſome particular Advantages to *Britain*, in the Terms of a future Peace; ſuch as might afford a Proſpect of making the Nation amends in time for that immenſe Treaſure which hath been expended, and thoſe heavy Debts which have been contracted in the Courſe of ſo long and burdenſome a War. This reaſonable Expectation could no way have been better anſwer'd, than by ſome Proviſion made for the farther Security, and the greater Improvement, of the Commerce of *Great-Britain*: But we find ourſelves ſo very far diſappointed in theſe Hopes, that a Treaty not long ſince concluded between Your Majeſty and the States-General, under Colour of a mutual Guaranty given for two Points of the greateſt Importance to both Nations, the Succeſſion and the Barrier, it appears, the Intereſt of *Great-Britain* hath been not only neglected, but ſacrificed; and that ſeveral Articles in the ſaid Treaty, are deſtructive to the Trade and Welfare of this Kingdom.

Your Commons obſerve, in the firſt Place, that ſeveral Towns and Places are by Virtue of this Treaty, to be put into the Hands of the States-General; particularly *Newport*, *Dendermond*, and the Caſtle of *Ghent*; which can, in no Senſe, be look'd upon as Part of a Barrier againſt *France*; but being the Keys of the *Netherlands* towards *Britain*, muſt make the Trade of your Majeſty's Subjects in thoſe Parts precarious; and whenever the States think fit, totally exclude them from it. The pretended Neceſſity of putting theſe Places into the Hands of the States-General, in order to ſecure to them a Communication with their

Barrier,

Barrier, muſt appear vain and groundleſs: For the Sovereignty of the Low-Countries, being not to remain to an Enemy, but to a Friend an Ally, that Communication muſt be always ſecure and uninterrupted: Beſides, that in caſe of a Rupture, or an Attack, the States have full Liberty allowed them to take Poſſeſſion of all the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and therefore needed no particular Stipulation for the Towns abovementioned.

Having taken notice of this Conceſſion made to the States-General for ſeizing upon the whole Ten Provinces, we cannot but obſerve to Your Majeſty, That in the Manner this Article is framed, it is another dangerous Circumſtance which attends this Treaty: For had ſuch a Proviſion been confined to the Caſe of an apparent Attack from *France* only, the avowed Deſign of this Treaty had been fulfilled, and Your Majeſty's Inſtructions to your Ambaſſador had been purſued: But this neceſſary Reſtriction hath been omitted; and the ſame Liberty is granted to the States to take Poſſeſſion of all the *Netherlands*, whenever they think themſelves attack'd by any other neighbouring Nations, as when they ſhall be in Danger from *France*; ſo that, if it ſhould at any Time happen (which Your Commons are very unwilling to ſuppoſe) that they ſhould quarrel even with Your Majeſty; the Riches, Strength, and advantageous Situation of theſe Countries may be made uſe of againſt Yourſelf, without whoſe generous and powerful Aſſiſtance they had never been conquered.

To return to thoſe ill Conſequences which relate to the Trade of theſe Kingdoms, we beg Leave to obſerve to Your Majeſty, That tho' this Treaty revives and renders Your Majeſty a Party to the 14th and 15th Articles of the Treaty of *Munſter*, by Virtue of which, the Impoſition upon Goods and Merchandizes brought into the *Spaniſh* Low-Countries by Sea, are to equal thoſe laid on Goods and Merchandizes imported by the *Scheld*, and the Canals of *Saſs* and *Swyn*, and other Mouths of the Sea adjoining; Yet no care is taken to preſerve that Equality, upon the Exportation of thoſe Goods out of the *Spaniſh* Provinces, into thoſe Countries and Places, which by Virtue of this Treaty are to be in the Poſſeſſion of theſe States. The Conſequence of which muſt in time be, and Your Commons are informed that in ſome Inſtances it has already proved to be the Caſe, that the Impoſitions upon Goods carried into thoſe Countries and Places by the Subjects of the States-General, will be taken off, whilſt thoſe upon the Goods imported by Your Majeſty's Subjects remain; by which Means *Great-Britain* will entirely loſe this moſt beneficial Branch of Trade, which it hath been in all Ages poſſeſſed of, even from the Time when thoſe Countries were govern'd by the Houſe of *Burgundy*, one of the moſt ancient, as well as the moſt uſeful Allies to the Crown of *England*.

With Regard to the other Dominions and Territories of *Spain*, Your Majeſty's Subjects have always been diſtinguiſhed in their Commerce with them, and both by ancient Treaties and an uninterrupted Cuſtom, have enjoyed greater Privileges and Immunities of Trade, than either the *Hollanders*, or any other Nation whatſoever. And that wiſe and excellent Treaty of the Grand Alliance, provides effectually for the Security and Continuance of thoſe valuable Privileges to *Britain*, in ſuch a Manner, as that each Nation might be left upon the ſame Foot at the End of the War as it ſtood at the Commencement of it. But this Treaty we now complain of, inſtead of confirming

Your Subjects Rights, ſurrenders and deſtroys them: For, altho' by the 16th and 17th Articles of the Treaty of *Munſter*, made between his Catholick Majeſty and the States-General, all Advantages of Trade are ſtipulated for, and granted to the *Hollanders*, equal to what the *Engliſh* enjoyed; yet, the Crown of *England* not being a Party to that Treaty, the Subjects of *England* have never ſubmitted to thoſe Articles of it, nor even the *Spaniards* themſelves ever obſerved them: But this Treaty revives thoſe Articles in prejudice of *Great-Britain*, and makes your Majeſty a Party to them, and even a Guarantee to the States-General for Privileges againſt Your own People.

In how deliberate and extraordinary a Manner Your Majeſty's Ambaſſador conſented to deprive Your Subjects of their ancient Rights, and Your Majeſty of the Power of procuring to them any new Advantage, moſt evidently appears from his own Letters, which, by Your Majeſty's Directions, have been laid before Your Commons: For when Matters of Advantage to Your Majeſty and Your Kingdom had been offered as proper to be made Parts of this Treaty, they were refuſed to be admitted upon this Reaſon and Principle, That nothing Foreign to the Guaranties of the Succeſſion and of the Barrier ſhould be mingled with them: Notwithſtanding which, the States-General had no ſooner received Notice of a Treaty of Commerce concluded between Your Majeſty and the preſent Emperor, but they departed from the Rule propoſed before, and inſiſted upon the Article of which Your Commons now complain, which Article Your Majeſty's Ambaſſador allowed of, altho' equally Foreign to the Succeſſion, or the Barrier; and altho' he had for that Reaſon departed from other Articles which would have been for the Service of his own Country.

We have forborn to trouble Your Majeſty with general Obſervations upon this Treaty, as it relates to, and affects the Empire, and other Parts of *Europe*. The Miſchiefs which ariſe from it to *Great-Britain*, are what only we have preſumed humbly to repreſent to you. As they are very evident, and very great, and as it appears that the Lord Viſcount *Townſhend* had not any Orders or Authority for concluding ſeveral of thoſe Articles, which are moſt prejudicial to Your Majeſty's Subjects, we thought we could do no leſs, than declare your ſaid Ambaſſador, who negotiated and ſigned, and all others who adviſed the ratifying this Treaty, Enemies to Your Majeſty, and Your Kingdom.

Upon theſe faithful Informations and Advices from Your Commons, we aſſure ourſelves, Your Majeſty in Your great Goodneſs to Your People, will reſcue them from thoſe Evils, which the private Councils of ill-deſigning Men may have expoſed them to; And that in Your great Wiſdom You will find ſome Means for the explaining and amending the ſeveral Articles of this Treaty, ſo as that they may conſiſt with the Intereſt of *Great-Britain*, and with a real and laſting Friendſhip between Your Majeſty and the States-General.

Her MAJESTY's Moſt Gracious Anſwer.

THIS Repreſentation is a farther Inſtance of that Dutiful Affection to My Service, and Concern for the Public Intereſt, which this Houſe of Commons has always ſhewn.

You may be aſſured, That I will give ſuch Orders, as ſhall effectually anſwer what You deſire of Me in every Particular.

The

The HISTORY of the PEACE, from the Arrival of M. *Meſnager*, *Sept.* 18, 1711, to the Return of the Earl of *Strafford* from *Utrecht*, *May* 15, 1712. Wherein, the *Proceedings* of both Houſes of Parliament are inſerted, and the Reaſons *for* and *againſt* it fully conſider'd. Done out of *French*. Printed in the Year 1712.

AS a ſpecial Inſtance of the great Regard that ought to be had to the particular Intereſt of any Country or State (not forgetting thoſe with whom they are engag'd in Alliances) previous to Negotiations of Peace, I ſhall inſert the following *Piece*, from an Author of ſufficient Credit, no leſs pertinent than curious upon ſo ſolemn Occaſion, which compar'd with the Arguments for or againſt entering into the preſent Treaty, may ſerve as a very proper Introduction to this Hiſtory.

The *Engliſh* having been engaged for ſeveral Years in a War againſt *Spain* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, to the great Conſumption both of Blood and Treaſure, as well as great Detriment to their Trade into *Spain*, which was always very beneficial, tho' to the great Glory of the *Engliſh* Arms both by Sea and Land; and the Queen finding that *France* by the Peace of *Vervin* began mightily to flouriſh under *Henry* IV. ſhe began alſo to think ſeriouſly of Peace, for which end ſhe ſent Sir *Francis Vere* in 1598 into *Holland*, to know whether it would be for the Benefit and Advantage of the Queen and Government to make a Peace with the *Spaniard*?

They who were for the Peace took upon them to produce their Reaſons, and urged the following Arguments.

1. That Peace, beſides that it was both ſweet and beneficial, would wipe off that Aſperſion which lay upon the *Engliſh* as being the Diſturbers of the whole World, as if they were happy in other Mens Dangers. 2. The Queen would be more ſecure from treacherous and deſperate Attempts. 3. There would be an end of the Expences of the War againſt the *Spaniard* and the Archduke. 4. The *Iriſh* Rebellion would be ſuppreſt, when the Rebels ſhould have no longer hopes of Succour from *Spain*. 5. Commerce and Trade would be more free and open to the great Benefit and Advantage of the Queen and her Subjects; *Spain*, which in Old Times had been ſo beneficial to the *Engliſh* Merchants, would be again open'd to them, where they might exchange Wheat for Gold and Silver; and the Emperor's Mandate againſt the *Engliſh* Merchants in *Germany* would be recalled. 6. All Dangers and Tumults at home, occaſioned by frequent Taxes, and Levies of Men would be avoided, and the League of *Burgundy* would be renewed, and ſo there would be no need to fear the *French* King: *England* alſo would take Breath, and lay up Wealth for future Occaſions. 7. Again, it would tend to the Queen's Honour, who in the Year 1585, ſeeing when the States of the *Low-Countries* offered her the Sovereignty of thoſe Provinces

vinces, ſhe publickly proteſted and declared in Print, That in delivering the *Netherlands* ſhe aimed at nothing elſe but Liberty and Peace for them, and Security to *England*. If then it ſeemed a Reſolution full of Wiſdom and Diſcretion as the Times went, to relieve the *Netherlanders*, and full of Juſtice to refuſe the Dominion of thoſe great Provinces, when offered her to bear the Charges of the War, it would certainly ſeem now a Point of extream Folly, to proſecute the War, when the *Spaniards* offered a Peace, and nothing was offered by thoſe who ſo much deſired the Continuance of the War.

Others alſo urged over and above theſe Things.

1. Whether *England* was able to carry on the War againſt the *Spaniard* in *Ireland*, the *Low-Countries*, and elſewhere? And whether there was any Hopes by continuing the War to bring him to more reaſonable Terms of Peace, than what now might be had? 2. They were alſo to conſider well, ſeeing doubtleſs it was moſt expedient for the *Engliſh* to carry on an offenſive War, for (Woe to them who were forced to defend themſelves at home) on what Parts this War was to be made: If on the Sea-coaſts of *Spain* and *Portugal*, the Maritime Towns might indeed be ranſacked and taken in both Places, but never kept without a vaſt Charge, without any Profit at all: If in the Iſles of *Azores*, there alſo, 'twas true, might poſſibly be ſubdued, and that to the great detriment of the *Spaniard*, but could not be kept without greater Expences: If in *America*, they had now Ships of Force every where ready in thoſe Parts, and the Sea-coaſts were provided with more and ſtrong Garriſons than heretofore; and not a Grain of Gold, Silver or Pearl, was to be hoped for without great Hazard: If in the Neighbouring *Low-Coutries*, that would be a very difficult Taſk, ſo thick was that Country of ſtrong Towns, every one of which would ſuſtain a Siege; neither could the *States*, in Conjunction with the *Engliſh* Forces, make any other than a defenſive War of it, 'till ſuch time as the *Spaniards* were diverted by the *French* War, 3. The Axiom in Politicks was not to be neglected, That they who were able to maintain a War, might find and obtain a Peace; but they who were not able, never ſhould: And they alledg'd the lamentable Examples of the *Athenians* and others for it, who refuſed Peace when it was offered them. 4. Laſtly, Some inſinuated, that the States, whatever Pretences they made of defending Religion and maintaining their Liberty, did indeed take away all Religion and Piety, by tolerating every Opinion and Perſuaſion, except that of the *Romaniſts*; and for Liberty, they ſought nothing elſe but their own Profit and Advantage, by impoſing great Exciſe upon Victuals, debaſing and corrupting of Coin, raiſing the Value thereof at their Pleaſure, and the like cunning Practics; and hereby they did by a ſtrange Piece of Management maintain the War, and by the War grow Rich, whereas all other Nations were impoveriſhed thereby: Farther, They hindered all other of Trade and Commerce, by ſetting up of Monopolies everywhere; and as all others did that favoured a Democratical Government, they proſecuted Monarchies with a tacit and ſacred Hatred, and had rejected all their Nobility, ſave one or two that were of uſe to them in the Wars, and it was evident, they propounded nothing elſe to themſelves (which was a very dangerous Example againſt Princes) but to do as the *Helvetians* had formerly done before them, againſt the ſame Houſe of *Auſtria*, wherewith they had now to do, and that not with their own Blood, but with that of the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Scots*,

who

who for a little Glory were ſo prodigal of their Lives in the Cauſe and Quarrel of other Men,

But to theſe Arguments for the Peace others who were ſtiff againſt it, replied, and ſaid,

1. That by the Peace the *Spaniard* would heap up ſuch a Maſs of Treaſure, that if he brake out into a War again, he would be far too ſtrong for all his Neighbours. 2. That a ſound and firm Peace could not, without the Pope's Diſpenſation, be expected at his Hands, who had deluded the *Engliſh* at *Bourbourg* in the Year 1588, and was of a Belief, That no Faith was to be kept with Heretics and excommunicated Perſons: And that he could never digeſt the Loſſes he had received, but would be inflamed with a Deſire of Revenge. 3. If a Peace were made, the Queen muſt forſake the States of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and withal, loſe her Money expended upon the War, or elſe give up the Cautionary Towns into the Enemies Hands, which would redound to her Diſhonour, as the other would to her Loſs and Damages. 4. The *States*, if once forſaken by her, would be reduced under the Obedience of the *Spaniard*, whereby he would become far more powerful in Shipping and Forces to infeſt *England*, and thoſe Countries would be a very convenient Seat for carrying on a War againſt the Neighbouring Kingdoms, in order to his erecting and eſtabliſhing the *Spaniſh* Univerſal Monarchy. 5. Suppoſing that an offenſive War in the *Low-Countries* was a difficult and hard Taſk, in the *Azores* doubtful and uncertain, in the Maritime Parts of *Spain* and *Portugal* fruitleſs and unprofitable, and in every one of them chargeable and expenſive; yet in *America* it would be highly advantageous and profitable, which vaſt Countr y was ſo thinly Peopled by the *Spaniards*, and thoſe Inhabitants ſo far ſeparated, that they could not eaſily relieve one another: If therefore an Army of Ten Thouſand *Engliſh*, under an Induſtrious Vigilant Commander, were landed, with a reſolved Purpoſe to plant and inhabit, it was not to be doubted but *Carthagena* in *Caſtile d' or*, would be either intercepted, or kept in *America*, whereby the Trade of the *Spaniard* might be ſtopp'd and hinder'd, and the King's Cuſtom diminiſhed, to his great Loſs and Detriment: Neither would there be any fear of the *Americans*, a Cowardly People, and through the Pleaſantneſs of the Climate rendered altogether Effeminate; or of the *Spaniards* who ſhould be ſent thither, who being fatigued with the length of the Voyage, and made feeble with Sea-Sickneſs, would find it a very difficult Matter to drive Old Soldiers out of their ſtrong Holds. Neither needed they to fear the want of Victuals and Ammunition, wherewith they might be as eaſily ſupplied from *England* as the Enemy were from *Spain*; for as ſoon as ſome ſhould give out, that they had ſettled themſelves there, many People from all Nations would flock to them with all ſorts of Neceſſaries, foraſmuch as the *Europeans* deſired nothing more than a Free Trade and Traffick into *America*. 6. As for what was objected againſt the *Hollanders* concerning Religion and Monopolies, they were meer Calumnies and Forgeries of the Reformed true Religion, and maintained the ſame with the other Reformed Churches of *Chriſtendom*, in Fundamental Points, which concerned the Salvation of Souls: In other Points not neceſſary to Salvation, they granted a Toleration, with reſpect to the Times, in the ſame manner as the Primitive Church did; for as much as Cockle would every where grow up with the Corn: And as for other

Things

Things, the Faults of particular Men were not be charged upon all in general, the publick Cauſe being to be diſtinguiſhed from private Men's Miſcarriages: Among the Angels of God, and the Apoſtles themſelves, there was ſome Corruption to be found: We were not to envy nor defame a well-eſtabliſh'd Common-wealth, nor that excellent Induſtry and good Huſbandry of a Free Nation, if they only of all People knew how to thrive and grow rich by War.

The others, who were eager for Peace, rejoined and ſaid,

1. That the Queen and her Confederates might in like manner gather up Treaſure in Time of Peace, and provide themſelves no leſs for Defence, than the *Spaniard* could for Offence: That a ſolid and firm Peace might very well be expected from the *Spaniard*, who having hitherto ſuſtained very great Damages and Diſappointments, might learn at length, how much he had been miſtaken in his Government of the *Low-Countries*, by a martial and forcible Hand, and might ſeriouſly now rectify his Error by agreeing to a Peace: And that Peace had been made heretofore with the Dukes of *Burgundy* and Kings of *Caſtile*, the *Spaniard's* Predeceſſors, and had always held firm, and been extremely advantageous and profitable to the *Engliſh*. 2. Suppoſe the King of *Spain* for his Advantage had treated of a Peace at *Bourbourg*, not with that Fairneſs and Candidneſs he ought to have done, we in like manner might now, without any Injury to ourſelves, treat with our Swords in our Hands. 3. That Peace had been kept by Popiſh Princes, with Excommunicate Perſons and Hereticks, without any Regard to the Pope, might be proved by many Examples, both of *Charles* V. and his Succeſſors in the Empire, who ſtill kept their Faith and Promiſe with the Excommunicate Proteſtants in *Germany*, whom they accounted Hereticks; of *Francis* I. King of *France*, who at *Paris* ſolemnized the Funeral Obſequies of *Henry* VIII. tho' excommunicated by the Pope: And of *Henry* the then King of *France*, who after he was reconciled to the Pope, and acknowledged for the neareſt and deareſt Son of the Church, entred into an Offenſive and Defenſive League with the Queen of *England:* The ardent Deſire of Revenge grows cold, when Strength to act once faileth. 4. The Queen might juſtly forſake the *States*, ſince ſhe only obliged herſelf to aſſiſt them till ſuch Time as they could get reaſonable Conditions from the *Spaniard*, for ſecuring their Liberty; which Conditions, if they now refuſed, ſhe was not bound to aſſiſt them any longer. 5. That the cautionary Towns ſhould be ſurrender'd up to them, was neither juſt, nor could they with Reaſon require it: That the Recovery of the Money diſburſed upon the War would be eaſy if a Peace was once concluded. 6. That the *States* could not be reduced in a ſhort time by Force of Arms under the Obedience of *Spain*, and in Proceſs of Time many Things might happen, which were not now thought of; but if they were reduced by a Pacification, they could not ſufficiently ſecure themſelves, unleſs they alſo ſecured their Profit and Intereſt. But whatever became of them, *France* and *England* being now linked together in a firm League, would eaſily ballance the *Spaniard*, and prevent his Extravagancies; the common Intereſt would be the ſtrongeſt Bond of the League. 7. Laſtly, They drew their Arguments for Peace both from the Law of Nations, which requires, That the Safety of the People be the ſupreme Care, and from ſound Reaſons of Chriſtianity, That the Effuſion of Blood might be prevented, and *Chriſtendom* fortified againſt

againſt Infidels: But they ſaid the Arguments for War, however Men flattered themſelves with Mountains of Gold from *America*, which the unhappy Succeſs of *Drake* might ſufficiently refute, were only drawn from Human Wiſdom, that Dangers might be thereby diverted, which it were better to leave to the Diſpoſal of Divine Providence, by directing their Counſels with a good Conſcience to a Publick Good, than thoſe Things which are never to be commended farther than they are neceſſary.

Notwithſtanding theſe laſt as well as former Arguments for a Peace with *Spain*, they would not do, but the oppoſite Party carried it for continuing the War againſt *Spain*, and aſſiſting the States of *Holland* in their juſt Defence againſt the Incroachments of the *Spaniards*.

A new Contract was ſoon after made with the *States*, which did abate and take off a great Deal of the Charge of the War on the *Engliſh* Part; for the *Dutch* agreed to pay the Queen 800,000 Pounds Sterling, *viz.* 30,000 Pounds Yearly as long as the War continued againſt the Common Enemy, until 40,000 Pounds were paid; and if a Peace were made between the *Spaniards* and the Queen, there would be paid Yearly 20,000 Pounds, till the 800,000 Pounds were paid: That the *Engliſh* in the Cautionary Towns of *Fluſhing*, *Briel*, and the adjoining Forts, ſhould be paid by the *States*; and if any of the *Engliſh* Iſles were invaded by the *Spaniards*, the *States* were to aſſiſt the Queen with a certain Number of Shipping with the *Engliſh*, as the *Engliſh* Forces ſent over into *Flanders* were to be joined with an equal Number of *Dutch* Troops, *&c.*

Thus far by way of Introduction, where I muſt leave the Reader at Pleaſure to form what Obſervations he pleaſes, when he has made a Comparative Judgment on the various Reaſons, which he muſt needs have ſeen printed on both Sides, for and againſt a Treaty.

If I conſtrue right, I may agreeably enough affirm, That the firſt Notion of this new *Treaty* at *Utrecht*, ſprung from the Diſſolution of the old one at *Geertruynberg*; nor does the improbable Diſtance of time divide me from the Opinion of what I ſay: So much did the cautious and inflexible Temper of the *Dutch* Miniſters at that time aggravate and inflame, not only the Plenipotentiaries, but even the Court of *France*, that it will not be hard for the moſt impartial Underſtanding to agree with me in this Point: We may remember the loud Complaints of thoſe Miniſters on their Return to *Paris*, and the pretended ill Treatment they met with; *That they were mew'd up in a ſort of Priſon, had their Letters ſtopp'd, their Viſitants examin'd*; with other accumulated Grievances. And this to a haughty Temper was receiv'd with a treble Portion of Acrimony. The *Dutch* were not to be forgiven, on whom the Blame of all this lay; and from theſe Seeds of Animoſity grew up ſo violent a Reſentment, that *France* would rather want Peace, than be at the Pains of ever applying to the *States* on that Subject. An Advantage was likewiſe to be made of this pretended Diſguſt, which ſerv'd as a plauſible Pretence of ſeeking their Ends elſewhere. Some of our Writers likewiſe eſpouſed the *French* in this Matter, ſo as to make it one of the Articles of Complaint againſt the *Dutch*, That they treated the Miniſters of that Nation with too much Oſtentation, and ſhew'd an Air of Haughtineſs not becoming them. Let theſe Writers anſwer for themſelves, it is certain, That however the *Dutch* treated the Miniſters of *France*, (tho' I think they ſufficient-

ly clear'd their Conduct in that Point,) there was no Complaint from any of the Allies; and I believe it will not be objected, but that they received their Inſtructions from the *Hague*, to which none of the Miniſters of the Grand Alliance were Strangers: They next therefore ſingled out ſome of the leſſer Princes to tamper with, but found none of them yet ripe for their Purpoſe; till a favourable Chance gave them an Opportunity of applying themſelves to *England*: Nor was it eaſy to find Acceſs there; however, they were not without Hopes of making Uſe of their Reſentment againſt the *Dutch*, at a Time too when many Complaints were publickly rais'd againſt them; and to which in the End, they ow'd their good Fortune in finding Credit enough to be heard.

The firſt Springs of theſe Negotiations are ſtill ſo great a Secret, that they are not like to be reveal'd in any little time, nor perhaps is it requiſite they ſhould. But 'tis with Reaſon enough ſuppos'd, that the firſt Overtures of it were made to the late Earl of *Jerſey*, by his old Acquaintance the Marquis *De Torcy*; who having deſir'd that a truſty Perſon whom he might diſcourſe freely ſhould be ſent over, Mr. *Prior* was ſoon pitch'd upon, as a proper Perſon for ſuch an Affair, both in Regard of his perſonal Qualifications, as alſo his former Employment at the Peace of *Ryſwick*, and his Acquaintance with the aforeſaid Miniſter.

After his Return, which was at the Beginning of *Auguſt*, it was ſome time a great Secret, whether this important Affair had been broke off in *France*, or would be continu'd in *England*: But it was not long before the latter was fully believ'd by the Arrival of two *French* Gentlemen, one of which was M. *Meſmager*, Deputy of the Council of Commerce, and ſince Count of *St. John*, and one of the Plenipotentiaries of *France*; and the other ſaid to be the Abbé *du Boſc*, in *England*; where they landed about the Middle of *September*, 1711, and having continued about a Fortnight *Incognito* both at *London* and *Windſor*, had ſeveral Conferences with our Miniſters, and on the 27th of the ſame Month ſigned what were then called Preliminaries. On the 4th of *October* following, they took their Leaves in Order to return home, highly ſatisfied with their Reception in *England*; having firſt obtain'd the ſignal Favour, that Marſhal *De Tallard* might on his Parole return for Four Months to *France*; who 'tis thought had a very diligent Hand in bringing about this Negotiation.

A few Days after their Departure the ſaid Preliminary Articles were communicated to the Miniſters of the Allies reſiding here, one of which, not thinking himſelf obliged to keep them a Secret, ſuffer'd a Copy of them to be taken, which were inſerted in the News-Paper call'd the *Daily Courant* as follows,

Preliminary Articles on the Part of France *for effecting a General Peace.*

" THE King being willing to contribute all that is in his Power to the " Re-eſtabliſhment of a General Peace, his Majeſty declares,

" I. That he will acknowledge the Queen of *Great-Brtain* in that Quality, " as alſo the Succeſſion of that Crown according to the preſent Settlement.

" II. That he will freely and *bona fide* conſent to the taking all juſt and rea- " ſonable Meaſures for hindring that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* may ever " be united on the Head of the ſame Prince; his Majeſty being perſuaded, That

" this

" Exceſs of Power would be contrary to the Good and Quiet of *Europe*.

" III. The King's Intention is, That all the Parties engaged in the preſent " War, without excepting any of them, may find their reaſonable Satisfaction " in the Treaty of Peace which ſhall be made: That Commerce may be re-eſta- " bliſh'd and maintain'd for the future, to the Advantage of *Great-Britain*, of " *Holland*, and of the other Nations who have been accuſtom'd to exerciſe Com- " merce.

" IV. As the King will likewiſe maintain exactly the Obſervance of the " Peace when it ſhall be concluded, and the Object the King propoſes to him- " ſelf being to ſecure the Frontiers of his Kingdom, without diſturbing in any " Manner whatever, the Neighbouring States, he promiſes to agree by the " Treaty which ſhall be made, that the *Dutch* ſhall be put into Poſſeſſion of " the fortified Places which ſhall be mention'd in the *Netherlands*, to ſerve " hereafter for a Barrier, which may ſecure the Quiet of *Holland* againſt any " Enterprize from the Part of *France*.

" V. The King conſents likewiſe, that a ſecure and convenient Barrier ſhould " be form'd for the Empire, and for the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

" Notwithſtanding *Dunkirk* coſt the King very great Sums, as well to ac- " quire it, as to fortify it; and that it is farther neceſſary to be at a conſiderable " Expence for razing the Works, his Majeſty is willing, however, to engage " to cauſe them to be demoliſh'd immediately after the Concluſion of the Peace, " on Condition that for the Fortifications of that Place a proper Equivalent, " that may content him, be given him; and as *England* cannot furniſh that " Equivalent, the Diſcuſſion of it ſhall be referred to the Conferences to be held " for the Negotiation of Peace.

" VII. When the Conferences for the Negotiation of Peace ſhall be formed, " all the Pretenſions of the Princes and States engaged in the preſent War " ſhall be therein diſcuſſed *bona fide* and amicably: And nothing ſhall be omit- " ted to regulate and terminate them to the Satisfaction of all the Parties.

" By Virtue of a full Power from the King, We, the underwritten Knight " of his Order of *St. Michael*, Deputy of the Council of Commerce, have con- " cluded in the Name of his Majeſty, the preſent Preliminaries. In Witneſs " whereof we have ſigned. Done at *London*, the 27th of *September*, O. S. and " the 8th of *October*, N. S. 1711.

(L. S.) *Meſnager.*

Theſe Preliminaries were however no otherwiſe own'd or publiſh'd, than by this indirect Way, and therefore all Parties were the more ſurpriz'd at their Publication; ſome ſuſpected their being Genuine, whilſt others concluded from the Silence of the Government in this Point, that tho' they came in thus at a kind of Back-Door, yet they carried with them a certain Air of a good Authority.

They were ſuppoſed to owe their Birth to Count *Sallas*, the *Auſtrian* Miniſter, who by an indefatigable Diligence and Penetration had trac'd all the ſecret Steps of this Negotiation from firſt to laſt, and had either expoſtulated too warm-

ly with ſome of our Miniſters about it, or by his Letters awaken'd his Maſter's Jealouſy, that he began to be diſagreeable to our Court, and ſoon after was recall'd.

What might incline the Court of *Great-Britain* the rather to think it high Time to liſten to Propoſals, was the Diſcovery about that time of a Clandeſtine Negotiation between *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, for bringing the latter to a ſeparate Peace: However, this muſt be allow'd, that after all the Rumours it rais'd, the *Engliſh* made no farther Advances in the Negotiation till they had receiv'd the Opinion of the *Dutch* on the Subject of the Preliminaries, which wers communicated to them by the Earl of *Strafford*, Her Britannick Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary at the *Hague*.

It did indeed a little ſtartle the *States* at firſt, and many at Home were yet more uneaſy than the *States*; ſo that it was with Difficulty enough the Miniſtry prevail'd to ſet a Negotiation on Foot. However, they appear'd fix'd in their Reſolution to purſue the Scheme they had laid, and therefore us'd their utmoſt Endeavours to engage the *Dutch* to eſpouſe the Preliminaries; and the Earl of *Strafford*, was directed to make preſſing Application to the *States* on that Subject. The contrary Winds having kept all manner of Intelligence from thence, it was thought fit further to prorogue the Parliament (which was to have met on the 13th of *November*,) for a few Days; and when the next Letters arriv'd, which happen'd in this Interval of time, it appear'd that the Earl of *Strafford* had not yet been able to carry his Point; which was, to perſuade them to agree to the ſettling a Congreſs, and granting Paſſports for the *French* Plenipotentiaries, who were ready at *Paris* to ſet out on the firſt Notice.

On the contrary, Count *Goes*, the Imperial Miniſter, had preſented a Memorial to the *States*, to induce their High Mightineſſes to defer explaining themſelves, at leaſt till they were acquainted with the Sentiments of her Imperial Majeſty. This was back'd by a Letter ſoon under the Emperor's own Hand to the *States*, deſiring their High Mightineſſes to concur with him, in endeavouring to induce the Queen of *Great-Britain* to reject the Propoſition made by *France*, and not to ſacrifice the Immortal Glory ſhe had acquir'd to the Artifices of *France*: Declaring, that whatever Conſequences ſhou'd accrue from ſuch a Proceeding, he utterly rejected theſe Preliminaries, and fully reſolv'd not to empower any of his Miniſters to aſſiſt at the Conferences to be held upon them.

However, the *Dutch* at the earneſt Solicitations of *Great-Britain* conſented to a Congreſs; and that Her Britannick Majeſty ſhould appoint the Time and Place: With theſe Letters came alſo Blank Paſſports for the *French* Miniſters, which were to be fill'd up here, and diſpatch'd to *Paris*. Theſe being deliver'd a Committee of Council met at the *Cock-Pit*, on the 19th of *November*, 1711. wherein M. *Buys* aſſiſted to concert the Time and Place for the Congreſs, which being concluded at this Meeting, Mr. Secretary *St. John* notified it the next Day to the Foreign Miniſters reſiding in *England*.

The Circular Letter from the Queen Great-Britain *to the Princes and States in Alliance with her.*

" THE Moſt Chriſtian King having acquainted us with his Deſire to ſee the " Quiet of *Europe* reſtored, by a ſafe and Honourable Peace for Us and " our High Allies; and having offer'd ſome Propoſitions to induce us to ſet " on Foot Conferences for that End, which Propoſitions have been communi- " cated to all the Allies; and the States-General having thereupon declared, " that were inclined and ready to enter into good and general Peace, and to " join with us to invite the Potentates concerned with us in the preſent War, to " ſend their Miniſters and Plenipotentiaries to the Congreſs, the Place and Time " of which have been concerted with the Miniſters of the ſaid States-General; " we have judged it proper to give you Notice, without loſs of Time, that we " have agreed to fix the Opening of the ſaid Congreſs to the 12th of *January* " next New Stile, in the City of *Utrecht*.

" As we have no other View than to put an End to this War by a firm Peace, " in which every one of the Allies may find their reaſonable Satisfaction, We " doubt not you will likewiſe agree to contribute the forwarding of ſo Pious " and Wholeſome a Work. Wherefore we deſire you to ſend forthwith the " Miniſters whom you ſhall chuſe for this Purpoſe, that by the Time above- " ſpecified they may repair to the ſaid City of *Utrecht*.

" We think further convenient to acquaint you, that we, with the Lords the " States-General, have unanimouſly agreed to ſend our Miniſters to the Con- " greſs only in Quality of Plenipotentiaries, and that they will not take on them " the Character of Ambaſſadors, till the Day of ſigning the Peace thereby to a- " void as much as poſſible, Diſputes about the Ceremonial, and the Delays the " ſame might occaſion, *&c.*

At the ſame Time the Biſhop was declared firſt Plenipotentiary to aſſiſt at the Conferences; and ſoon after the Earl of *Strafford* his Collegue in this great Employment: And tho' Matters went thus far ſmoothly, yet at the Meeting of the Parliament the Lords took the Alarm, and Vote a Clauſe in their Addreſs, *That no Peace* could be ſafe and honourable to *Great-Britain* if *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* were allotted to any Branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

This paſſing over, there remain'd very little in the way of a Treaty; ſo that on the 27th of *December* the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, with M. *Buys*, ſet out for *Holland*, where they arriv'd the 1ſt of *January*. The next Day the Lord Privy Seal came to *Rotterdam*, from whence he proceeded to *Delft*, and was met there by the Earl of *Strafford*, One of Her Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries. After a Conference of ſome Hours the Earl of *Strafford* return'd to the *Hague*, and the Lord Privy-Seal to *Rotterdam*; and on the 14th the latter went to the *Hague*, where, together, with the Earl of *Strafford*, he was in Conference with the Grand Penſionary, and then went back to *Rotterdam*, from whence he proceeded the 15th to *Utrecht*, ſo that he was the Firſt Miniſter that appear'd at the Place of Treaty. The Earl of *Strafford* came thither next, on the 17th; and on the 18th Meſſieurs *Buys* and *Rendwoude*, two of the Plenipotentiaries of the States-General, arrived

arrived there alſo, and immediately waited on the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries. The next Morning about Eleven, the Marſhal *d'Huxelles*, the Abbot *Polignac*, and Monſieur *Meſnager*, the *French* Plenipotentiaries, arriv'd at *Utrecht*; and the Two *Britiſh* Miniſters, after having been with the Two Plenipotentiaries of the States to return their Viſits, went to ſee thoſe of *France*, at the Marſchal *d' Huxelles*'s Houſe where they were all Three together. They receiv'd their Lordſhips at their Coaches, and conducted them thither again; and about Four in the Afternoon the *French* Plenipotentiaries returned their Lordſhips Viſit, and were receiv'd in like Manner.

The *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries having given Notice of their Arrival to the Magiſtrates of *Utrecht*, Four of their Deputies waited upon them on the 20th of *January*, N. S. in their reſpective Houſes, and afterwards paid the ſame Complement to the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, having had the like Notice of their Arrival. In the Afternoon a Conference was held between the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters at Monſieur *Buys*'s Houſe, and the ſame Evening the Marquis *del Borgo*, one of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Plenipotentiaries, arriv'd at *Utrecht*, accompanied by Monſieur *de Sales*, Miniſter of the *Griſons*. The next Day, the *Britiſh*, *Dutch*, and *Savoy* Miniſters, met together at the Lord Privy-Seal's Houſe, to conſider of the manner of Opening the general Conferences, and the Method of carrying them on; and on the 22d the Miniſters of the Allies went to the Town-houſe to examine and give Directions about the Place of Conference, and the Apartment appointed by the Magiſtrates for the Miniſters on both Sides. On the 23d they had a Conference together, at which they drew, and agreed to, the *Project* of a *Regulation*, to be obſerv'd by all the Miniſters during the Congreſs, which being afterwards Communicated to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, they made ſome Alterations to it, which was agreed to.

A Project for regulating the Opening and Method of the Conferences in the Congreſs at Utrecht, *and whatſoever relates thereunto.*

" THE Plenipotentiaries ſhall come to the Conferences, each in a Coach
" with two Horſes, and very ſlender Retinue.

" Thoſe of the High Allies ſhall go into the Town-Houſe, where the Con-
" ferences are to be held, at the Door which leads to their Appartment.

" Thoſe of *France* ſhall go in at the Door which is on the ſide of their Ap-
" partment.

" All the Conferences ſhall be held without Ceremony or Diſtinction. Quar-
" rels ſhall be hinder'd on both ſides between the Coachmen and Footmen, who
" ſhall moreover be ordered to treat each other with good Nature and Civility,
" and to be ready on all Occaſions to do one another all the Kindneſs and Ser-
" vice they can.

" When Two Coaches, meet in ſuch narrow Places that they cannot both
" paſs at the ſame time; far from diſputing which ſhall have the upper Hand,
" or which of the Two ſhall go firſt, and from creating Trouble by this means
" the Coachmen ſhall be obliged, on the contrary, to make room for each other,
" and to forward the Paſſing, as much as lies in their Power; and he who is

" firſt

" firſt inform'd of the Difficulty, ſhall ſtop, and make room for the other, if it " appear that he can do it the moſt eaſily on his ſide.

" In the Common Walks, as well within as without the Town, the Cuſtom of " keeping each the Right on his ſide, as has been agreed upon by thoſe who " meet there, ſhall be obſerved; and ſo likewiſe in the Streets and Highways, " and generally every where that it can conveniently be done, without the leaſt " Diſpute, or Affectation of Precedence.

" The Pages, Footmen, and generally all ſuch as are in Liveries, ſhall neither " carry Sticks, nor Arms, as Swords, Knives, Pocket-Piſtols, nor any others of " what kind ſoever, whether openly or ſecretly, in the Town, or in the Walks. " Pages may, however, if they pleaſe, carry little Wands. Moreover, all Do- " meſtics ſhall be forbid going after 10 o'Clock at Night, unleſs it be by expreſs " Order, or for the Service of their Maſter; ſo that none ſhall otherwiſe be found " Abroad at unſeaſonable Hours; and ſuch as ſhall act contrary hereto, ſhall " be ſeverely pnniſhed, and diſcarded immediately.

" When a Domeſtic of the Plenipotentiaries is convicted of any Crime capa- " ble of diſturbing the Publick Tranquility, the Plenipotentiary to whom he be- " longs ſhall renounce his Right of puniſhing him himſelf, and having depriv- " ed him of all manner of Protection or Privilege, ſhall cauſe him to be deli- " vered up into the Hands of the Ordinary Judge of the Place where the Fault " is committed, be it in the Town or elſewhere, and ſhall even demand the " Laws to be put in Execution againſt the Criminal: And if in the ſame Caſe the " Priminal Officer commonly call'd *The Schout*, ſhall catch any one in the Com- " miſſion of a flagrant Crime, either by himſelf, or by his Officers or others, " they ſhall be permitted to ſeize him, and even to impriſon him, tho' they " know him to be a Domeſtic of the Plenipotentiaries, till ſuch time as they can " ſend his Maſter Word, which they ſhall be obliged to do immediately, and " without delay. The ſame ſhall be done (and this *Schout* is to take notice) in " caſe any of the ſaid Domeſticks are found in the Cabrets or Places ſuſpected " after the great Bell has done ringing; after which, whatever the Plenipoten- " tiary orders, ſhall be punctually executed, whether he deſires that his Dome- " ſtick be kept in Priſon, or releas'd from it.

" If any Plenipotentiary's Domeſtick inſults or quarrels with the Domeſtick of " another Plenipotentiary, the Aggreſſor ſhall be immediately deliver'd up to " the Maſter of him who is inſulted, who ſhall do him Juſtice as he thinks " fit.

" All the Plenipotentiaries ſhall very ſtrictly forbid their Domeſticks, as well " Gentlemen as others, having any Quarrels or Janglings among themſelves: And " if it happen, contrary to this Order, that there ſhould be Quarrelling, and any " one has the Boldneſs to pretend to clear himſelf by way of Arms, he ſhall be " inſtantly turn'd out of the Plenipotentiary's Houſe, and indeed expell'd the " Town, without the leaſt Regard to what he may alledge in his own Vindica- " tion, as that he was in Drink, or receiv'd the Affront, or was firſt Attack'd; " but he ſhall even be oblig'd to anſwer to the Complaint which may be made " againſt him in any of the Courts of Judicature of his Natural Prince, upon " this Score, where he ſhall be puniſh'd according to Law.

" The

" The Miniſters on both Sides make a mutual Promiſe not to receive into " their Service any Domeſtick who is diſcarded by his Maſter.

" If any Miniſter has a mind to puniſh his Footman by Impriſonment, the " Magiſtrates ſhall be deſired to commit him to the Town-Goal for a Time, at " the Miniſter's Charge.

" It is agreed, That the Coaches ſhall be ranged before the Town-Houſe ac- " cording as they come, always leaving Room enough for thoſe which follow " to ſet down the Miniſters conveniently, and then to range behind, ſo that " there may ſtill remain a ſufficient Space between the Coaches and the Town- " Houſe.

" All that is above unanimouſly agreed upon, for the Order and good Go- " vernment of this Aſſembly, ſhall not be brought for an Example, nor drawn " into Conſequence, at any other Place, Time or Juncture; and none ſhall " take Advantage of it, no more than receive Prejudice by it, upon any other " Occaſion. *Done at* Utrecht, *Jan.* 23, 1712.

Beſides this Regulation, it was agreed, That the Conferences ſhould begin on *Friday* the 29th of *January*, N. S. and that they afterwards ſhould be regularly held on *Wedneſdays* and *Saturdays*, at Ten in the Morning. On the 27th the *Britiſh* Miniſters viſited Meſſieurs *Vander Duſſen* and *Goſlinga*, Two of the States Plenipotentiaries, and Monſieur *de Mellarede*, One of the Duke of *Savoy's*, who came to *Utrecht* the Morning before, and immediately notified their Arrival to their Lordſhips, whoſe Viſits they return'd the next Day. The States of the Province of *Utrecht* being aſſembled the 28th, the Regulation agreed to by the Miniſters to be obſerved during the Congreſs, was communicated to them, and to the Magiſtrates of that City, both which promis'd to contribute what belong'd to them towards putting it in Execution; as likewiſe to keep ſuch Guards at the Town-Houſe, as ſhould be neceſſary to preſerve good Order during the Conferences.

Theſe Preliminary Points being ſettled, on the 29th of *January* at Ten in the Morning, the firſt Conference was open'd by Eight Miniſters of the Allies, *viz.* the Two *Britiſh*, Four of the States-General, Two of the Duke of *Savoy*'s before-mention'd, and the Three Plenipotentiaries of *France*; and laſted till near One in the Afternoon. The Lord Privy-Seal appear'd in a Black Velvet Gown, adorn'd with Gold Loops, with a long Train borne up by Two Pages in Aſh-Colour'd Coats laced with Silver Orris, and Waſtecoats of Green Velvet; and when the Plenipotentiaries were aſſembled, his Excellency addreſs'd himſelf to thoſe of *France* in the following Speech.

Gentlemen,

WE are this Day met together, in the Name of GOD to lay the Foundation of a General Peace between the High Allies, and the King your Maſter. We bring ſincere Intentions, and alſo poſitive Orders from our Principals, to concur in every Thing on their Part which may tend to the Furtherance, and happy Concluſion of ſo Beneficial and Chriſtian-like a Work.

On the other Hand, we are in Hopes, Gentlemen, *that you are of the ſame Mind, and that your Inſtructions are ſo full, as to enable you to anſwer, without Loſs of Time, the Expectation of the High Allies, in explaining yourſelves clearly and round-*

ly.

ly upon the Points which are to be ſettled in theſe Conferences; and that you will do it in ſo plain and particular a Manner, that all, and every the Confederate Princes and States, may find a juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction upon their reſpective Pretenſions.

The Marſhal *d' Huxelles*, Firſt Plenipotentiary of *France*, anſwer'd, *That it could not be doubted but his Moſt* Chriſtian *Majeſty had a ſincere and ardent Deſire to give Peace to* Europe. After this the Abbot *de Polignac* made an elaborate Speech, wherein, among other Remarkables, he declared on the Part of the King his Maſter, *That the Seven Propoſitions which his Colleague Monſieur* Meſnager *ſigned at* London *were obligatory to his Moſt* Chriſtian *Majeſty only, and not to any of the Allies:* Adding, *That upon this Foot the Miniſters of the ſaid Allies might repair to* Utrecht, *aſſiſt at the Conferences, and produce their Demands and Pretenſions*; and, *That Endeavours ſhould be uſed to give them a reaſonable Satisfaction.* The Earl of *Strafford*, and the Plenipotentiaries of the States, and Duke of *Savoy*, made alſo Speeches ſuitable to that ſolemn Occaſion; after which the Aſſembly broke up. The next Day the Miniſters of the Allies had a Conference together at the Town-Houſe, and agreed to meet there in like Manner twice a Week during the Congreſs, in order to preſerve Union among themſelves, and to take the neceſſary Meaſures for promoting the Intereſt of the reſpective Princes and States they repreſented. Accordingly they met again at the Town-Houſe the 1ſt of *February* N. S. and in the Afternoon the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries had another Conference at Monſieur *Goſlinga's* Lodgings: And becauſe the *French* Miniſters had in their Speeches promiſed to deliver a Scheme or Plan of the Intentions of their Court, it was reſolved to deliver them in the next Conference a Declaration to the following Effect.

" The Miniſters of the High Allies, who are already here, will expect accor-
" ding to the Offers of the Miniſters of *France*, the Plan or Scheme they have
" promiſed, and will not fail to return a particular Anſwer thereunto for what
" concerns the particular Intereſts of their Principals. And as to the Miniſters
" of ſuch of the Allies who were ſtill Abſent, the Miniſters aforeſaid have rea-
" ſon to believe that they will forthwith repair hither to concur with them in
" their Anſwer.

This Paper was deliver'd to the *French* Miniſters in the ſecond Conference held, and they promiſed to deliver their Offers for a General Peace; but declar'd that they wiſh'd that all the Miniſters of the Allies were preſent, that they might at the ſame time receive a Counter-Project or Anſwer from all the Members of the Grand Alliance. Next Day the Count *de Metternich*, Plenipotentiary of the King of *Pruſſia*, came to *Utrecht*, and having notified his Arrival, was complimented and viſited by the other Miniſters; for tho' the *French* had not yet owned the Title of his *Pruſſian* Majeſty, it was agreed as an Expedient, that in the Viſits between the Miniſters of that Prince, and thoſe of *France*, they ſhould ſometimes uſe the Word *Maſter*, and ſometimes that of *King*, without the Addition of *France* or *Pruſſia*.

On *Saturday* the 6th of *February* N. S. was held the third General Conference, at which Count *Metternich* aſſiſted; but it did not laſt above an Hour, the Plenipotentiaries on both Sides having agreed to defer the moſt material Buſineſs till the next General Conference, and allow ſo much Time to the other Miniſters of the Allies to repair to the Congreſs. Meſſieurs *Buys* and *Goſlinga* being

the next Day in the Evening return'd from the *Hague*, aſſiſted the 8th in the Morning at a Conference of the Miniſters of the Allies, and in the Evening together with their Colleagues, were in a private Conference with the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries. The ſame Morning Monſieur *d'Elorme*, Miniſter of the King of *Poland*, Elector of *Saxony*, arrived at *Utrecht*; as did in the Evening, Monſieur *Randwyck*, and Count *Kuiphuyſen*, two more of the State's Plenipotentiaries.

The Difficulty the Emperor made of ſending his Plenipotentiaries to the Congreſs having been at laſt removed, by the poſitive Declaration made by the Earl of *Strafford*, and confirm'd to Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* at the *Britiſh* Court, that the Seven *Preliminary* Articles offer'd by *France*, and ſigned by Monſieur *Meſnager*, were only *bare Propoſals*, and ſhould not be admitted *as the Baſis* of the enſuing *Treaty*; Count *Sinzendorf* and Monſieur *Consbruck*, Two of his Imperial Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries, came to *Utrecht* on the 9th of *February* in the Evening, and immediately went to a Conference, at which the other Miniſters of the Allies were then aſſembled.

The next Day the Fourth General Conference was held, between the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies, and thoſe of *France* which laſted from Ten in the Morning till Two in the Afternoon. It began with reciprocal Compliments, but ſoon turn'd into a warm Diſpute between the Imperial and *French* Miniſters. The Marſhal *d'Huxelles* made a Speech, importing, " That the King his Maſter had " moſt ſincere Intentions to end this War to the Satisfaction of the Allies; " That in order to that they ought to deal *roundly* and *fairly*; that he hoped a " good Succeſs of this Negotiation, ſince the Ambaſſadors of the Houſe of " *Auſtria*, had, at laſt, reſolv'd to come to the Congreſs; and thereupon deſi- " red the Allies to deliver the Propoſals they had to make." Count *Sinzendorf* readily anſwer'd, " That the Emperor his Maſter, had no leſs ſincere Intentions " to contribute all that lay in his Power towards ſo deſirable a Bleſſing as a Ge- " neral Peace: But that it ſeem'd Monſieur *d'Huxelles* inſtead of dealing *roundly* " and *fairly*, began on the contrary with a *Fetch*, ſince he could not be a Stran- " ger to the Demands of the Allies, nor have forgot where the Conferences at " *Geertruynberg* broke off; that there was nothing for them to do now, but to " find out Ways and Means to remove the Difficulties that obſtructed that Ne- " gotiation; and ſince the King their Maſter had deſir'd this Congreſs of the " Allies, the latter had reaſon to expect that he had given his Miniſters the " neceſſary Inſtructions for that End:" Thereby inſinuating, that the Allies inſiſted on the firſt Preliminaries ſigned at the *Hague* in the Year 1709. Count *Sinzendorf* likewiſe took notice of this Expreſſion, " The Ambaſſadors of the " Houſe of *Auſtria*," as derogatory to his Imperial Majeſty. The Abbot *de Polignac* reply'd, " That they ought talk no more of the Affair of *Geertruynberg*, " ſince the King had fix'd a Time for the Allies to accept his Propoſals, which " they not having done, he was under no Engagement." This occaſion'd a high Debate; and the Marſhal *d'Huxelles* having in relation to the Affairs of *Spain* adventured to ſay, " That they ought to wait the Arrival of the Ambaſſadors " of that Crown," Count *Sinzendorf* briſkly reply'd, " He was preſent, and " Himſelf was the Perſon." Monſieur *d'Huxelles* return'd, " He acknowledg'd " none but King *Philip*'s," which inflam'd the Diſpute. The Marſhal *d'Huxelles* having likewiſe made bold to advance, in relation to a Point in Debate,

that

" that the Queen of *England* had engaged her Promiſe," the Lord Privy-Seal took him ſhort, and ſaid, " There was no ſuch thing in his Inſtructions." At laſt the *French* Plenipotentiaries conſented to deliver their Propoſals in Writing; which they did accordingly the next Day, at an Extraordinary General Conference.

A Specifick Explanation of the Offers of France *for a General Peace, to the Satisfaction of all the Parties concerned in the preſent War.*

" THE King will acknowledge, at the Signing of the Peace, the Queen " of *Great-Britain* in that Quality, as alſo the Succeſſion of that Crown " according to the preſent Settlement, and in what Manner her Britannick " Majeſty ſhall pleaſe.

" His Majeſty will cauſe all the Fortifications of *Dunkirk* to be demoliſhed " immediately after the Peace, provided an Equivalent be given him to his Sa- " tisfaction.

" The Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*, *Hudſon's-Bay* and Strait of that Name, ſhall " be yielded up entire to *Great-Britain*, and *Acadia*, with *Port-Royal* and the " Fort, ſhall be reſtored entire to his Majeſty.

" As to the Iſland of *Newfoundland*, the King offers to yield that up alſo to " *Great-Britain*, reſerving to himſelf only the Fort of *Placentia*, and the Right " of Catching and Drying Fiſh, as before the War.

" It ſhall be agreed to make a Treaty of Commerce before or after the Peace, " as *England* ſhall chuſe, the Conditions of which ſhall be made as equal be- " tween the two Nations as they can poſſibly.

" The King will conſent at the ſigning of the Peace, that the *Spaniſh Nether- " lands*, which are made over and given to the Elector of *Bavaria* by the King " of *Spain*, ſhall ſerve for a Barrier to the *United Provinces*; and to augment it " he will join thereto *Furnes* and the *Furner-Ambaght*, the Diſtrict of *Knoque*, " *Ypres*, and the Caſtellany of *Menin* with its *Verge*; in Exchange, His Maje- " ſty demands to form the Barrier of *France*, *Aire*, *St. Venant*, *Bethune*, *Douay*, " and their Dependencies.

" If the States-General are deſirous to keep Garriſons in the fortify'd Places " of the Barrier ſo formed of the Dominions transferred to his Electoral High- " neſs, and of what *France* adds thereto of its own, His Majeſty conſents " that they ſhall put their Troops into them to as great a Number as they pleaſe; " and beſides, that they ſhall be maintained at the Expence of the Country.

" In Conſideration of this Ceſſion, and of this Conſent, the King on his Side " Demands, as an Equivalent for the demoliſhing of *Dunkirk*, the Towns and " Citadels of *Liſle* and *Tournay*, with their Caſtellanies and Dependencies.

" The Barrier thus regulated between *France* and the States-General, the " King will grant for augmenting the Commerce of their Subjects what is ſti- " pulated by the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, and the advantageous Tarif of 1664, with " an Exception of Six Sorts of Merchandize which ſhall be agreed on, and which " ſhall remain charged with the ſame Duties that are paid at this time; as alſo " the Exemption of Fifty Sols *per Ton* on the Dutch Shipping, that come into " *France* from the United Provinces, and Foreign Countries.

" As to the Commerce of *Spain* and the *Indies*, the King will engage, not on-
" ly to the States-General, but likewiſe to her Britannick Majeſty, and to all
" the other Potentates, by Virtue of the Power he has in this Particular, that
" the ſaid Commerce ſhall be allow'd exactly, and carried on in the ſame man-
" ner as it was under the Reign, and till the Death of *Charles* II. and will pro-
" miſe that the *French* ſhall ſubmit, as all the other Nations, to the ancient
" Laws and Regulations made by the Kings, his Catholick Majeſty's Predeceſ-
" ſors, with reſpect to the Commerce and Navigation of the *Spaniſh Indies*.

" His Majeſty further conſents, That all the Potentates of *Europe* may enter
" into the Guaranty of this Promiſe. His Majeſty promiſes, that the King his
" Grandſon ſhall renounce, for the ſake of the Peace, all Pretenſions to the
" Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sardinia*, as well as the Dutchy of *Milan*; in whoſe
" Name he will conſent, that the Part of that Dutchy which is made over to
" the Duke of *Savoy*, ſhall remain to his Royal Highneſs; provided that, in
" Conſideration of this Ceſſion, the Houſe of *Auſtria* do, in like manner, deſiſt
" from all Pretenſions to the other Parts of the Monarchy of *Spain*, from
" whence that Houſe ſhall withdraw their Troops immediately after the Peace.

" The Frontiers on both Sides upon the *Rhine*, ſhall be ſettled in the ſame
" Condition as they were before the preſent War.

" In Conſideration of all the Terms above ſpecified, the King demands, that
" the Electors of *Cologn* and *Bavaria* ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in the full and en-
" tire Poſſeſſion of their Dominions, Dignities, Prerogatives, Goods moveable
" and immoveable, which they enjoy'd before the preſent War: And, reci-
" procally, his Majeſty will recognize in *Germany*, and in *Pruſſia*, all the Titles
" which he has not yet acknowledged.

" The King will reſtore to the Duke of *Savoy* what he has taken from him
" during this War; as in like manner his Royal Highneſs ſhall reſtore to him
" what he has taken from *France*; ſo that the Limits on both Sides ſhall be the
" ſame they were before the Declaration of War.

" All Things, as to *Portugal*, ſhall be re-eſtabliſh'd, and remain on the ſame
" Foot in *Europe*, that they were before the preſent War, as well with regard
" to *France* as to *Spain*; and as to the Dominions that Crown has in *America*;
" if there be any Differences to ſettle, Endeavours ſhall be uſed to agree them
" amicably.

" The King will conſent freely, and *Bona Fide*, to take, in concert with the
" Allies, all the moſt juſt Meaſures for hindering the Crowns of *France* and
" *Spain*, from being united on the ſame Head; that is to ſay, that one and the
" ſame Prince ſhall never be at once King of both.

" All preceding Treaties, that is, thoſe of *Munſter*, and others, that have
" been made ſince, ſhall be repeated and confirmed, to remain in their full
" Force and Virtue, excepting only ſuch Articles from which the Treaty of
" Peace, now to be made, ſhall derogate, or alter ſomething."

Signed, HUXELLES.

Copies of theſe Offers were taken by the Secretaries of all the Miniſters of the Allies, who diſpatched Expreſſes with them to their reſpective Principals. The Count *de Tarouca*, the King of *Portugal*'s firſt Plenipotentiary, and Count *Maffey*,

Maffey, one of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Miniſters, ordered to the Congreſs from *England*, arrived at *Utrecht* the 10th, as did, the next day, Count *Stadian* from the Elector of *Mentz*; the Baron *Dalwich* from the Landgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*, and ſeveral other Miniſters. On the 12th of *February* the two firſt aſſiſted at a Conference of the Miniſters of the Allies; and the next Day was held the Sixth General Conference, which the Earl of *Strafford* opened with acquainting the Miniſters of *France*, in Purſuance of what was agreed the Day before between the Confederate Plenipotentiaries, *that they had found it neceſſary to take Time till the Fifth of* March, N. S. *to give the* Specifick Demands *of the reſpective Parties engaged in the preſent War*, to which the Miniſters of *France* agreed. As during that Interval the Subjects of the general Conferences were to be leſs material than at other times: It was likewiſe agreed on all ſides, that they ſhould be held on the *Saturdays*; but, on the other hand, the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies reſolved to meet more frequently. On *Sunday* the 14th, in the Evening, the Count *de Sinzendorf* and Monſieur *Conſbruck* viſited each of the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries, and the next Morning ſet out for the *Hague*, where they immediately repaired to the Congreſs of the Confederate Miniſters, and proteſted againſt the *Specifick Offers* of *France*. The ſame Evening, Count *Denhoff*, the King of *Pruſſia*'s firſt Plenipotentiary, arrived at *Utrecht*, ſo that by this Time the Congreſs was almoſt compleat.

Theſe Propoſitions were entertained with different Sentiments in *Great Britain*; and the Houſe of Lords taking Notice of them, they were there called *Trifling, Arrogant, and Injurious to Her Majeſty and Her Allies*. This was ſeconded by ſeveral Peers of both Parties, who ſaid, in Subſtance, *That thoſe Propoſitions ought to be rejected with the utmoſt Indignation; that it plainly appeared* France *had no other Deſign than to amuſe and divide the Allies; and, in particular, that it was derogatory to Her Majeſty's Honour, to enter into any Negotiation with that Crown before Her Majeſty's juſt Title was acknowledged.* Some Endeavours were uſed to adjourn the Debate to the *Monday* following, or, at leaſt, to the next Day, by ſuggeſting, *That the Offers that were handed about, having yet no other Authority than their being inſerted in the* Holland *Gazettes, might not be Genuine; and therefore the Lords ought not to take any Notice of them till ſuch Time as the Queen had communicated them to the Houſe.*

But to this Objection it was demanded, by ſome preſent, whether, on their Honours, they knew of any better? Who anſwered, No: So that, without dividing, it was reſolved to addreſs Her Majeſty on the Diſagreeableneſs of theſe *Specifick Orders*.

" WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual
" and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave humbly to repre-
" ſent to your Majeſty the juſt Indignation of this Houſe, at the diſhonourable
" Treatment by *France*, in having propoſed to acknowledge your Majeſty's Ti-
" tle to theſe Realms no ſooner than when the Peace ſhall be ſigned. And we
" cannot forbear expreſſing our utmoſt Reſentment at the Terms of Peace offered
" to your Majeſty, and your Allies, by the Plenipotentiaries of *France*: And we
" do, with the greateſt Zeal and Affection, aſſure your Majeſty, that this Houſe

" will

" will ſtand by, and aſſiſt your Majeſty with our Lives and Fortunes in carry-
" ing on this War, in Conjunction with your Allies, till a ſafe and honourable
" Peace can be obtained for your Majeſty and your Allies."

But, to return to *Utrecht*. The Miniſters of the Allies, at a ſixth general Conference, held the 12th of *February*, having found it neceſſary to take till the 5th of *March* to give in their Specifick Demands, nothing of Moment paſſed to that Time.

The Demands in the Name of His Imperial and Catholick Majeſty, and the Empire.

THAT the Decrees and Conventions concerning the Conſtitution and internal State of the Empire, made, or to be made amongſt themſelves, remain unalterable, and in their Vigour. *France* ſhall entirely reſtore to the Emperor, and the Empire, for their Satisfaction and future Security, whatever was yielded to that Crown by the Empire and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, by the Treaties of *Munſter*, *Nimeghen*, and *Ryſwick*, or has been otherwiſe kept or retained by the Crown aforeſaid. *France* ſhall likewiſe, according to the Inſtances and Deſires of the aſſociated Circles of the Empire, and for their neceſſary Security, reſtore to the moſt ſerene Duke of *Lorain*, renouncing all manner of Pretenſions of Vaſſalage, Homage, *&c.* upon that Account; his ſacred Imperial Majeſty, and the Empire, reſerving to themſelves to make a further and more ample Declaration.

His Sacred Imperial and Catholick Majeſty inſiſts, That beſides the Kingdoms and Provinces he is already in Poſſeſſion of, in *Spain*, *Italy*, and the *Netherlands*, the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy, ſuch as it was poſſeſſed by King *Charles* II. be entirely reſtored unto him, ſaving, however, the Conventions already made, or that ſhall be made, by the ſaid moſt ſerene Houſe of *Auſtria*, with the moſt ſerene King of *Portugal*, and his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Savoy*, as alſo with the moſt ſerene Queen of *Great Britain*, and the Lords the States-General of the *United Netherlands*, to remain for ever, and without any Interruption to the Princes of the ſaid Houſe of *Auſtria*, their Heirs and Succeſſors, according to the Order and Diſpoſitiom made in the laſt Will and Teſtament of *Philip* IV.

However, his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty will not refuſe to enter upon further Negotiations, in concert with his Allies, if the Plenipotentiaries of the moſt Chriſtian King offer hereafter, in his Name, more reaſonable Propoſitions than the former.

All Satisfaction ſhall be given to all the Allies of his ſaid Imperial and Catholick Majeſty, and the Empire, according to the Tenor of the Alliances and Conventions, whereby they have reſpectively bound themſelves to each other, as to what they may pretend from *France*, and now demand, or ſhall demand hereafter.

Sufficient Reparation ſhall be made to the other Friends and States of the Empire, their Vaſſals and Subjects, for the Damages they have received on the Part of *France*, or their Adherents, both before and after the breaking out of this War.

As to the reſt, his Sacred Imperial and Catholick Majeſty, reſerving to himſelf the Power and Faculty of enlarging, interpreting, and alſo of altering the preſent

preſent Demands, as it ſhall be thought fit for the Good of the Peace, and the Good of Public Security. Done at *Utrecht*, *March* 5th, 1712.

The Specifick Demands of Her Majeſty the Queen of Great-Britain, *for what relates to* France.

THE moſt Chriſtian King ſhall acknowledge in the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt Terms the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, according as it is limited by Acts of Parliament (made during the Reign of the late King *William* the III. of Glorious Memory, and Her Majeſty now reigning) to the Proteſtant Line in the Houſe of *Hanover*.

The moſt Chriſtian King ſhall promiſe beſides, as well for himſelf as for His Heirs and Succeſſors, never to acknowledge any Perſon for King or Queen of *Great-Britain*, other than Her Majeſty now reigning, and thoſe Kings or Queens who ſhall ſucceed Her by virtue of the aboveſaid Acts of Parliament.

The moſt Chriſtian King ſhall likewiſe oblige himſelf to cauſe the Perſon who pretends to the aforeſaid Crown of *Great-Britain* to depart forthwith the Territories of *France*.

The moſt Chriſtian King ſhall promiſe for himſelf, His Heirs, and Succeſſors never to diſturb the ſaid Queen of *Great-Britain*, Her Heirs, and Succeſſors of the aforeſaid Proteſtant Line in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and of all depending thereon; as alſo never to grant any Aid or Aſſiſtance directly or indirectly, by Sea or Land, in Money, Arms, Ammunition, Ships, Mariners, Soldiers or otherwiſe, to any Perſon or Perſons, who hereafter would attempt under any Pretext or any Cauſe whatever to oppoſe the aforeſaid Succeſſion, or to favour thoſe who ſhould oppoſe it, directly or indirectly by open War, or by fomenting Seditions and Conſpiracies againſt ſuch Prince or Princeſs who ſhall be on the Throne of *Great-Britain* by virtue of the aforementioned Acts, or againſt Her or Him on whom the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Great-Britain* ſhall devolve conformably to the aforeſaid Acts.

The Plenipotentiaries of *France* ſhall forthwith enter into Negociation with thoſe of *Great-Britain*, to make a Treaty of Commerce between the Two Kingdoms.

The moſt Chriſtian King ſhall cauſe all the Fortifications of *Dunkirk* to be demoliſh'd, as alſo that Port to be filled up, and the Sluices which ſerve to cleanſe it to be deſtroy'd; the whole at his Expence, and within Two Months after the Signing of the Peace: And His ſaid Majeſty ſhall likewiſe be obliged never to cauſe the ſaid Fortifications, Port, or Sluices, to be repair'd.

His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall remit to Her Majeſty the Queen of *Great-Britain* the Day of Exchanging Ratifications of the Peace to be made, Authentic Acts, and Formalities of Ceſſion of the Iſlands of *St. Chriſtopher*, and of *Newfoundland*, with the Town of *Placentia*, and the other Iſlands ſituate in the Sea round the ſame: As alſo *Acadia* with the Town of *Port-Royal*, otherwiſe called *Annapolis-Royal*, and ſuch Part of the ſaid Country as depends thereon.

The moſt Chriſtian King ſhall reſtore to the Queen and Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, *Hudſon's Bay* and *Straits*, together with all the Countries, Seas, Coaſts, Rivers, Places and Forts belonging thereto; and ſhall conſent that the Limits

betwixt

betwixt the ſaid *Hudſon*'s-*Bay* and the Poſſeſſions of the *French* on the Sides of the River of *St. Laurence* ſhall be regulated, and the Subjects of *Great Britain* and of *France* Prohibited from ever paſſing the ſaid Limits, or going by Land or Sea one to the other.

The moſt Chriſtian King ſhall likewiſe cauſe juſt and reaſonable Reimburſements to be made to the *Engliſh Hudſon*'s *Bay* Company of all the Loſſes which the ſaid Company has ſuffered by the Invaſion and Depredation done by the *French* in Time of Peace to their Colonies, Ships, Perſons and Effects.

The Subjects of *France* who are the Inhabitants of *Canada* and others ſhall for the Future forbear to hinder the reciprocal Traffick between the Subjects of *Great Britain* and the Natives of the Country of *America*; as alſo to diſturb the Five Indian Nations or Cantons, or others who are under Her Obedience.

Her Majeſty, conformably to Her Alliances, inſiſts, that the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall cauſe juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction to be given to all and every one of the High Allies upon what they demand of *France*.

Although it be found convenient that every one of the High Allies ſhould make their own particular Demands, yet becauſe the Miniſters of his Electoral Highneſs of *Hanover* are not yet arrived, and for other Conſiderations, Her Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries inſiſt that *France* ſhall own the Electoral Dignity of His ſaid Highneſs, with all the Rights and Prerogatives thereto appertaining.

Her Majeſty the Queen reſerves to the Allies, whoſe Miniſters could not yet come to the Congreſs, the Privilege of delivering in hereafter their Pretenſions and Demands, which ſhall be received and conſidered in the ſame manner as if they were now Preſented; it being her Majeſty's Intention, that the ſame Regard ſhould be had thereto, and juſt Satisfaction given them.

The Queen demands likewiſe that the better to preſerve Tranquility in the Empire, the Clauſe added to the Fourth Article of the Treaty of *Ryſwick* ſhall be aboliſhed, and that *France* ſhall not in any manner oppoſe the ſettling of all Affairs of Religion in the Empire conformably to the Treaties of *Weſtphalia*.

What her Majeſty thinks Herſelf obliged to demand in Favour of the Reformed Proteſtants of *France*, of thoſe who are in or condemned to the Gallies, detained in Priſons or other Places, or are Refugees, ſhall be expreſs'd in the Courſe of the Negociation, in concert with thoſe of the Allies who concern themſelves therein.

Her *Britannic* Majeſty Demands further, that the moſt Chriſtian King cauſe good and ſpeedy Juſtice to be done to the Houſe of *Hamilton* for the Dutchy of *Chaſtellerault*, to Colonel *Charles Douglaſs* for the Lands taken from him by *France* and others of Her Subjects.

Her Majeſty Demands beſides, that *France* cauſe juſt and equitable Satisfaction to be given to Her Friends who ſhall be named in the Progreſs of the Negotiation, for the Loſſes and Damages which they have ſuffered by *France*, with the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Liberties and Priviledges which they have Right to claim.

The Specifick Demands of their High Mightineſſes the Lords the States-General *of the* United-Provinces, *of His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the King of* France, *for a General Peace.*

I. THAT His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as well for himſelf as for the Prince or Princes his Allies, and all others who might pretend thereto, ſhall renounce or cauſe to be renounc'd, in the moſt ſtrong and moſt ample Terms, all the Right which he or the Prince or Princes his Allies, or others, might claim to the *Spaniſh Netherlands* as they were poſſeſs'd, or ought to have been poſſeſs'd by the late Catholic King *Charles* II. conformably to the Treaty of *Reſwick:* And becauſe the Dutchy Town and Fortreſs of *Luxemburg*, with the County of *Chimay*, the County Town and Caſtle of *Namure*, as alſo the Towns of *Charleroy* and *Newport*, are ſtill in the Power of *France* or its Allies, His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall cauſe the ſaid Dutchy, Counties, Towns and Fortreſſes, with all their Appurtenances and Dependances, and whatever elſe might further appertain to the ſaid *Spaniſh Netherlands* deſcrib'd as before, in the Condition in which the whole now is, with the Fortifications, as alſo with the Cannon, Artillery and Ammunition of War now actually therein, and with all the Papers, Letters, Records and Archives, which relate to the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, or to any Part of them, to be immediately after the Peace, and at furtheſt within Fifteen Days after the Exchange of the Ratifications, put into the Hands of the ſaid Lords the States, to be reſtored with the reſt of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, already reconquered, to His Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, as ſoon as the ſaid Lords and States ſhall have agreed on the Manner wherein the *Spaniſh Netherlands* ſhall ſerve for their Barrier or Security, and as ſoon as His Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, conformably to the Treaty of *Munſter*, ſhall have likewiſe made over to them, in all Propriety and Sovereignty, the Upper Quarter of *Gelder* for an Equivalent to be agreed on.

II. That the Towns and Places of *Menin* with its Verge, *Liſle* with its Citadel, *Doway* with the Fort of *Scarpe*, and *Orchies*, and all the Caſtellany of *Liſle*, with the Governments and Bailliages reſpective therein contain'd, alſo the County of *Loeu* and the Bourg of *Gorgue*, *Tournay*, its Citadel, and the *Tournaiſis*, *Aire* with its Bailliage or Government, with Fort *Francis*, *Terouanne*, *Lillers*, with its Baillaiges, St. *Venant* with its Dependance, *Bethune* with its Government or Bailliage, and *Bouchain* with its Dependance, ſhall remain to the ſaid Lords the States, with the whole Extent of their Verges, Caſtellanies, Territories, Governments, Bailliages, Apurtenances and Dependances, Parts annex'd or Parts inclos'd within other Juriſdictions, without any Exception, the whole in the ſame Manner as the moſt Chriſtian King has poſſeſſed all the ſaid Towns, Places, Forts or Countries, with all their Appurtenances and Dependances, Parts annexed or Parts incloſed, before the preſent War: And that the moſt Chriſtian King, as well for himſelf as for the Princes his Heirs and Succeſſors, Born, or to be Born, ſhall renounce in Favour of the ſaid Lords the States, in the moſt expreſſive and moſt ample Terms all Pretenſions to the ſaid Towns, Places, Verges, Caſtellanies, Governments, Bailliages, Territories and all their Dependances, Appurtenances, Parts annexed, Parts incloſed within other Juriſdictions.

III. That his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as well for himſelf as for the Princes his Heirs and Succeſſors, Born, or to be Born, ſhall yield, by the Treaty of Peace now to be made, in the moſt poſitive and moſt ample Terms, and immediately after the Peace, and at furtheſt within fifteen Days after the Ratifications, ſhall cauſe to be evacuated and delivered up to the ſaid Lords the States, *Furnes* and *Furnambacht*, therein including the Eight Pariſhes and Fort *Knock*, the Towns of *Loo* and *Dixmuyden* with their Dependancies, *Ypres* with his Caſtellany and Dependancies, and the Towns and Caſtellanies of *Baillieul* or *Belle Merville*, *Warneton*, *Comines*, *Warwic*, *Poperingen*, *Caſſel*, and what depends on the Places here above ſpecified, *Valenciennes* with its Provoſtſhip, *Conde* and *Maubeuge* with its Provoſtſhip, the whole with all their Dependancies, Appurtenances, Parts annexed and Parts encloſed, without excepting any Thing; the whole in the ſame Manner as the Moſt Chriſtian King does now poſſeſs all thoſe Towns, Places, Forts and Countries, with all their Appurtenances, Dependancies, Parts annexed, and Parts incloſed, and with the Fortifications as they are at preſent, as alſo with the Cannon, Artillery and Ammunitions of War now therein, and with all the Papers, Letters, Archives and Records which concern the ſaid Towns, Places, Forts, their Dependancies and Appurtenances.

The ſaid Lords the States to be entirely allowed to agree as well concerning the ſaid *Spaniſh Netherlands*, as concerning the ſaid Towns and Places which they ſhall retain and keep in their Hands, and concerning the others which they demand beſides of *France* for their Security, with his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty and his Succeſſors in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and to make thereupon ſuch Conventions, from time to time, with his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty and His Succeſſors, as the ſaid Lords the States ſhall think proper.

This Condition to be poſitively underſtood, *viz.* That no Province, Town, Fort or Place of the ſaid *Spaniſh Netherlands*, nor of thoſe which ſhall be yielded by the Moſt Chriſtian King, ſhall ever be yielded, transferred or given, or devolve to the Crown of *France*, or to any Prince or Princeſs of the Houſe or Line of *France*, either by Virtue of any Donation, Sale, Exchange, Matrimonial Contract, Inheritance, by Will, or *ab inteſtato*, or any other Title whatſoever, nor ever be put in whatever Manner into the Power or under the Power of the Moſt Chriſtian King, or of any Prince or Princes of the Houſe or Line of *France*.

IV. That His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall not in any manner oppoſe or hinder the Garriſons which now are, or hereafter ſhall be on the Part of the ſaid Lords the States in the Town, Caſtles, or Forts of *Huy*, the Citadel of *Liege*, or the Town of *Bonn*, from remaining there till it be agreed otherwiſe with the Emperor and Empire.

V. That His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall grant to the ſaid Lords the *States*, and to their Subjects, all the Advantages of Commerce and Navigation contained in the Treaties of Peace and Commerce of *Ryſwick*, and by Conſequence likewiſe Exemption from the Duty of Fifty Sols *per Ton* on Foreign Ships, as that Exemption was explained by the ſeparate Article of the ſaid Treaty of Commerce; that beſides His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall grant to them abſolutely and poſitively the *Tarif* of the Year 1664, without Exception of any ſort of Merchandize, or other Exception: And no poſterior Tarif, Edict or

Declaration,

Declaration, Ordinance or Arreſt, ſhall be of any Force, but all thoſe poſterior Tarifs, Edicts, Declarations, Ordinances, and Arreſts, and all other Grievances introduced ſince the Year 1664, to the Prejudice of the Commerce and Navigation of the Subjects of the State, as alſo the *Tarif* ſettled the 29th of *May*, 1699, between the Commiſſioners of *France* and of the *States* ſhall be abrogated, cancell'd, and annull'd, ſo far as it relates to the ſaid Lords the *States* and their Subjects; nor ſhall any thing of all this with reſpect to them be altered hereafter directly or indirectly under any Denomination or Pretext whatever.

VI. Whereas many *French* of the Reform'd Religion having been obliged to quit *France*, have as Refugees ſettled themſelves under the Obedience of the Lords the States-General, and are become their Subjects, by Right of Naturalization, Burgherſhip, or other Right; and among thoſe Refugees ſome have left in *France* their Huſbands, Wives, Children, Fathers, Mothers, or other near Relations, and ſeveral have left their Goods and Eſtates there, or have ſince acquir'd Goods or Eſtates there by Succeſſion, Inheritance, or otherwiſe, without having been able to draw off thoſe Effects, or to enjoy them, the Lords the States-General in Conſequence of the Protection which they owe to their Subjects, Demand,

1. Permiſſion to thoſe Huſbands, Wives, Children, Fathers, Mothers, or other near Kindred of the ſaid Refugees, to retire freely out of *France*, and to come to live with their Huſbands, Wives, Children, Fathers, Mothers, or other near Relations ſettled under the Obedience of the ſaid Lords.

2. Reſtitution of all the Effects moveable and immoveable of Right belonging as well to the ſaid Refugees as to their Deſcendants, born Subjects of the the State, or to their Heirs living under their Obedience.

3. That as well the ſaid Refugees as their Deſcendants, Born Subjects of the State, may be conſider'd and reputed, in all Reſpects, real Subjects of the State, and that accordingly they may enjoy, as well in *France* as throughout all its Dominions, all the Rights, Privileges, Franchiſes, Immunities, and Advantages which the other Subjects of the State ought to enjoy by Virtue of the Treaties of Peace and Commerce.

The Lords the States-General are deſirous, beſides, that it may pleaſe his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to grant, in Conſideration of the Friendſhip which is to be re-eſtabliſhed by the Peace, Liberty of Conſcience to thoſe of the Reformed Religion who ſhall remain in *France*, as alſo to cauſe to be enlarged and ſet at Liberty, all thoſe who, for the Sake of the Reform'd Religion, are detain'd in Priſons, Convents, Galleys, and other Places.

VII. That His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall yield up likewiſe immediately after the Peace, to the ſaid Lords the *States*, in Quality of Executors of the laſt Wills of the late King of *Great-Britain*, and of *Frederick-Henry* late Prince of *Orange*, the Principality of *Orange*, and all the other Effects and Lands which belonged to the ſaid King of *Great-Britain*, and which ate ſituated under the Dominion of the Moſt Chriſtian King, the Whole, with the Revenues, Profits and Advantages, and with all the Rights, Actions, Privileges, Uſages, and Prerogatives, in the ſame Condition, and in the ſame Manner as the ſaid King of *Great-Britain* did enjoy, or ought to have enjoy'd them before the preſent

War, that in Conſequence they may be reſtored by the ſaid Lords the *States* to the Perſon or Perſons who hath or have a Right to them.

VIII. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall cauſe all the Fortifications of the Town of *Dunkirk*, of the Forts of the Ports, of the Riſbanks, and whatever may belong to them, without any Exception, to be demoliſh'd; as alſo the Port to be fill'd up; the Whole at his own Expence, and without any Equivalent; in ſuch Manner, that half of the ſaid Fortifications be razed, and half of the Port filled up, within the Space of Two Months before the Exchange of the Ratifications, and the other half of the Fortifications, and what remains of filling up intirely the ſaid Port, within the ſpace of Two Months more: Nor ſhall the ſaid Fortifications ever be rebuilt, nor the Port made navigable again, directly or indirectly.

IX. Whereas the Clauſe added at the End of the Fourth Article of the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, made between the Emperor and Empire on one Part, and the Moſt Chriſtian King on the other (importing that the Roman Catholick Religion ſhould remain in the Places reſtored) was a manifeſt Contravention of the Treaty of *Weſtphalia*, and has occaſion'd others which have diſturbed the Quiet of the Empire: and there being no Way to preſerve Tranquility there, unleſs Eccleſiaſtical Affairs be re-eſtabliſhed on the foot of the ſaid Treaties, the Lords the *States* being extremely intereſted that the publick Quiet (after it ſhall be reſtored likewiſe in the Empire by a good Peace) may not be troubled there, by any Cauſe whatſoever, Demand of the Moſt Chriſtian King, that he conſent as far as it relates to him, the ſaid Clauſe be demoliſhed in the Treaty of Peace now to be made; and that in conſequence his Moſt Chriſtian King ſhall not in any Manner oppoſe the Re-eſtabliſhment of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in the Countries, Towns, and other Places already reſtored, aud which he ſhall yet reſtore to the Emperor and Empire, and their Continuance afterwards, in the State they ought to be according to the ſaid Treaty of *Weſtphalia*.

The ſaid Lords the *States* Demand, beſides what is above ſpecified, Satisfaction for all and each of their High Allies, conformably to the mutual Treaties and Alliances made on Occaſion of the preſent War; and this in ſuch a Manner, that by Virtue of the ſame Treaties the Lords the *States* may obtain likewiſe the Security of their Republick, and the Intereſt of their Commerce.

Reſerving to themſelves further, the Liberty of explaining, interpreting and enlarging the Contents of theſe Articles, as they ſhall, think good in the Courſe of this Negotiation.

The ſaid Lords the *States* reſerve likewiſe to thoſe of their High Allies whoſe Miniſters, or Plenipotentiaries could not yet come hither to the Congreſs, the Liberty of making and delivering in their Demands, which ſhall be receiv'd in the ſame manner as if they had been now given in.

Their High Mightineſſes do moreover reſerve to themſelves the Liberty of ſupporting and ſeconding, during the Courſe of this Negotiation, the other Demands and Intereſts of their Allies; as alſo the Intereſts of the Kings, Princes and States their Friends, and thoſe of their own Subjects.

The Specifick Demands of his Majesty the King of Prussia.

HIS Majesty the King of *Prussia* shall be acknowledged in that Quality, without Restriction or Condition.

His said Majesty shall be acknowledged for the natural and lawful Sovereign Prince of the City and Principality of *Orange*; and that City and Principality shall be restored to him, with all the Rights, Appurtenances, and Dependences thereof, in the Quality of lawful Successor of the House of *Chalon-Orange*.

All the Estates of the Houses of *Chalon-Orange* and *Chatel-Belin*, situate in the *Franche-Comte*, *Burgundy*, and other Provinces under the Dominion of *France*, shall be restored to his said *Prussian* Majesty by virtue of the aforesaid Rights of Succession, and others, conformably to the Treaties of Peace between the Princes of *Orange*, and the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, to the last of which Princes his *Prussian* Majesty succeeded, together with all their Rights, Appurtenances, and Dependences, which shall be restored to him, with the Incomes, Rents, and Revenues of the said Principality, and the Revenues of the other Estates situate in *Franche-Comte*, and others under the Dominion of *France*, received since the Death of his late *Britannick* Majesty.

That his said *Prussian* Majesty shall likewise be acknowledged for the lawful Sovereign Prince of the Counties of *Neufchattel* and *Valingen*, with all their Rights, Appurtenances, and Dependences, by virtue of the Sentence of the Three States of the Country, the 3d of *November*, 1707; and the said Country of *Neufchattel* and *Valingen*, as also of the Succession of *Chalon-Orange* and *Chattel-Belin*, wherever they are situate, shall be entirely revoked, annulled, cancelled, and annihilated.

That the Arrests, Ordinances, and Judgments, given against the Protestants of *Orange*, issued in 1703, and since, shall be likewise revoked, annulled, and annihilated.

Swisserland, their Allies and Confederates, and particularly the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Glaris*, *Basil*, *Schafauysen* and *Appenzel*, the Sovereignty and the Towns of *Neufchattel* and *Valingen*, the City of *Geneva*, that of *St. Gall*, *Malhausen*, and *Bienne*, with all their Appurtenances and Dependences, shall be comprehended in the Treaty, as a Condition of the Peace; nor shall any Part of the laudable *Helvetick* Body, particularly of the laudable Protestant Cantons, and their Confederates, be attacked, nor their Tranquility disturbed under any Pretext whatsoever.

To the States of *Neufchattel* shall be united, in all Sovereignty, the small Part or Tract of Country of the *Franche-Comte*, which is on this Side of the River *Doux*, the Castle (or Seat) of *Joux*, and its Dependences therein included; and this shall be done by way of Emendation and Reparation to his Majesty, for the Waste and Havock made in different Parts of his Lands, Estates, and Provinces.

His Majesty's Subjects every where shall enjoy all the Advantages for Commerce that shall be enjoy'd by the Subjects of her Majesty the Queen of *Great Britain*, and of their High Mightinesses; nor shall his said Subjects be obliged

to

to pay higher or other Duties, Gabels or Impoſts whatſoever, on account of their Perſons, Goods, Ships, or Lading, directly or indirectly, than what ſhall be paid by the Subjects of the ſaid Potentates.

The Town of *Gelder*, with the Canton of that Province, and the Town and Country of *Erkelens*, which his *Pruſſian* Majeſty poſſeſſes, ſhall remain to him in full Sovereignty and Propriety, as taken from *France* by his Majeſty's Arms, and for other conſiderable Pretenſions, for which his Majeſty is not ſatisfied by *Spain*.

Whereas many *French* of the Reformed Religion having been obliged to quit *France*, have ſettled themſelves as Refugees under the Obedience of his Majeſty, and are become his Subjects by Right of Naturalization, Burgherſhip, or other Right; and whereas among thoſe Refugees ſome have left in *France* their Huſbands, Wives, Children, Fathers, Mothers, and other near Relations, and ſeveral of them have likewiſe left their Goods or Eſtates, or have acquired Goods or Eſtates there ſince, by Succeſſion, Inheritance, or otherwiſe, without having been able to withdraw or enjoy the ſame; his Majeſty, in Conſequence of the Protection which he owes to his Subjects, demands, firſt, that it may be permitted to thoſe Huſbands, Wives, Children, Fathers, Mothers, or other near Kindred of the ſaid Refugees, to depart freely out of *France*, and to come to live with their Huſbands, Wives, Children, Fathers, Mothers, or other near Relations who are ſettled under the Obedience of his ſaid Majeſty. Secondly, The Reſtitution of all the Goods or Eſtates, moveable or immoveable, by Right appertaining as well to the ſaid *French* Refugees, as to their Deſcendants born under the Obedience of his Majeſty, or to their Heirs in his Dominions. Thirdly, That the ſaid Refugees, or their Deſcendants, born Subjects of his Majeſty, ſhall enjoy, as well in *France* as in any Part of its Dominions, all the Rights, Privileges, Franchiſes, Immunities, Liberties, and Advantages, which his Majeſty's other Subjects ought to enjoy there, without any Exception or Reſerve. His Majeſty is deſirous, beſides, that it may pleaſe his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to grant, in Conſideration of the Friendſhip which is to be re-eſtabliſhed by the Peace, Liberty of Conſcience to thoſe of the Reformed Religion, who ſhall remain in *France*, as alſo to enlarge and ſet at Liberty all thoſe who, for the ſake of the Reformed Religion, are detained in Priſon, Convents, Galleys, and other Places.

The Clauſe to the fourth Article of the Peace of *Ryſwick* ſhall be aboliſhed, and the Affairs of Religion in the Empire, and particularly in the Places reſtored by the Peace of *Ryſwick*, and to be reſtored by the Peace now to be made, ſhall be put into the Condition they ought to be, according to the Tenor of the Peace of *Weſtphalia*.

One or more Articles ſhall be made of what is mentioned above, with Clauſes neceſſary for the Explication or Security of what ſhall be agreed.

His Majeſty's high Allies ſhall have Satisfaction, conformably to his Alliances.

His Friends, who ſhall be mentioned in the Progreſs of the Negotiation, ſhall have juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction for the Loſſes and Damages which they have ſuffered by *France*, as likewiſe the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Liberties and Privileges which they have Right to claim.

His

His Majesty reserves to himself the Right and Liberty of making other Demands, according as the Course of the Negociation for a general Peace shall require.

Done at Utrecht, *the 5th of* March, 1712.

Signed, *O. M. C. de Denhof, C. de Metternich.*

The Demands of his Royal Highness of Savoy, *for the general Peace about to be made.*

AS the just Satisfaction of his Royal Highness of *Savoy*, cannot be better regulated than by his Treaties of Alliance, and by a reasonable Security for his Dominions, his Royal Highness demands,

That in the Treaty of Peace to be made, the known and inconteſtible Right belonging to his Royal Highness, and which was declared by the last Will of *Philip* IV. King of *Spain*, to the Succession of the Monarchy of *Spain*, immediately after the most august House of *Austria*, be maintained whole and entire, without having the least Prejudice done to it; and that no third Prince, preferable to his said Royal Highness, shall be introduced or established in any of the Dominions of the said Monarchy of *Spain*.

That his said Royal Highness be immediately restor'd to the Possession of the Dutchy of *Savoy*, and of the Provinces depending on it, the County of *Nice* and its Dependences, and all the Places and Counties which belong to his said Royal Highness, and which have been taken by the Arms of his most Christian Majesty during the Course of this War, without any Restriction.

That his most Christian Majesty quit, in favour of his Royal Highness, and make over to him all his Rights of Propriety and Sovereignty to the Forts of *Exilles* and *Fenestrelles*, and to all the Valleys on the other Side of Mount *Genevre*, and other *Alps*, including therein the Valley of *Chateau Dauphin*; and that (to form the Barrier of the Dominions of his said Royal Highness, who will accept it, at the same time, in Reimbursements for the Places of his Dominions which have been demolished) his most Christian Majesty yield to him, on the Sid of *Piemont*, the Fortresses of Mount *Dauphin* and *Briancon*, with the *Brianconois*, and the Valley of *Queirasque* on the Side of *Savoy*; *Barrau*, with its Fort and Territory, and the small Extent of Ground from thence to the Confines of *Savoy*, on one Side of the River *Isere*, and on the other Side of the *Gonselin*, and drawing a Line from thence to the *Coi de Vaugiani*, with what shall be between the said Line and *la Rochette*, and other Lands of *Savoy*, together with the Lands, Places, and Villages, which are on the other Side of the *Rhone*, towards *Savoy*, the Navigation of the *Rhone* being in common between the King of *France* and the Duke of *Savoy*, from *Geneva* to *St. Genis d'Aoste*, this latter included: And on the Side of *Monaco*, the most Christian King to stand bound to indemnify the Prince of that Name.

The Cessions made by the Emperor *Leopold*, of glorious Memory, to his Royal Highness, by the Treaty of Alliance, and the secret Article of the same, dated the 8th of *November* 1703, shall remain in full Force and firm, and have entire

entire Effect; and on this Occaſion His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall acknowledge them to be ſo, and not conteſt or infringe them directly or indirectly, at any time, for any Reaſon whatſoever; nor ſhall hinder, by Force or otherwiſe, His Royal Highneſs from enjoying all the Countries, Territories, Places, Lands, Rights, and the Exerciſe of thoſe Rights, which are comprehended in the ſaid Ceſſion.

That it ſhall be lawful for his Royal Highneſs to make ſuch Fortifications as he ſhall judge the moſt convenient in all the Places which he acquired by His precedent Treaties.

That the Prince of *Monaco* ſhall acknowledge in his Royal Highneſs the Superiority and direct Dominion of the Places of *Menton* and *Roccabruna*, and take the Inveſtitures of him, as His Predeceſſors have done.

That the Commerce from *France* to *Italy*, and *vice verſa*, ſhall be carried on in the Manner ſpecified by the 6th Article of the Treaty of *Turin*, and the Letters and Mails by the ordinary Poſts ſhall continue to be ſent by the ſame Road, obſerving on that Account in the Territories of His Royal Highneſs what has been practiſed in *France*, with Reſpect to the Mails from *Italy* and *Spain*, and *vice verſa*, ſince the Time of *Charles* II. without altering the Roads. The *French* Shipping ſhall pay the ancient *Dace* (commonly call'd the Right of *Villefranche*) conformably to what was practiſed in the Time of His Royal Highneſs's Predeceſſors Dukes of *Savoy*; nor ſhall any Oppoſition be made thereto for the future, on the Part of the Moſt Chriſtian King, or of his Subjects.

That His Royal Highneſs ſhall be at full Liberty to ſell the Barony *des Eſſarts*, and other Eſtates and Effects which he has in *France*, without any Hindrance formed on the Part of his Majeſty, who ſhall recede from, in favour of his ſaid Royal Highneſs and of his Succeſſors, or Perſons acquiring from them, all Rights which he might claim to the Lands which are in *Bugey*, and which do at this Time belong to his ſaid Royal Highneſs, to whom if it be required, the Moſt Chriſtian King ſhall yield the irrevocable Property of them, for his Royal Highneſs and his Succeſſors Dukes of *Savoy*, and others acquiring from them.

The Treaty of *Turin* of 1696 ſhall be kept and obſerved punctually in every Thing that is not derogated from by the preſent.

His ſaid Royal Highneſs reſerves to himſelf the explaining and ſpecifying more amply the above-mention'd Demands, and the enlarging them as the Negotiation ſhall give him occaſion, and as ſhall ſeem to him convenient and reaſonable.

His ſaid Royal Highneſs inſiſts beſides, that purſuant to the Treaties of Alliance, all the High Allies, and each of them, find and have their Satisfaction, and that the Treaties of Peace they ſhall make with *France* be included, and ſtipulated reſpectively in thoſe which the other High Allies ſhall make with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as if they were inſerted therein Word for Word; reſerving to the Allies abſent, and whoſe Miniſters could not yet come, to make their Demands.

He demands further, That *France* cauſe to be given to his Friends and Subjects, who ſhall be named in the Progreſs of the Negotiation, Satisfaction for the

the Loſſes and Damages which *France* has occaſioned to them, and upon the Demands which they have a Right to make.

Done at Utrecht, *the 5th of* March, 1712.

The Specifick Demands of the Moſt Serene and Moſt Potent King of Portugal.

HIS Sacred Royal Majeſty of *Portugal* judging, That the Intereſt of *Portugal* would not be ſufficiently ſecured, unleſs all and ſingular the Dominions of which the *Spaniſh* Monarchy was formerly compoſed when poſſeſſed by the Catholick King *Charles* II. be reſtored to the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

I. Demands, That the whole Monarchy of *Spain*, including the *Weſt-Indies*, be yielded to the Moſt Serene and Moſt Potent Prince *Charles* VI. Emperor of the *Romans*, except thoſe Cities, Towns, Fortreſſes, Villages, Territories, Lands and Rights, as well in *Europe* as *America*, which by Agreement between the moſt Potent Prince *Leopold* Emperor of the *Romans*, and the Moſt Serene and Potent Prince *Peter* II. King of *Portugal*, and the other Allies, are to be made over and given for ever to His Sacred Royal Majeſty of *Portugal*, or promiſed to the other Allies.

II. That *France* ſhall yield to him and to the ſucceeding King of *Portugal* for ever, all the Right which that Crown pretends to have to the Countries about the North Promontory, commonly called the *North Cape*, belonging to the Territories of the State of *Maranon*, and ſituate between the River *Amazons* and that of *Vincent Pinſo*, notwithſtanding any Treaty either Proviſional or Deciſive, made concerning the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries: As alſo that *France* yield, or renounce, whatever other Right which that Crown pretends to have to any of the Territories of *Portugal*.

III. His ſaid Sacred Royal Majeſty of *Portugal* reſerves beſides to himſelf the Right of making a more ample Explanation of the aforeſaid Demands, during the Courſe of theſe Conferences.

IV. He inſiſts likewiſe, that purſuant to the Alliances, juſt and equitable Satisfaction be given to all and each of the Allies, upon their Demands.

V. Laſtly, That the like juſt and equal Satisfaction be given by *France* to the ſaid Moſt Serene and Potent King, who ſhall be named when the Negotiation of Peace is more advanced, for the Loſſes and Damages they have ſuſtain'd from *France*.

Utrecht, March 5th, 1712.

The Elector Palatine's *Demands*.

THE Moſt Serene Elector *Palatine* being informed that the Miniſters of His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſent to the Conferences for Peace have therein made ſome Propoſitions; and that the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies have thought it convenient that each of them ſhould give in their particular Demands;

His Electoral Serenity desires above all Things, that all and every one of the Allies shall obtain just and reasonable Satisfaction.

He demands to be maintained in the peaceable Possession of the *Upper Palatinate* and the County of *Chamb*, in which he was reinstated by the Deceased Emperor, with the Consent and Approbation of the whole Electoral College, with all the Dependencies, Rights, Privileges, Emoluments, and the Ancient Pre-eminence of his Electoral Dignity, conformable to the Tenour of the Investiture and Patent which had been granted him: As likewise to be re-establish'd in the Places, Territories, Towns, Bourgs, and Castles which have been taken from his Most Christian Majesty, under Pretext of a Right of Superiority, Sovereignty, Confiscation, or otherwise, and that he receive due Satisfaction for the Damages and Injuries suffer'd, and for the Contributions extorted without Measure.

Done at Utrecht, March *5th*, 1712. MUNDHEIM.

The Demands of His Most Serene Highness the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

HIS Most Serene Higness having the Honour to be of the Grand Alliance, and of being engaged to it by other particular Treaties, he neither can nor ought to desire any thing in the World more, than the said Alliance should be executed in all its Points and Articles, and that each of the Allies should enjoy by the General Peace the Benefits it contains.

Conformably to this, His Most Serene Highness demands in the first Place entire Satisfaction for all the High Allies in General, and for each of them in particular.

He demands Secondly, The Conservation and Re-establishment of the Protestant Religion in the Countries belonging to the Empire on the Foot of the Peace of *Westphalia*, and that the Clause added to the Fourth Article of the Treaty of *Ryswick* be abolished.

Thirdly, He demands for his own Security and Satisfaction to keep for ever the Fortress of *Rhinfels*, the Town of St. *Goar*, Fort *Katz* and the little Bailliage depending thereon; and that the Forty-fifth Article of the Treaty of *Ryswick*, so far as 'tis contrary to this Demand, shall be abolish'd.

And it being just that Reparation should be made him for the Damages he has suffered by this War, and that he be reimbursed the Expence it has engag'd him in, he demands Fourthly, That just and full Satisfaction be given him.

Fifthly, That the most Serene House of *Lorrain*, have just and reasonable Satisfaction.

And Sixthly, That all the Estates and Effects belonging to the Succession of the House of *Orange*, and now in the Hands of *France* be restored, with the Revenues received, and whatever is become due since the last War, to their High Mightinesses as Executors of the last Will of his Majesty the late King of *Great-Britain* of Glorious Memory, for the Use of those who shall appear to have a Right thereto.

For the rest, His Most Serene Highness reserves to himself the Liberty of declaring and explaining hereafter more amply, and adding what he shall think to be

be for the Security and Indemnity as well of all the High Allies, Confederates and Friends, as of himſelf and of his moſt Serene Houſe.

Done at Utrecht, *March 5th*, 1712. B. de DALWICH.

The Specifick Demands of the moſt Reverend Lord the Biſhop and Prince of Munſter *and* Paterborn.

HIS Highneſs having been neceſſitated to employ immenſe Sums during the preſent War, undertaken for the Liberty and Safety of all *Europe*, to be at a great Expence for maintaining his Troops, and for that End to burthen his good Subjects with exceſſive Contributions; and his Country having ſuffered great Damage by the continual Marches of Auxiliary Troops; on this Account his Highneſs Demands, in Right of Satisfaction and Indemnity, that thoſe Expences and Damages be made good and repaired by the Moſt Chriſtian King: And this with ſo much the more Juſtice, becauſe in a like Caſe the Biſhopricks of *Munſter* and *Paterborn* were obliged by the Treaty of Peace of *Weſtphalia*, to pay a great Sum of Money, under the Denominrtion of Satisfaction, to the Allies of *France* at that Time.

Done at Utrecht, *March 5th*, 1712. De DUCKER.

The Specifick Demands of the Serene Prince of Wirtemberg.

'TIS demanded for the moſt Serene Prince and Lord *Eberhard Lewis* Duke of *Wirtemberg* and *Tecce*, Count of *Montbeliard*, Lord of *Heidenheim*, &c. and his Moſt Serene Houſe.

1. Equitable Satisfaction conformable to the Treaties, for Coſt and Expence in this War, and for the Damages ſuffered therein, a particular Deduction of which is reſerved to be produced, as alſo Means to repair them in ſome Meaſure.

2. Confirmation of the Poſſeſſion of that Part of the Lordſhip of *Wieſenſteig*, which is included in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, and which formerly belong'd to the Houſe of *Bavaria*, in the Manner it has been given and made over to the moſt Serene Duke.

3. Intire Reſtitution of the Principality of *Montbeliard* to the Moſt Serene Duke and Lord *Leopold Eberhard*, with what belongs thereto; *viz.* the County of *Horbourg*, and the Lordſhips of *Reichenwecher*, *Granches*, *Clewal*, and *Paſſavant*, to be held immediately of the *Roman* Empire, as well as the Principality; as alſo the free Baronies (ennobled with all Territorial Juriſdiction) of *Hericourt*, *Chatelot*, *Blamont*, and *Hemont*, in their ancient and aforeſaid State of Indepency, as well with reſpect to Spirituals as Temporals, and in all the Rights, Immunities, Prerogatives and Revenues, without any Exception of whatever belonged formerly thereto, or in whatever Manner the ſame ought to have belonged, with Abolition of all that has been done, or pretended to the contrary. over, juſt Satisfaction to the aboveſaid Lord Duke for the Town of *New-Briſac*, and its Fortifications, as being Built on the Territory of *Horbourg*.

Done at Utrecht, March 5th, 1712. A. G. V. HESPEN.

The Specifick Demands of the moſt Reverend and moſt Serene Prince Elector of Trier, *&c.*

THE moſt Reverend and moſt Serene Elector of *Trier* demands, That the City of *Trier* be reſtor'd to him, and its Fort call'd *S. Martin*, as alſo the Town and Caſtle of *Saarbrug*, in the Condition they are at preſent, without demoliſhing any Thing more, and without deſtroying in them any publick or private Buildings, with the Cannon found in them at the Time they were taken: Alſo, that he be put into Poſſeſſion, and entire Enjoyment for ever, without Trouble or Hindrance, for the future, on the Part of *France*, of the Village of *Feppin*, and of all the other Places, Fees, Revenues, Rights Eccleſiaſtical and Secular, that himſelf or Predeceſſors have had or poſſeſſed, or ought to have had or poſſeſſed, as well before as ſince the Peace of *Munſter*, with reſpect to the Archbiſhoprick, and the Electorate and the Abbey of *Prumes*, reſerving to himſelf to ſet forth, in particular, the Loſſes ſuffer'd on Occaſion of this War.

His Electoral Highneſs further demands, to be re-eſtabliſhed in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Grand Priory of *Caſtile*, and the Abbey of *Palermo*, and of all the Revenues and Rights depending thereon, with the Perquiſites and Emoluments which have been unjuſtly detained from him during this War.

In Concluſion, the moſt Serene Elector demands, that, according to the Tenor of the Treaties, juſt and fit Satisfaction be given to His Allies, on the Part of the moſt Serene King of *France*.

Done at Utrecht *the 5th of* March, 1712.

Signed, *J. W. V. B. d'Elv. De Kayſerfelt.*

The Demands of the Aſſociated Circles.

SAD Experience having ſhewn, That the Circles adjoining to *France*, have not, from the Time of the Treaty of *Munſter*, been ſuffered by the moſt Chriſtian King to enjoy the Fruits of Peace, but have been continually moleſted by him, as well as in Time of War, either by Re-unions, or by open Hoſtilities: The Security of thoſe Circles does therefore abſolutely require, that the moſt Chriſtian King do reſtore, with Reimburſement or Reparation of the Damages occaſioned by the preſent War, all that was yielded up to him by the Peace of *Munſter*, and the ſubſequent Treaties, by the Circles, and by the Houſe of *Auſtria*; as alſo, that he reſtore thoſe Parts of the two *Lorrains*, and of the Dutchy of *Bar*, which were wreſted from them, either by Treaties, or by Force of Arms, and that all Obligation of Fealty for the ſame be abſolutely annulled: That ſo the Peace now to be made, may be a Bar againſt ſuch Ills, as have already been ſuſtained, and might be apprehended for the future; and publick

Tranquility

Tranquility between the Kingdom of *France*, and the adjacent Circles of the Empire may be eſtabliſhed, and held firm.

Done at Utrecht, March *5th*, 1712. STADIAN.

On the 9th of *March*, at a general Conference, the *French* Plenipotentiaries declared, That theſe Demands of the Allies were ſo very extenſive, and indeed ſurprizing, it could not reaſonably be expected they could return an Anſwer till they had received Inſtructions from the Courts of *France* and *Madrid*, to whom they had imparted the ſame, and therefore demanded till the 30th of *March* to be fully impowered to make their Reply, which was eaſily granted by the other Side.

On the 30th of *March* the Aſſembly was very numerous, for after a tedious Expectation of three Weeks, it was generally ſuppoſed the *French* Plenipotentiaries would have explain'd themſelves on the Specifick Demands of the Allies; but inſtead thereof they only made a formal Declaration, "That as they had "communicated in writing the ſpecifick Offers of the moſt Chriſtian King, and "the Allies had likewiſe given in writing their ſpecifick Demands, they were "ready to treat by way of Conference." Having been told that ſomething more clear and ſatisfactory had been expected from them, the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies retired to their ſeparate Apartment, and after about Half an Hour's Communication together, returned, and told thoſe of *France*, "That they fully "expected an Anſwer to their Demands in writing, and the rather, becauſe "they had, in effect, promiſed ſo to do." This roſe to a Debate, but was deferred, by Agreement, to the 2d of *April*, when M. *Buys* (according to a Reſolution taken, the Day before, among all the Miniſters of the Allies) delivered himſelf to the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, in the following manner.

"*Meſſieurs*, You know that on *Wedneſday* laſt we declared, That we had ex-"pected a ſpecifick Anſwer in writing, to our ſpecifick Demands delivered to "you in writing, and that we continued in that Expectation of an Anſwer in "writing: We have ſince conferred together on that Subject, and are ſtill una-"nimous in the ſame Opinion, and conſequently inſiſt, that an Anſwer be de-"livered to us in writing.

The *French* Miniſters anſwered as they had done before, "That as they had "reciprocally given each other their Pretenſions in writing, they could not per-"ceive how they were obliged to give any further Anſwer in writing; but de-"clared themſelves ready to enter into a Negotiation with all the Allies in the "uſual Form obſerved in other Treaties."

This Refuſal of the *French* raiſed a very great Heat in the Congreſs, and ſome Miniſters were ready to give it as their Opinion, That ſuch trifling was a ſufficient Ground to diſſolve the Congreſs; for the *French* Plenipotentiaries refuſing to anſwer in the Method all the Allies had punctually agreed on, it would be fruitleſs, as well as diſhonourable, for thoſe of the Allies to remain at *Utrecht*. It was, beſides, urged as their Promiſe, to give a ſatisfactory Anſwer, and no Anſwer could be eſteemed ſo, that was contrary to the Method the Allies had punctually reſolved to proceed in. And this was urged with ſo great Strength

of

of Reaſon and Judgment, that it drew the Mareſchal *de Uxelles* to a plain Confeſſion, "That if any ſuch Promiſe had been made, it would be but juſt to per-"form it; but then a very doubtful Queſtion would ariſe, whether any Promiſe "of that Nature could be proved." The Count *De St. Johns* ſeconded him, and pretended to ſhew, out of the Protocol of the former Conferences, that there was no ſuch Promiſe; which Arguments was ſoon overthrown by ſome of the Miniſters of the Allies, who ſhewed, by undeniable Inſtances, and amongſt others, by the Reſolutions taken in the firſt Conferences, and inſerted in the Protocol, wherein it was concluded, "That all Propoſals, on both Sides, ſhould "be ſigned by one of the Plenipotentiaries:" which Reſolution would have been uſeleſs, not to ſay, ridiculous, if both Parties had not intended then to treat in writing. The Reply made to this was very feeble, pretending, that the Reſolutions ſo entered were in relation only to the ſpecifick Offers they had made, and the ſpecifick Demands they had received from the Allies. Thoſe who ſought to allay this Ferment, found no Way ſo eſſential, as propoſing to break up the Aſſembly for that Time, and referring the Diſpute till the next general Conference, on the 6th of *April*.

On the 5th of which Month the Miniſters of the Allies had a very long Conference among themſelves, and perſiſted in their former Reſolution, *Of obliging the* French *to anſwer in writing*. Yet there were ſome, who ſeem'd to expreſs themſelves of the Opinion, that the Negotiations might be carried on the Foot propoſed by *France*; but when they obſerved, that the Tide ran too ſtrong againſt them, and that the Generality were of contrary Sentiments, they concurr'd with the reſt, and declar'd that they had poſitive Inſtructions from their Principal to conform themſelves to the General Opinion of the Miniſters of the Congreſs. According to which Reſolution the next Day M. *Buys* delivered a Second Declaration in the Name of the Allies.

"*Meſſieurs*, You know that on *Saturday* laſt we perſiſted to demand an An-"ſwer in Writing to our Specifick Demands: We have conſulted again among "ourſelves, and have all unanimouſly agreed to inſiſt upon a Specifick Anſwer "in Writing, to our Specifick Demands in Writing.

In Anſwer to this the *French* Miniſters declar'd, "That as they had poſitive "tive Inſtructions not to engage themſelves into a Negotiation in Writing, "they could not do it without new Orders from the King their Maſter, to "which End they would immediately diſpatch a Courier to acquaint him with "this laſt Reſolution of the Allies." Some of the Miniſters of the Allies reply'd, "That it was Time to have expected they had not now wanted ſuch "Inſtructions, but however, they were willing a longer Time might be taken, "if it were deſign'd with Purpoſe to anſwer Effectually." The *French* Miniſters added, "That they could promiſe no more than to follow the Inſtructions "they ſhould receive, ſince they did not expect the Allies would have dealt "with them in ſo Tyrannical a Manner." This Expreſſion was taken Notice of, and will very probably be the Subject to ground a Complaint to the *Freuch* Court. The *French* added, "That they pleaded for no more than what was "practiſed at the Treaties of *Munſter*, *Nimeguen*, and *Ryſwick*:" But their Aſſertion was prov'd to be wrong, with reſpect to thoſe Treaties, where every Thing

Thing was not tranſacted by Word of Mouth without Writing. Beſides, there were Mediators there, but none at *Utrecht*, which made this an irregular Sort of a Congreſs. The Marſchal *de Uxelles* anſwer'd, "That they had no Reaſon to "deliver any Thing in Writing, ſince the Confederates made a bad Uſe of the "laſt, to irritate the People againſt them." To which one of the Imperial Miniſters reply'd, "That the *French* had no more to do but to give in juſt and "reaſonable Propoſals in Writing, and then it would irritate the People againſt "the Allies if they refus'd to accept them." Another of the Confederate Miniſters was ſo plain as to tell the Marſchal *de Uxelles*, That the *French* Court would be deceiv'd if they expected a Peace by Tampering with ſome of the Allies in Order to divide them from the reſt. To this I hear the Mareſchal reply'd, "That not only the preſent King of *France*, but even the whole Royal "Family would enter into a Vow to take a ſevere Revenge on the *Dutch* if they "obſtructed the Peace." To which the other of the Confederate Miniſters ſaid, "That ſuch Diſcourſes would only ſerve to keep the *Dutch* on their "Guard, and arm them againſt all future Revenge, by inducing them to lay "hold of this Opportunity to cruſh the Power which now threatened them.

I am inform'd likewiſe that ſome high Words happen'd between the Two Plenipotentiaries of one of the Confederates, which 'tis probable will occaſion Mutual Complaints againſt each other to their Principal, who 'tis ſaid does not approve of ſome Steps that have been taken to hinder the States of *Brabant* from ſupplying the Imperial Troops which are marching to the *Netherlands* with Bread and Forrage, upon the Security propos'd by the Emperor to reimburſe them.

Since the Conference I have laſt mention'd there has nothing happen'd that deſerves to be mention'd. There was indeed a General Conference on the 23d of *April*, but the *French* anſwer'd as they had done before, *That they were not fully inſtructed*; ſo that the Time of the Confederate Miniſters is ſpent in frequent Journies from hence to the *Hague*, and back again. Nor will I preſume to give you any certain Account of what has been tranſacted in the frequent Conferences held between the Miniſters of *Great Britaiu* and the *States*, both at the *Hague* and here, the Secrecy wherewith they were manag'd not affording any Opportunity: But on my Lord *Stafford*'s Arrival, who is ſet out for *England*, I make no doubt but you will hear.

What occurs further in this very Memorable Treaty, for in many Reſpects I may reaſonably call it ſo, you ſhall be ſure to receive from me. But I muſt now tell you that ſo little of what is done is manag'd Publickly, that you muſt not be ſurpriz'd that the Relation I have hittherto given you has been no fuller.

A full Anſwer to the Conduct of the *Allies*: To which is added, ſome Obſervations on the Remarks on the *Barrier Treaty*. By the ſame Author. Printed in 1712.

HOW much the Deſign of this *Pamphlet* is owing to the miſerable Neceſſity of State-Policy, may be beſt prov'd by conſidering the Purpoſe it is writ to ſerve, and by the Protection it receives from thoſe, who would not, I believe, upon any other Reaſon give it countenance. Whilſt I am ſpeaking of this, I cannot forget a lively Inſtance of ſuch a kind of miſerable Policy in thoſe Mariners, who, when their Veſſel ſtrikes on a Rock, forgetting their common Safety, have recourſe to ſome extraordinary and miſtaken Means; the Advice, perhaps, of a few hardy Perſons among them, who, out of a Caprice of gratifying their own Judgment, or, more probably, with too near a regard for their own private Safety, Occaſion the Ruin of themſelves, and all that are embark'd with them. How near a Situation is there in the infamous Conduct of thoſe, who let out their Pens to hire, and for the vile Conſideration of Pay, write in Oppoſition to all Truth and Honeſty, nay, even to their own Conſciences; and there is much more to be ſaid for thoſe, who only take a ſcandalous Penſion to be ſilent.

It was long before this Book fell into my Hands, and longer before I form'd a Reſolution to ſpend any Time about it, till a ſecond or third reading every Line preſented me with a freſh Inſtance of Aggravation. As to the Author, I eſteem it needleſs to enquire after him, ſince Libels of this kind, uſually, receive their *Grand Maſter-Strokes* from thoſe to whoſe Intereſt and Service they are calculated and aſſign'd. Now is it not matter of Wonder and Reflection, that there ſhould be thoſe, who will countenance an ill Thing, for the good they are to receive by it. Theſe are what I call *The miſerable Neceſſities of State-Policy*, where to ſupport the Meaſures of a Few, a whole Nation ſhall be expos'd to Danger and Ruin. And it is poſſible ſometimes a good Man may be ſpirited away by their enchanting Devices, but that is only for a Time, for ſuch will, of courſe, find out the Deceit, and deſert thoſe by whom they have been drawn in to act wrong, thro' an implicit Overſight, and this with the utmoſt Reflection of Hatred and Contempt. For as ſuch *Politicks*, generally require the moſt violent Meaſures to ſupport them, ſo their Courſe is ſeldom long, and generally terminates by ſome ſudden and unexpected Event.

I come now to our *Conductor*, whoſe Arguments, I confeſs, I cannot but admire; there appears in them throughout, ſuch a wonderful and peculiar Spirit of Cunning, as can be equall'd by nothing but a Falſhood as notorious: And it may, with very little Circumſpection, be obſerv'd, how cloſe he follows his Blow, and how little regard he has to Truth, when he handles any particular Point, where the Reputation of his Friends ſeems moſt at Stake, and while he is only pretending to write for the Intereſt of his Country, is betraying the Honour of it to a baſe Degree; from whence, it is probable, he has borrow'd his excellent Maxims of treating crown'd Heads, abuſing thoſe in Alliance with us, and

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at the ſame Time extolling our Enemies, and making way for our being impos'd upon. A Proceeding ſo very new and extraordinary, that, I confeſs, I am at a loſs what Name to give it.

What ſhall be done to the Man whom the King honours? was ſaid of old; ſo by a Parity of Words, What ſhall be ſaid to the Man, that vilifies and expoſes his Country, whoſe chief Buſineſs, it ſeems is to repreſent Her in a languiſhing and ruin'd Condition? And what Effect can it have, but to afford our Enemies the Advantage? To render us deſpicable Abroad, and inſecure at Home? And to remove all Obſtacles in his Power, out of the Way of Peace; ſuch a Peace as his Friends are Treating, and he Writing for. What is this, but to give our Enemies a Handle to treat us with Barbarity and Inſolence; the Effect of which, I think, they have already given us a very melancholly Inſtance of already; and I doubt not but we ſhall taſte more of their innate Love and Goodneſs to us hereafter, according as they receive Encouragement from the *Conducter*, and his Friends: And, it has been found, by former Experience, that a very ſmall Encouragement will ſerve turn, when, in breach of all that is Solemn and Religious, they put on us the greateſt Indignities that ever any Nation ſuffer'd, by which our Honour was leſſen'd and impair'd, and the Standard of it ſcarce valuable in any Nation in *Europe*, till the Succeſſes of this Reign, (under the Conduct and Management of thoſe, who have been treated accordingly) rais'd it again to its intrinſick Value: And does he now ſay, we might with Honour and Safety have declin'd entering into the preſent War? Could we ſit down with the ſcandalous Affront put on us, in proclaiming the *Pretender?* or, rather, ſhould we not reſolve never to forget it, but make a Reprizal, now it is in our Power, by impoſing ſomething as mortifying on the Enemy, if I may be allow'd to term the King of *France* ſo? Do we not bleed for it to this Day? And is it any more than a Prelude to the ſcandalous Affront lately put on Her Majeſty, and to all the Indignities he ſhall think fit to impoſe on us hereafter, even the *Pretender* himſelf, when an Occaſion preſents, if we leave no better Bulwark than this *Conducter*, and his Friends? *And this*, he ſays, *the* French King *had as much Reaſon to do, as we to impoſe a King upon* Spain. The World may ſee that he does not deſire to make much Difference between the *Pretender*'s Title to the Crown of *England*, and that of the Houſe of *Auſtria* to the *Spaniſh Monarchy*; and no doubt he'll have a Reaſon ready to back this *Traiterous Innuendo*, when Opportunity requires: But to put an end to this Point, we will not diſpute, which had moſt Reaſon to do, but which had leaſt Reaſon to ſuffer what was done. It was ſufficient to juſtify paſt all Exception, our Conduct of entering, as Principals into the preſent War, and inſtead of not being ſo much concern'd as our Neighbours, to prove that we were a great deal more, and even moſt of all: The *Dutch* fought to enlarge their Frontiers, the *Emperor* for the Right of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and *Others* upon the different Views of Intereſt; but we enter'd into the War to preſerve what we had; to ſecure ourſelves againſt Popery, and the Friends of it, and a very great Point too, if we gain'd it, contrary to the ridiculous Similitude of the *Houſe on Fire*, where he ſays— *The Neighbours ran with Buckets to quench it; but the Owner is ſure to be undone firſt, and it is not impoſſible that Thoſe at the next Door may eſcape by a Shower from Heaven, the Stillneſs of the Weather, or ſome other favourable Accident.* Was there ever ſuch a wretched and ſilly Poſition?

What does it but allow that We muſt have truſted meerly to a Poſſibility for Our Salvation? Which they that rely on deſerve to ſmart for, as the Reward of ſo much Folly. I believe, ſhould One endeavour to perſuade a Perſon when a Fire is next Door to him, that he need not ſtir, for it may *Poſſibly* fall a Raining, or ſome *Favourable Accident* may happen to preſerve his Goods, that ſuch a One would be apt to compliment you with his Excuſe: And truly, he that would not come out of the Fire to hear This, deſerves to be burnt. But, indeed, it is conſonant to the Miracle that muſt have ſav'd Us, had we ſtood ſtill till the *Dutch* had been deſtroy'd before our Faces, and not acted with that great Vigour and Harmony which the Caſe requir'd; where we ſhould only have experienc'd the miſerable Courteſy of *Polyphemus* to *Ulyſſes*, of being reſerv'd to be laſt devour'd.

His *Encomium*, and the wreſted Compariſon of a Civil War, bears much the ſame Analogy to Reaſon and good Senſe; for when we ſhall once be convinc'd where thoſe People dwell, who are ſo fond of the Inconvenience and Ravages of an Army, that they would not pay a little Money to be rid of their good Company; I ſhall grant this *Conducter* to have more Reaſon of his Side than I thought he had: But ſo miſerably fond is he, of ſaying any thing, that he thinks may make for his *Purpoſe*, that he very often forgets himſelf.

His admirable Inſtance of the *Dutch* Wars, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, (which, indeed, he might have term'd a Civil War too, if Quarrelling with our Friends be ſo) is very moving: "This, he ſays, was begun, and carried on, under a very corrupt Adminiſtration, and much to the Diſhonour of the Crown, (as all *Dutch* Wars will be) kept the King poor and needy, by diſcontinuing, or diſcontenting his Parliament, when he moſt needed their Aſſiſtance, but neither left any Debt upon the Nation, nor carried any Money out of it."

No, but the Expence of three or Four Millions then, had ſav'd Us a Hundred ſince; and I dare engage it was ſuch another Set of Principles as now reign, that adviſ'd the King to that Unreaſonable and Unnatural War, who concurr'd with him in acting contrary to the Intereſt of his Country: But the Parliament, it may be remember'd would never be wrought upon to give in to ſuch deſtructive Meaſures; nor have we yet retriev'd that falſe Step in weakning ourſelves and the *Dutch* by a kind of inteſtine War, Voted meerly to humour thoſe, who were Friends of *France*, and acted in a Parallel with too many at this Juncture.

The Revolution is one of the next things he has a fling at; and here he tells us, *That a general War broke out, wherein ſeveral Princes join'd in Alliance againſt* France, *to check the Ambitious Deſigns of that Monarch; and here the* Emperor, *the* Dutch, *and* Engliſh, *were Principals. And that the Ground of this War as to the Parts we had in it, was to make* France *acknowledge King* William, *to recover* Hudſons-Bay. It is certain, that theſe Two Points were chiefly inſiſted on, but the War in general, was to check the Ambition of *France*, who by unheard of Breaches of Faith, had born a heavy Hand over all his Neighbours. As an Inſtance of it, the *French* King had begun a War, by invading the Empire juſt before the Revolution; which might have prevented the Succeſs of it, and thereby the more endanger'd the Liberty of *Europe*. Nor is it true, *that the Sea*

was

was neglected, for, I think, during much the greateſt part of that War, which began in 1689, we were entirely Maſters of the Sea, by our Victory in 1692, which was only three after it broke out; ſo that for ſeven Years in ten we carried the *Broom*.

And for any Neglect of our Sea-Affairs, otherwiſe, I believe, I may, in few Words, prove that all the Princes from the Conqueſt, never made ſo remarkable an Improvement to our Naval Strength as King *Wiliam*. He ſhould have been told, if he did not know, what Havock the *Dutch* had made of our Shiping in King *Charles* II. Reign, and that his Succeſſor King *James* the Second, had not in his whole Navy fitted out to Defeat the deſign'd Invaſion by the Prince of *Orange*, One individual Ship of the Firſt or Second Rank, which all lay neglected, and meer Skeletons of former Services, at their Moorings. Theſe, this abus'd Prince, repair'd at an immenſe Charge, and brought them to their priſtine Magnificence. Let us add to this, the Glory of re-eſtabliſhing the Value of our Coin, and, I think, theſe are Two Things the Friends of *France* ought never to forgive him. To this Aſſertion, the *Conducter* adds, *That the greateſt part of Six Millions was Annually employ'd to enlarge a* Dutch-*Frontier*, *becauſe the King was a General, and not an Admiral*; *and tho' King of* England, *a Native of* Holland. This is no more than a Scandalous Aſſertion, and not juſtified by the appearance of any matter of Fact; for what I have ſaid before, proves us clearly out of danger as to the Sea, and therefore that it remain'd but a neceſſary Conſequence, to make all poſſible Efforts againſt *France* on the ſide of *Flanders*, and all that we did make, prov'd little enough, partly through the ill Treatment the King receiv'd at Home, and partly thro' a bad Trade and ill Credit, nor did the Service after all, employ *greateſt part of Six Millions*, as may be ſeen by the Eſtimates laid before the Parliament every Seſſions. And coming to the End of the War, he ſays, *That after the loſs of an Hundred Thouſand Men, and a Debt of Six Millions remaining, a Peace was concluded with great Advantages to the Empire* and Holland, *but none at all to Us*. Whether, but as a Reflection on the late King, as he deſigns it, this ought not to have been charg'd on the Perfidy of the King of *France*, who made Peace at that Time only with Deſign to break it; who, having private Aſſurances of the ill State of the Health of the King of *Spain*, deceiv'd the Allies by falſe Terms of Peace, to get into quiet Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, which, if he had not effected by a ſpecial Inſtance of Treachery, he muſt have won by the Sword, tho' his Grandſon, had ſucceeded to the Throne. Neither could I ever perceive the great Advantages of this Peace, either to the *Empire* or *Holland*. We all know the Emperor was abandon'd, and left ſuch Terms as were allotted him, nor cou'd we be brought to liſten to his Repreſentations, tho' never ſo preſſing, which, if we had done, as is much the Caſe now, 'tis very probable, we had not been troubled with this Second War. And beſides, having been unſucceſsful, it will not be eaſily conceived, what Advantages any, in the Grand-Alliance could reap by it; and even thoſe that were Stipulated for the *Empire* and *Holland*, it is well known were never Executed.

To ſhew his Contempt of the *Monied Intereſt*, he tells you, *that in this War began the Cuſtom of borrowing Millions upon Funds of Intereſt*, the true Reaſon of of which he adds was for the *Security of a new Prince, not firmly ſettled on the*

Throne. This it is known was occaſioned by a Set of Men in P———t, whoſe Ambition it was to affront the King, and cramp him in his Subſidies, for which Reaſon they would never be brought to think of any thing like an Exciſe, which Method however has been taken up ſince, and thoſe very Perſons moſt forward in Voting it; which had they done at firſt, the Nation had not been charg'd with ſo many heavy Debts. Nor after all, is there any thing in this Method, but that all the Nations engag'd in theſe Wars have put in Practice as well as Ourſelves, and lie under the ſame Engagements for Money.

I ſhou'd be glad to get over ſome Aſſertions that lie in my Way, that I might come to Matters of Fact; but as there are many of them, ſo Ridiculous, Falſe, and Abſurd, it will appear of ſome Service to give a Check to them; the chiefeſt of which he lays down under three diſtinct Heads. Firſt, *That againſt all manner of Prudence and Common Senſe, We engag'd in this War as* Principals, *in which We ought to have acted only as* Auxiliaries. Which, I think, I have given ſufficient Reaſons to confute already; beſides its being contrary to the Senſe of all the Parliaments ſince the War begun, the conſtant and repeated Senſe of her Majeſty and all her Allies; nay, even of the preſent P———t, a Year ago, who, in their Repreſentation, Speak of *the abſolute Neceſſity of carrying on the War.* Nor is it only contrary to the Senſe of the preſent P———t, but, I think, of the preſent M——y too, no long time ago. The D——e of *M———h* was again ſent to command the Army in *Flanders*, notwithſtanding the Clamours againſt him ſince. This makes it plain, that People may fluctuate in their Opinions, according as their *Purpoſe* requires; for what he has been charg'd with ſince, has not been committed ſince, and might as well have been laid to his Charge before the laſt Campaign as now: they cannot deny the Knowledge of it, I ſuppoſe, and it wou'd not be believ'd if they did; therefore it muſt be affirm'd, that out of Choice, in their own Senſe, they put a G——l at the Head of the Army, that had cheated his Country, and wronged the Soldiers; and was like to do the ſame again, becauſe the Matters in Diſpute were Grand Perquiſites which he had taken all the War: And to do them this Juſtice, I believe all the Generals in *Europe* ever did the like, tho' perhaps with ſome Difference in the Incidents. Now the Uſe I make of this, is only to prove that the Senſe of ſome People has greatly chang'd in a Twelvemonth's time, and eſpecially ſince Mr. *P——r*'s Journey to *PARIS*. There was then ſome new Steps to be taken, and even the very Scriblers of the Party, that had been kept in Ignorance before, began now to catch at the new Sentiments of their Maſters, as may be ſeen by many ſcandalous Pamphlets after that memorable time, and eſpecially that before me, which led the Van; and now they let go their Hold of the late M——y, and began to faſten on Our Allies, for their Malice in blackening the former, would not carry the Point far enough: there muſt be a Quarrel pick'd with the *Dutch*, in particular, and the D. of *M———h* firſt be ſacrific'd to humour it; neither the Zeal, or the Vigour of theOne, nor the Services of the Other, can ſkreen them; it is ſufficient that they ſtood in the Way of bringing a very material *Purpoſe* to bear; and their Treatment of them and the reſt of the Confederates, added ſomething very ſanguine to the Complexion of Peace, and was the true Reaſon why the *Conductor* comes to ſay, *That it was againſt*

againſt all Manner of Prudence or Common Reaſon, that We Engag'd in the War; and that Her Majeſty, by the Grand Alliance, is not oblig'd to demand the Reſtitution of Spain.

The QUEEN's Declaration for War, he tells us, *does not take Notice of the Duke of* Anjou's *Succeſſion to that Monarchy, as a Subject of Quarrel*; and has given us a good Part of that Declaration in his Libel. The Grand Deſign of which being to inſtill into the Nation a corrupt Notion of Peace, and the Neceſſity of it, he labours with great Induſtry to remove all Scruples that may ariſe in honeſt Minds, in Relation to it. And if he can but perſuade them *that the War in itſelf was wrong begun, that the Grand Alliance does not oblige Us to inſiſt on the Reſtitution of* Spain, *and that the Allies having acted baſely by us, it is no Diſhonour to abandon them:* What Difficulty ought we to make of compelling them to make Peace upon our Methods, without *Spain*, and the *Indies*. Is not this a rare Scheme contriv'd to break the Grand Alliance, and for the ſame Reaſons to undermine the Revolution, which I preſume is to be the *Conducter's* next Work, when he has fully carried this Preliminary Point towards it. And this, perhaps, is the meaning of that blunt Intimation he gives us, *that the Neceſſities of the Nation may require to alter the Succeſſion.* And this, tho' he ſays he has explain'd in a later Edition, yet the Hint remain'd good. Now I would have the Author let us know what kind of Reaſon, or Neceſſity it can be that ſhould make us alter the Succeſſion, (even tho' as he ſays, in future Ages) and whether any Neceſſity, according to his beloved Doctrine, can give the *Legiſlature* a Power to alter the Succeſſion, which our Repreſentatives are choſen to preſerve, but not to deſtroy: But of this hereafter.

To prove that *England*, by all her Treaties is oblig'd to inſiſt on the Reſtitution of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, the beſt Way will be to look into the Treaties themſelves, where we ſhall expreſly find ourſelves under that Obligation. And can it be ſaid, that theſe Treaties are not as binding as the Grand Alliance; I am ſure there is one Reaſon they ſhould be more; they were made upon a great deal more Deliberation, nor can theſe Treaties be call'd the Contrivance of a *Faction*, that were tranſacted in the Second Year of the War, when the M——y was in the Hands of ſuch as were well affected to the Church; and the P——t of the ſame Complexion. So that our *Conducter* was not in any great Concern for the Reputation of his Friends, when he endeavours to weaken the Authority of Treaties which were concluded under their auſpicious Conduct; of which no body at that time pretended to complain, but were pleas'd with the Reſtoration of Credit; the Succeſſes of the War, and the wiſe and frugal Management of the Treaſury.

I hope the *Conducter* will allow, that no Treaties were ever better conſider'd than thoſe made with *France* and *Savoy*, at that time; where the Reſtitution of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy is ſtipulated paſt all manner of Contradiction. But to put the Matter farther out of Diſpute, it is eaſy to prove, that the Reſtitution of *Spain*, and the *Indies*, to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, is not a new Demand, ſtarted ſince the Grand-Alliance, as it is pretended, but was the firſt ſeparate Article in the former Alliance of 1689, where the States and we engage, *That in Caſe the King of* Spain (Chap. 2.) *ſhould die without Iſſue, they will with all their Forces*

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aſſiſt his Sacred Imperial Majeſty, or his Heirs, in taking the Succeſſion of the Spaniſh *Monarchy lawfully belonging to that Houſe.* Is not this a very inſolent Charge then of the *Conducter*, that it is the Work of a late Faction? a new Incident, to inſiſt on the Reſtitution of *Spain*, when the Allies obliged themſelves to it, about a Dozen Years before, and even at the time of the Revolution; and which does and will appear to have been the conſtant Senſe of all the *Allies*, and of every body elſe, till the Contradiction of it has been taken up, as an Expedient to ſerve a particular End.

And, is it not plain, that the *Firſt Grand Alliance* is the Original Ground of our Quarrel, the Source of all we have been endeavouring at ſince. Did our being in more danger, alter the neceſſity of our Engagements with our Allies, with all the Benefit of the *Partition Treaty* thrown into the Scale? What can the Arguments made uſe of by the *Conducter*, tend to, but utterly to overturn the *Grand Alliance*, which is the main Pillar and Support of the *Revolution*, and will in all probability, draw along with it the utter Subverſion of it.

He tells us, *We had no Quarrel with* France, *but his owning the* Pretender, *but only gave him the Title of* KING *which was allow'd to* Auguſtus *by the King of* Sweden. What an utter Falſehood is this? King *Auguſtus* was allow'd by the Treaty, to ſtile himſelf King, but not King of *Poland*; whereas the Pretender was not ſimply ſtiled King *James*, but *His Britannick Majeſty*, and *King of Great-Britain*; and this, I think, no Body diſputes, that read, at that Time, the *Paris-Gazettes*, and other Publick News-Papers. But our *Conducter*'s Purpoſe requir'd to ſhuffle in this Equivocation; and to give a little Colouring to help it out, he tranſlates the VIIIth Article in ſuch a manner, as to make the World think that nothing elſe was meant on the Part of *England*, but to inſiſt on Satisfaction for this great Affront. The Senſe of which Article plainly covenants for the Security of his Majeſty's Kingdoms, and Commerce, as well as that of the *States-General*; and in the Article juſt before this, we have it thus: *For obtaining Satisfaction for the* Emperor, *and the aforeſaid Security for his* Britannick Majeſty *and the* States.

The ſame Article ſays, That no Peace ſhall be made without Security; *That the* French *ſhall never get into poſſeſſion of the* Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, *nor be permitted to ſail thither on Account of Traffick, directly or indirectly, on any Pretence whatever.* Now, pray let this Author tell us, how, or by which way, we ſhall be ſecure of this, if *Spain* be left to the Houſe of *Bourbon*? Is not *France*, at this time in poſſeſſion of the *Weſt-Indies*, and have they not actually Settlements there at *Lima*, and other Places, and can we believe they will eaſily quit them? or, Have they promis'd ſuch a thing to our Negotiators of Peace? if they have not, I think we cannot make Peace with them upon the Terms impos'd. And here I muſt make an Obſervation by the Way, That whoever ſhall compare the late Offers of *France*, with any manner of Circumſpection, to the *Conduct of the Allies*, will find how critically they are built upon the Author's Arguments, and even the very Words, in ſome Places, interwove in the ſame artful manner, to ſhadow the Imperfections. That I think it is plain, the *Conduct* had been well read over in *France*, before they Concluded on their *Propoſals*.

Next, I wou'd fain know, what Security they can ever propoſe, *That* France *and* Spain *ſhall never be united?* unleſs giving it wholly out of their Power, or how

how either we, or our Allies can be ſafe, when the exorbitant Power of *France*, founded on ſuch deſtructive Maxims, ſhall be ſtrengthen'd by the Riches of the *Indies?* where, beſides what he enjoys already, he has Treaties with his Grandſon for much larger Encroachments.

What therefore can be meant by ſaying, *That the Allies demand no more for the Emperor, than a juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction.* And is it any more than juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction, that he ſhould have thoſe Dominions which the King of *France* has ſolemnly renounc'd for himſelf and his Deſcendants, beſides the undoubted Right thereto of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, or ſhall it, by the ſame Rule, be call'd any more than a reaſonable Satisfaction to us, that a ſtrict Regard be had to putting it out of his Power before we make Peace, ever to throw in the *Pretender* upon us? which Experience may ſufficiently convince us, will never be the Effect of *His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Conſcience.*

The next Point he finds neceſſary to ſupport his Cavil by, (a Reaſon, which no doubt he underſtands as well as he handles) is to perſuade us, *That we have purſu'd the War in a wrong Method, and ſpent all our Vigour, where it wou'd leaſt anſwer our Ends; and made no Efforts where we might have weaken'd the Common Enemy, and Enrich'd ourſelves. And again, That we ſuffer'd each of our Allies to break every Article of thoſe Treaties and Agreements, by which they were bound, to lay all the Burthen upon us.* Now the Method the War has been purſu'd in, as well in the Choice of it, as in the Event, muſt be attributed to General Councils of War, unanimouſly agreed among all the Allies: No poſitive Directions is I preſume, meant to proceed from hence, as an unreaſonable Charge upon the late M——y; nor can it be thought the Reſult of a ſecret Agreement between our G——l and the *Dutch*, to make Way for their Advantage. Well then, where ſhall I fix this Author's Meaning, *that we might beſt have weaken'd the Enemy?* Since he is not ſo honeſt as to tell us; which he might eaſily have done, and it would have been much to his Credit, as well as of Advantage in proving this Point. Or was he afraid to diſcover ſo rich a Secret, leſt we ſhould yet make uſe of it to weaken the Intereſt of his Friends: No, I have a better Opinion of him; but that according to his uſual Method, it was to raiſe a great deal of Duſt about ſomething, that has nothing in it; I muſt therefore run thro' the ſeveral Branches of the War, that I may be ſure to hit the right Nail, which by the way is giving himſelf and me more Trouble than there was abſolutely occaſion for.

To ſay therefore that we ſhould have puſh'd the War in *Spain*; *the Recovery of which is what we enter'd into the War for*, is a very miſtaken Motion, if it be our Author's Meaning. Let us but conſider upon how unequal a Foot we muſt have manag'd an Offenſive War in that Country in regard to the many Conveniencies the *French* would have found to diſappoint us; and the Reaſons which wou'd not have been ſufficient to convince the wrong Notion of a Set of Men at home, might perhaps have had as little Force on the Inclinations of our Allies, in perſuading them to comply with Meaſures ſo very unlikely to ſucceed. We know the *Party* have more than once hinted at the weakening ourſelves in *Flanders*, to make Efforts in *Spain*, but this was meerly urg'd as a Mark of their Good Will to the D——e of *M*——*h*, who once gave them an Anſwer in the L——s Houſe to this Point that ſtopp'd their Mouths. Suppoſe then, we

had

had follow'd their Advice, and been inclin'd to ſend a Reinforcement of 20,000 Men from *Flanders*; which way were they to be got thither? Firſt, they wou'd have prov'd an exceſſive Charge to tranſport them thither; which we had no other way for, but an uncertain Paſſage by Sea from *England*, where what by the hazard of Storms, contrary Winds, Sickneſs, Deſertion, and the Danger of loſing ſome Tranſports by the Enemies Privateers, or otherwiſe, theſe Men before they had arriv'd on the Spot for Service, would have been very probably reduc'd to half their Number; and even thoſe not fit for Service, till they had been ſent into Quarters of Refreſhment, where it was much, but by eating the rich Fruits, the Change of the Climate, and drinking the ſtrong *Spaniſh* Wines, their Number had been a ſecond time greatly diminiſh'd.

And again this cou'd not have been done without leſſening our Army in *Flanders*, which the Enemy wou'd have made their Advantage of, by making a Detachment of half the Number ſerve, as an Equivalent for the War in *Spain*, and gain a Superiority of 10,000 Men out of 20,000, or in proportion to the half of what we ſent on every ſuch Occaſion. And theſe they might have drawn from *Dauphine*, which might have been ſupply'd from the *Rhine*, or even from *Flanders*, by an eaſy, and very certain March, which might have been done, at a proper Seaſon, and with little Hazard, as we have often ſeen thro' the Courſe of the War. Beſides the Generals of the Enemy might have concerted their Meaſures accordingly, becauſe they might have receiv'd Accounts to the very Day thoſe Troops had reach'd them, and what Number, almoſt to a Man, they conſiſted of: Whereas, in our Caſe, the Generals could have made no Advantage; they could reſolve on nothing, but to have lain under a tedious Expectation, waiting for Succours, of which they could have no Account till they ſaw them; and even then cou'd have expected no immediate Service, and very probably the Seaſon for the Campaign had been almoſt waſted. Their Tranſportation being not only hazardous and uncertain, attended with many unlucky Events, but likewiſe an exceſſive Charge, and always double to the Service it procures, becauſe Proviſion is made for ſuch a particular Number of Troops, when I have ſaid, ſeldom above half their Number arrive compleat. Whereas the March of the Enemies Troops ſtand them in little or nothing, and when they arrive, they are what they ſet out, and agree in Conſtitution with the Climate. Nor is this all that might be ſaid: I wou'd aſk the *Conducter*, if we ſhou'd provide for an Offenſive War in *Spain*, how they muſt ſubſiſt? When the Country is hardly able to ſubſiſt its own Inhabitants. Thoſe Parts eſpecially where our Armies Quarter. Of what then are we to form Magazines, if the Growth of the Country affords barely enough for preſent Neceſſity? And whence are they to be fetch'd? Why either from *Italy*, *England*, or the Coaſt of *Africk*, but then, as I have obſerv'd, the tranſporting them thither is very hazardous and uncertain. And if even in *Flanders*, which is the fineſt Country in the Univerſe, to ſubſiſt an Army in, our Soldiers are ſometimes driven to Straits, by being at ſome diſtance from their Magazines, when the Roads are ſpoil'd in a bad Seaſon; 'tis eaſy to gueſs what it muſt be in *Catalonia*, where to ſubſiſt a very moderate Army is difficult enough. While the *French*, by the Contiguity of their Country, and the Nearneſs of their Ports have the Advantage of ſupplying the Magazines of *Spain*; beſides the Duke of *Anjou* poſſeſſes all thoſe Provinces which

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are in Tranquility, and therefore capable, if any are, of affording Relief to his Armies.

This I think is ſufficient to prove, that *Spain* is not the Place where we ſhould have purſu'd the War; where even a Defenſive War with more Succeſs than we cou'd well have hoped for, has prov'd difficult enough; and this by the Way is one Reaſon, why the *Dutch* have for theſe three or four Years paſt, ſent no freſh Troops thither; but added their Proportion elſewhere, as I ſhall ſhew anon.

But if this be the Caſe, it will be ſaid, Why did we then begin this War at firſt? Or have not long ſince quitted it? Either of which Propoſitions may be eaſily anſwer'd. When we enter'd upon the War, it was upon the moſt promiſing Suggeſtions that could poſſibly be conceiv'd, that the *Spaniards* were ripe for a Revolt, could we once get Footing, and tho' they did not anſwer our Expectations, when once we had lodg'd ourſelves, it muſt have been a great Overſight to have quitted our Ground; and I think the wonderful Struggles we have had there, have given the Enemy ſufficient Charge and Trouble, and been often very fatal to their Affairs, and had not the Inconveniences I have ſpoken of, hinder'd us from ſending any neceſſary and timely Aſſiſtance, after any of our Succeſſes, the War had been at an End there long ago; which is a ſufficient Argument againſt an offenſive War in *Spain*, by weakening our Army in *Flanders*, which has been always the Cry, but is notoriouſly wrong. Beſides when thoſe Forces embark'd, as it was very difficult to determine at this diſtance which way they may beſt anſwer the Good of the Common Cauſe, whether to land in *Catalonia*, or give ſome Relief to the Duke of *Savoy*, who was at that time in need enough of it, it was left to the Determination of the Kings of *Portugal* and *Spain*, what Meaſures were to be taken; and after it had been thoroughly debated in ſeveral Great Councils of War, it was reſolv'd, at the Interceſſion of King *Charles*, to ſail for *Catalonia*, who ſhewed the many repeated Aſſurances he had received from the *Catalans* to declare for him, if he were once in a Condition to protect them. And it was the rather agreed to, in regard of the deſperate State of Affairs in *Italy*, where it was probable it would give ſome Diverſion to the Enemy. Beſides, at this time, there was hardly an Appearance of making ſo great an Impreſſion in *Flanders*, much leſs could we hope for a Probability of penetrating into *France* on that Side, as is become the Caſe now, and was ſome time ago, or you had ſcarce had ſuch humble Entreaties to be heard on the Subjects of Peace, and ſuch Conceſſions made, notwithſtanding you had been in Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, the *Indies* excepted. Theſe were the Reaſons for making trial of a War in *Spain*, and tho' it did not wholly anſwer our Expectations, it has been of Conſequence enough to deſerve to be ſupported, and eſpecially after we had ſet their King once among them, when to have abandoned him, or withdrawn our Troops, could not have been done, but with the greateſt Advantage to the Enemy, and the higheſt Diſhonour to ourſelves and him, ſufficient to have made the *Spaniards* for ever after contemn him, though we had obtained the Crown for him, which was not then diſputed, but we muſt do, by ſome Method or other, before the War ſhould ceaſe.

Again, our keeping footing in *Catalonia*, and being Maſters of *Barcelona*, as it keeps the Enemy, the *Spaniards* eſpecially, in perpetual Alarms, ſo it gives Life and Spirit to our Friends, who, by this Situation, are encouraged to act; and 'tis certain the *Miquilets* do great Service, whereas the Enemy are obliged to weaken their Troops on the Side of *Portugal*, which might have turned to a much greater Advantage than we ſee has been made of it. However, it has obliged the Enemy to employ an Army much ſuperior to ours, to watch our Motions, and alarm the Duke of *Anjou* with continual Diſtruſts of his Subjects, and to think himſelf ſafe in nothing but *French* Councils, and *French* Armies, which may have a better Effect, than perhaps we can yet foreſee. Which Arguments, with many other, of leſs Conſequence, that might be brought, are ſufficient to juſtify the Beginning of the War in *Spain*, and the carrying it on in the Method it has been, without enlarging the Scheme of War, which, inſtead of doing Service to the common Cauſe, as I have ſhewn, would render a double Advantage to our Enemies.

Now, if to have carried the War on, on the *Rhine*, is the Method meant, which I hardly think it is, a few Words will eaſily convince us of the Improbability of making any Advantage on that Side. It cannot be ſo much as thought, that they could be wanted there to act on the defenſive; and all the World is convinced, that the Empire, on that Side, have no one Thing neceſſary for an offenſive War; neither Money, Magazines, Ammunition, *&c.* and ſuppoſing they had, to what Purpoſe would it be, if the Army did not take the Field betimes, which is a Thing never to be hoped on the *Rhine*; and this is, doubtleſs, the chief Reaſon that the Emperor, for ſome Years paſt, ſent ſuch a Number of Troops from thence to *Flanders*, where they might act to moſt Advantage, and where nothing was like to be wanting to render them ſerviceable in the higheſt manner. Then leſt another Thing ſhould be ſaid, That they might clear their Way to the *Moſelle*, (on which Side *France* is indeed moſt expoſed) and there have *purſued the right Method*. I think it were eaſy to anſwer, That that Experiment has been made already, when the Duke of *M*———, by an incredible Succeſs, had, in a few Weeks, drawn the Seat of the War from the *Danube* to the *Rhine*, and thence to the *Moſelle*: He marched, the next Campaign, with a glorious Army thither, where had not the Reaſons I have given before, been found too true, 'tis probable the War had ſoon been ended. Here he obliged the *French* General to retire before him, and to leave him at Liberty to beſiege *Saar-Lewis*; but when he had done, he found the Imperial General very far from being able to anſwer any of his Engagements on which the Meaſures for puſhing the War on that Side had been concerted; which, together with the Neceſſity of his Preſence in *Flanders*, obliged him to march back, and to make no more unhappy Experiments where the Promiſes of the Empire were not to be relied on.

And it is from hence very probable, that ſhould a Project have been ſtarted for his marching to *Savoy*, which was once his Grace's Thoughts, and to have attack'd *France* on that Side, had this been liable to any more Succeſs; and would not the Party have exclaim'd, as they did on his march to the *Danube*, that he was run away with the Army? And what is ever to be hoped, where the Snows, and bad Seaſon, leave not above two Months good to make the Campaign,

Campaign, and the *French* might have drawn what Strength they pleas'd from *Flanders*, or the *Rhine*, with half the Eaſe, to have oppos'd us? Or, had the *Scotch* Expedition happen'd in that Interval, as it is within the Compaſs of the ſame Time, what Clamours would the reſtleſs Spirit of the Duke's Enemies have rais'd againſt him, as if he had betray'd, and ſold us to the Enemy. But I ſhall ſay no more of this, as hardly deſerving Notice, but that the *Conductor*'s cunning Aſſertions draw one into it, and that he may have no Receſs, or Aſſylum, to fly to for the future.

But quoting his Aſſertion again, I find there is a Sting in the Tail of it; *where we might moſt have weakened the common Enemy, and enriched ourſelves.* By this, I begin to think, we have, all this while, miſunderſtood him; and that we ſhould have carried the War into the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, if we had purſued the right Method; a wonderful Project indeed: But till the *Conductor*, and his Friends, give us a better Account of the *Canada* Expedition, which, I preſume, was founded on this noble Scheme, I muſt beg his Pardon for approving of burying Men and Money at that Rate; it looks, I muſt tell him, a little too much like a Caſtle in the Air: But I hear nothing ſaid of it; the G———l has been rewarded for loſing our Ships and Men, more than another would have been, who had come home with Spoil and Conqueſt; a very pretty way of *enriching ourſelves*, and carrying on the War in a right Method, while, for want of ſuch a Squadron, we ſuffer'd our Allies and ourſelves to be plunder'd at *Brazil*; And this, I ſuppoſe, is what the *Conductor* means, by *conquering ſomething for ourſelves*; but the Experiment is over, and, I hope, we ſhall make no more of them at ſo dear a Rate.

Flanders therefore is the Place where we have puſh'd the War in the wrong Place, *France* being cover'd by ſo formidable a Barrier on that Side. The *Conductor*, as I obſerv'd before, ſhould have ſhewn us a better Place to lay the Streſs of the War, than in *Flanders*, and then I would have anſwer'd him, that 'tis probable, be where it will, it might not have met with half the Succeſs it has done there; and tho' it might be wrong at firſt, it has certainly anſwer'd beyond our Expectations, and is right now: Had I not ſhew'd, that all Places had been tried, or, at leaſt, prudently and deliberately conſidered in the moſt conſummate Councils of War; the unanimous Conſent of the Generals of all the Allies for beginning the War there, and the great Alacrity and Chearfulneſs with which they always ſent their Troops to fight under our General, is ſufficient to licenſe and approve the Meaſures entered into, for carrying on the War in *Flanders*, tho' a much leſs proſperous Event had attended our Arms. Or why, if it were a wrong Step, did the moſt conſummate Generals the World ever knew, go into it ſo readily, that all our Allies, all our Generals, and all the World ſhould be miſtaken, but the *Conductor*, is very ſtrange. That the Emperor, when even his own Territories were threaten'd with an Invaſion, the dreadful Effects of which he had, juſt before, experienced, ſhould ſend ſuch a Body of Troops to *Flanders*, with the beſt General in the World at the Head of them, to do nothing, or, at leaſt, what was quite wrong, is another Myſtery; and a greater Myſtery than all, is, that No-body ſhould know this but the *Conductor* and his Friends.

Well; but, however, it was wrong begun, 'tis certainly (the Event having anſwered beyond our Expectation) the only Place now, (where by a little more Patience, if the *Conductor* and his Friends were not in ſuch Haſte for a ſcurvy Peace) to bring *France* to ſuch Terms, as ſhould put it out of her Power to begin a new War upon us, at the Hazard of impoſing the *Pretender* with it, in any little Compaſs of Time: He is willing to allow, that the Conditions of Peace, turn upon the Events of War, and yet ſeems very tender of having it preſſed too ſtrongly againſt the *French* King, as if he was ſenſibly concerned to ward off any Blow on that Side. From whence we may venture to draw this Suppoſition, that though ſuch a Peace as he lays down, may be neceſſary for us to accept, will it do him or us any Harm, if we can, at this Time, obtain a better? Was there any Neceſſity for us to betray ourſelves, for fear the Events of Peace ſhould riſe too high for us? Could we not have treated with the *French*, without making our Condition ſo wretched, and plainly telling them, that if they grant us any better Terms than we hint at, they are unwiſe, ſince we have a Party ready to embrace even them, bad as they are, open mouth'd: A bleſſed Story, when it ſhall be told to our Children, drenched in Blood, and involved in new Misfortunes, through our headlong Miſtakes, and unhappy Overſights. What will the World ſay, but laugh at us and our Diviſions; and when we ſhould hereafter want the Aſſiſtance of our Allies, to be able to obtain of them, not ſo much as their Pity.

But I return from this ungrateful Subject, to the *Flanders* War: Since the Judgment of our Allies, and all our Generals, will not paſs for Reaſon with the *Conductor* and his Friends, there is no Diſpute to be made, but they will agree to the Sentiments of their own Friends. What is it the Enemy have more dreaded, at any Time, than the Progreſs of our Arms in *Flanders?* And what Difficulties have they ſtruggled under to oppoſe us there? And what drew them to make us ſubmiſſive Offers of Peace, both after the *Ramellies* and *Lille* Campaigns, but the Effect of our wonderous Succeſſes in *Flanders*, and the Dread of penetrating quite through a broken Frontier? And what is the Meaning, that *Spain* and the *Indies* ſhould be offered us then, if we had been wiſe enough to take it; and now, after we have, by new unheard-of Succeſſes, almoſt ſwallowed up the Remainder of that Frontier, we are to bate of our Demands, and receive diſhonourable Conditions from a beaten and diſpirited Enemy? Is our Caſe ſo very hard and irretrievable, that we muſt never hope to have this fairly explained, till it is too late, and till our Enemies are in a Capacity of protecting thoſe who have ſo faithfully ſerved them.

Again, If *Flanders* were not the right Place to puſh the Enemy in, why are they ſo very apprehenſive of our Efforts, that they ſeek and contrive all manner of Ways to divert our Arms there? What Time is there to be named, when, in the Interval of any Campaign, they have not threatened, with terrible Denunciations, to invade the Empire, or drive our Forces out of *Spain* the next Spring, Their *Letters*, their *Gazettes* have been full of it; and what was all this for, but to divert the Courſe of the War in *Flanders?* which they found pinch'd them ſo hard, and was likely to pinch them harder, if nothing could ſtop our Career: Nay, what was the *Scotch* Expedition for, but for the ſame Reaſon, that they were willing to run all Hazards to divert the Current of the War in *Flanders*,

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but all this, by the good Conduct of our M——rs and G——l, was wonderfully defeated, and has ſet us as much above the Neceſſity of accepting what the Enemy contemptibly offer, as we ought to prefer a glorious and ſucceſsful War, to an ignominious and precarious Peace.

I think nothing more need be ſaid to prove, that the Clamour raiſed againſt the *Method of carrying on the War*, is like all the other Arguments made uſe of by the *Conductor*, falſe and nefarious; only tinſell'd over with gay and glittering Words, to ſerve a preſent Purpoſe, without being ſufficient to ſtand the Teſt of future Enquiry. Indeed I might have added, That the War in *Flanders* lay ſo hard on the Enemy, as occaſioned the *French* King to draw his Forces out of *Spain*, to oppoſe us on that Side; and that it was the ſole Reaſon of his offering to abandon his Grandſon, and which he would now be content with, were our Friends at home but half as civil as our Enemies abroad.

The next Part of his Propoſition is, *That we ſuffer'd all our Allies to break every Article of thoſe Treaties and Agreements by which they were bound, and to lay all the Burden upon us.* This bold Aſſertion is not to be wonder'd at, taking the reſt along with it, for what can be ſaid leſs after the Treatment they have been expos'd to, which was no more than a neceſſary Concluſion, that we might now break all our Articles with them? To enter into the Proof this, he offers ſome *Remarks* on certain *Articles* in three of our *Treaties*, *viz.* the *Barrier Treaty*, and our *Two Alliances* with *Portugal*, Offenſive and Defenſive; from whence it might be reaſonably judged, that theſe were ſome of thoſe *Treaties* that are pretended to be broke, whereas two of them do no way come into the Diſpute. The firſt, particularly, does not concern the Operations of the War, and therefore, in reality, has nothing to do here, unleſs, as neceſſary to ſerve a Purpoſe, that of railing at the *Dutch*, and ridiculing the late M——y, for endeavouring to eſtabliſh a firm Union between the two Nations for the Security of both. One would think no Objection could be made to this *Treaty*; nor, indeed, would it have happen'd, but that, according to ſome preſent Schemes, we are oblig'd to take ſomething from the *Dutch*, that we may be in a Capacity of complimenting the Enemy with the ſecureſt Part of their *Barrier*, in caſe of a *Peace*. But to fall in with his Objections againſt this *Treaty*, he ſays, *Firſt—That neither her Majeſty, nor her Kingdoms, have any Intereſt or Concern in it, farther than what is mentioned in the ſecond, and twentieth Articles: By the former of which the States are to aſſiſt the Queen in defending the Act of Succeſſion; and by the other, not to treat of Peace, till the King of* France *acknowledges the Queen, and the Succeſſion of* Hanover, *and promiſes to remove the* Pretender *out of his Dominions.* Are not theſe now moſt ſurpriſing and dangerous Objections? that we ſhould offer to concert with a powerful Neighbour and Ally, the Means of ſtrengthening our Act of Succeſſion? And what greater Intereſt can the Qu— or Kingdom have, than ſuch a *Treaty* gives them? What *Engliſhman* that has theſe Things at Heart, and dreads the Miſchiefs of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, but muſt look on the *Conductor* with the utmoſt Indignation, while he ſees him treating the Care of the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* with ſo much Contempt; eſpecially when he conſiders with what Inſolence the *French* King treats her Majeſty's Title, in the late Offers of Peace, in ſuch Words as give a juſt Occaſion for Diſtruſt. But what does the *Conductor* mean? Can a Point which ſo nearly concerns us, be too well ſecur'd?

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Or is he afraid it ſhould be ſo? Whatever his Intentions be, the Senſe of the Nation, in Parliament, has been otherwiſe; and he knows very well, that the *Barrier Treaty* was tranſacted in Purſuance of an Addreſs of both Houſes, and in Execution of the Q——'s own Senſe, expreſſed in her Anſwer to them. And will Any-body now pretend, that Points recommended by P——t, and approved by the Crown, ought to be thus treated, whatever the Reaſons may be for recalling our own Act and Deed? But the *Conductor* is pleaſed to obſerve, *That it is certainly for the Intereſt and Safety of the States General, that the Proteſtant Succeſſion ſhould be preſerved in* England; and therefore infers, That 'tis unneceſſary to bind them by any other Obligation. By the ſame Rule he muſt acknowledge it is our Intereſt and Concern to preſerve the *Low-Countries* from falling into the Hands of *France*, and that we can have no greater Security, than by inſiſting on a ſufficient *Barrier* for the *Dutch*, the larger the better. And is it not neceſſary therefore, in Concert, to take all the Care we can to preſerve thoſe two Points mutually between each other, and may not Things that are neceſſary to be done be ſometimes omitted. Does he not charge our Allies with having neglected their Quota's, and yet it was plainly their Intereſt not to do ſo? Now, can it be a Subject of Difference to ſtrengthen our Intereſt in them, by a Matter that would coſt us ſo little, or allowing them a Point which we could loſe ſo little by, and in which our own Intereſt and Security is as much involved as theirs? *What an Impreſſion*, ſays he, *of our Settlement abroad, to ſee our Miniſters offering ſuch Conditions to the* Dutch, *to prevail with them to be Guarantees to our Acts of Parliament.* What would this Man make of this? Is our Calling in the *Dutch* to be Guarantees of our Succeſſion, which he ſays himſelf they are concern'd in, prevailing with him to be Guarantees to our Acts of Parliament? Is it not the ſame Thing that we are Guarantees for their Barrier, which, indeed, there is no more Occaſion for, than the other, but to ſhew the mutual Friendſhip that ought to reign between us, for our mutual Security? Nor is the Right he ſpeaks of ſo well eſtabliſh'd, but the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch* may hereafter become neceſſary to preſerve it, and equivalent to any exorbitant Article in the Treaty he finds fault with on their Side. But why theſe unneceſſary Cavils againſt the *Dutch* at this Time; 'tis plain they have a Right to their Barrier, previous to this Treaty, as may be ſeen by the 5th Article of the *Grand Alliance*, which expreſly ſays, *That the Allies ſhall uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to recover the* Spaniſh-Netherlands, *to the End they may ſerve as a Fence, Rampart, and Barrier, to keep* France *at a Diſtance from the* United-Provinces, *as formerly; the* Spaniſh-Netherlands *having been the Security of the* States-General, *till the late Seizure of them by the* French *King*. Likewiſe in the 9th Article 'tis ſaid, *That the Allies, at a Treaty of Peace, ſhall agree on what are the proper Ways to ſecure the* States-General, *by the aforeſaid Barrier*; purſuant to which Articles, as faſt as the Towns in *Flanders* have been taken, the *Dutch* have garriſon'd them, by the unanimous Conſent of the Allies; and 'tis for the ſame Reaſon, in the 22d and 23d Articles of the Preliminary Treaty, agreed, *That as well the Towns which did not belong to the Crown of* Spain, *at the Death of King* Charles II. *as thoſe that did, which* France, *by thoſe Articles, was to deliver up, ſhould be yielded and made over to the States, to ſerve for their Barrier, and to be garriſon'd by their Troops.* So that in the *Barrier Treaty* we may ſee, after all the Clamour about it,

it, that Her Majeſty in reality agrees to no more than to ſupport the States in a ſufficient Barrier, ſuch as had been granted them before by all the Allies, and under ſuch Regulations as were every Way neceſſary to ſupport it, without being in any Manner inconſiſtent with the Honour and Intereſt of *Great-Britain.*

The 20th Article, he ſays, *is a natural Conſequence that muſt attend any Treaty of Peace, we can make with* France, *being only the Acknowledging Her Majeſty as Queen of Her own Dominions, and the Right of Succeſſion by her own Laws, which no Foreign Prince has Power to diſpute.* And is this all that the 20th Article is binding in? When he tells us himſelf but juſt before; *That no Peace ſhould be made with* France, *without a Promiſe to remove the Pretender out of his Dominions.* Nor does this Article barely inſiſt on his acknowledging Her Majeſty as Queen of Her own Dominions, or on the Right of Succeſſion by our own Laws, which General Expreſſions 'tis eaſy enough to elude, but on Her Majeſty's Title to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and of the Right of Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*, as Eſtabliſh'd by our Settlement; which is, by the ſaid Articles, fully to be acknowledg'd by *France*, as a Preliminary, previous to any Treaty of Peace; and not left to be a Conſequence of one, as he wittily pretends it muſt be. Nor was it found ſo at the Peace of *Ryſwick*, ſince which Time the *French* King has denied the Q——'s Title, and own'd the *Pretender*, and aſſiſted him to Invade Her Dominions. The next of his Objections is, againſt the Unreaſonableneſs and Exorbitant Articles which he ſays, are granted the States by the reſt of the Treaty: And firſt—*That by the Grand Alliance the* Spaniſh Low-Countries *were to be recover'd and deliver'd to the King of* Spain, *but by his Treaty, that Prince is to poſſeſs nothing in* Flanders, *during the War.* This is falſely repreſented again, for 'tis no where ſaid by the *Grand Alliance*, that the *Low-Countries* ſhould be deliver'd to the King of *Spain*, much leſs during the *War:* And, 'tis well known, that long before this *Treaty* was made, the Government of thoſe conquer'd Places has been adminiſtred by the *Queen*, and the *States*, with the Conſent of the *Emperor*, and King *Charles*, and were nevet deſign'd, as I think appears plain enough, to be deliver'd up to King *Charles*, tho' this *Treaty* had never been tranſacted: But yet, to ſhew the Regard that was had to that Prince's Intereſt, it is expreſly reſerv'd, that the Sovereignty of thoſe *Provinces*, both as to their Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Rights, ſhall be and remain to him, as well in thoſe Towns where the *Dutch* are to have Garriſons, as where they are to have none; that of the Military Command being only reſerv'd for the *Dutch*, in thoſe Towns which they are allowed to Garriſon: Theſe the *Conductor* makes to be about 20 in Number, with their Dependencies; for which, he ſays, *The* Dutch, *after a Peace, are to have* 400000 *Crowns a Year from the King of* Spain, *to maintain their Garriſons; by which Means they will have the Command of all* Flanders *from* Newport *to* Namur, *and be entirely Maſters of the* Pais de Wais, *the richeſt Part of thoſe Provinces.* Now he has diſtinguiſh'd between thoſe Towns in this *Barrier*, which were in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Spain*, at the Death of K. *Charles* II. and thoſe that were not, for of the laſt only, and their Dependancies, the *Dutch* are to have the Revenues, with the Addition of 400000 Crowns yearly, for maintaining the whole *Barrier*; which conſidering the great number of Troops that it will require, and the vaſt Expence of keeping up and repairing the Fortifications, and ſupplying the *Dutch* with all warlike Neceſſaries, and the

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ruin'd Condition they find the Country in, it muſt be allow'd the *Dutch* have no ſuch Bargain of it, and that nothing but their own Preſervation could have prevail'd with them to have engag'd themſelves in ſuch a hazardous and troubleſome an Undertaking.

He farther adds, *That the* Dutch *have liberty to Garriſon any Places, in the* Low-Countries, *they think fit, whenever there is an appearance of a War, and conſequently, to put Garriſons into* Oſtend, *or where elſe they pleaſe, upon a Rupture with* England. This unlucky Hint of a *Rupture* with *England*, the *Conductor* ſeems very fond of, tho' 'tis all a very frivolous Aſſertion: For, *Firſt*, the *Dutch* have no Right to this Liberty, of putting Garriſons into ſuch Places as they pleaſe, but in Caſe, where they are attack'd or in apparent Danger, which is chiefly with a view to *France*, againſt whoſe Inſults, Experience ſhews they can never be too much upon their Guard. And it may be poſſible, by the Intrigues of *France*, that *Others* may join with her againſt them, as they have done in former *Wars*, and may do again, from whom it is very reaſonable, that they ought to be guarded. But as to a *Rupture* with Us, 'tis out of the Queſtion, and what I hope will never happen: And ſhould the Friends of *France* prevail in that Point, I think we ſhould ſcarce go to *Flanders* to attack them. Nay, in caſe we did, this Article can never hurt us, unleſs we break with the *Emperor* at the ſame time, becauſe 'tis otherwiſe impoſſible for the *Dutch* to put Troops into *Oſtend*, ſince, by this very *Treaty*, that Place is entirely left in the Hands of the *Emperor*, and to be Garriſon'd by him.

His next Objection is, *That the* Dutch, *by this Treaty, will be, in effect, Maſters of all the* Low-Countries; *may impoſe Duties, Reſtrictions in Commerce, and Prohibitions, at their Pleaſure; and in the fertile Country, may ſet up all ſorts of Manufactures particularly Woollen, by inviting the diſoblig'd Manufacturers in* Ireland, *and the* French Refugees, *who were ſcatter'd all over* Germany. What an accumulated Heap of falſe Aſſertions is here! merely contriv'd to terrify and incenſe the People of *England* againſt this *Treaty*, without having the leaſt Ground of Truth in it. I think nothing is plainer than what I have prov'd already, that the Civil Power with all the Privileges belonging to it, is expreſly to remain in the *Emperor*, how then can it be ſaid, that the *Dutch* who have only the Military Power, ſhould impoſe Duties, Reſtrictions, *&c?* But ſuppoſe it at worſt, even as he repreſents, yet it is very far from being liable to ſuch dreadful Conſequences as he ſets forth. The principal trading Towns, as *Amſterdam*, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, and the reſt, will make it their care to prevent the eſtabliſhing new Manufactures in that Country, which they would never hitherto ſuffer, even in thoſe ancient Places, which have appertain'd to the States, from the time of the *Munſter-Treaty:* So that ſhould the diſoblig'd Manufacturers of *Ireland* attempt to ſettle in any of the Towns compriz'd in this Treaty, it is very probable they will find themſelves worſe treated, than they were in their own Country. Another frightful Objection againſt this Treaty, is, *That all the Ports in* Flanders, *are to be ſubject to the like Duties the* Dutch *ſhould lay upon the* Scheld, *which is to be clos'd on the Side of the States. Thus all other Nations are in Effect ſhut out from trading with* Flanders; yet, in the ſame Article it is ſaid, *That the States ſhall be favour'd in all the* Spaniſh *Dominions, as much as* Great-Britain, *or as the People moſt favour'd.* This now has no more in it, after all the Colour given to it, to

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make us look like an injured People, but that all Matters relating to Commerce, ſhall be put upon the ſame Foot, as they were in before the War, when it was always thought we had as much Right and Favour as the *Dutch*: Beſides is it not a frivolous, as well as falſe Aſſertion, *That other Nations are, in effect, ſhut out from trading with* Flanders, when I have ſo plainly ſhewed before, that all the Civil Right is lodged in the *Emperor*, of which there never could have been any danger, but from the unreaſonable Provocation that has been given to our Allies, by the Friends of *France*: Beſides, for avoiding all difference between the Two Nations on this Head, in purſuance of the *Grand-Alliance*; the Q—— and the States do not only by this Article mutually engage to preſerve Commerce upon the ſame Foot it was before the War, but engage that the Subjects of each ſhall be treated alike, and as favourable as thoſe of any other Nation, in all Parts of the *Spaniſh Dominions*. Therefore to ſay that we are in danger as to our Trade, by this *Barrier Treaty*, is utterly falſe; or we have conquer'd *Flanders* for ourſelves, as well as the *Dutch*, and by this *Treaty* our own Trade is re-eſtabliſhed and ſecured as well as theirs. What then the Deſign of all this violent Reſentmen can be, againſt a Treaty ſo very reaſonable in itſelf, and even advantagious to ourſelves, is very unaccountable, and it will be out of the Power of any One to imagine, unleſs from the ſcandalous Intimation the *Conductor* has given us; *That it has put it out of the Power of our own Legiſlature to change our Succeſſion without the Conſent of our Guarantee*. Which, I think, take it under what Conſtruction you pleaſe, ought to add a double Value to ſo beneficial an Alliance.

I think it is Time to have done with this Head. Let us next examine into our Alliances with *Portugal*, which, becauſe they ſtand equally in the way of an unſafe Peace, are under the ſame neceſſity of being damn'd with the *Barrier-Treaty*. In ſpeaking of theſe *Treaties*, in order the more clearly to juſtify the tranſacting them, the Reader ought to be pre-advis'd to conſider what Circumſtances Affairs ſtood in at that Time, and the great Influence the *French* have in that Court, as all who are competent Judges in the matter do very well know, and then it cannot but be look'd upon as the Effect of the moſt refin'd Politicks, that they were to be drawn off from their Engagements at all; which, in reſpect to the good State of our Enemies Affairs at that Time, had been impoſſible to do, had not the moſt ardent Courage and Reſolution of the King of *Portugal*, contributed beyond any Thing that human Prudence could have devis'd. Now in conſideration of ſo great a Benefit to the Common Cauſe, as was reaſonably expected from theſe Alliances, let us ſee how much we over-reach'd them, by the Terms granted in the Treaty.

Both the Offenſive and Defenſive Alliance were made at the ſame Time, and ſign'd the ſame Day, *viz.* 16 *May* 1703. The Firſt conſiſts of XXIX Articles, in which 'tis agreed, *That for the Land-Service, and the Invaſion of* Spain *on that Side, the King of* Portugal *ſhall maintain, at his own Expence,* 15000 *Men, and raiſe* 13000 *more to be paid by the Allies*. And to this Body of *Portugueze-Troops*, the Allies are to join 12000 *Men of their own or other Nations*. This is the Subſtance of the Firſt 16 Articles; the Two next, which are thoſe that the *Conductor* is ſo angry at, relate chiefly to the Sea-Service. By the Firſt, the Maritime Powers are oblig'd *to keep on the Coaſt of* Portugal, *a competent number of*

Men of War to defend their Ports, and protect their Trade. Then follows, That upon certain Advice, that the Enemy intend to invade them with a ſuperior Force to what the Allies ſhall have on their Coaſt, that they ſhall increaſe their number of Ships, ſo as to be able to protect them; and that ſuch Ships ſhall continue in thoſe Seas, or Ports, ſo long as His *Portugueze* Majeſty ſhall judge neceſſary. In the next Article, they, (the Allies) oblige themſelves, for the defence of the *Portugueze* Dominions beyond Seas; And we lately ſee how well we kept this Article of our Treaty, where, I do not find, that we had one Ship, either to protect them or ourſelves: And this upon certain Advice, that they are deſign'd to be invaded, in which Caſe, if any ſtrong Place be taken from them, we are to continue our Aſſiſtance till it is re-taken. What is there now in theſe Articles ſo unreaſonable for the *Portugueze* to aſk, or we to grant? Was it reaſonable that his *Portugueze* Majeſty ſhou'd break with *France*, to ſupport our Intereſt, and expoſe himſelf to the Inſults and Invaſions of ſuch powerful Enemies by Sea and Land, which he knew himſelf in no condition to withſtand, and not ſo much as demand to be protected from the Naval Strength of *France*, which could not be done, but by keeping a Squadron upon his Coaſt, and increaſing it upon any ſudden Notice of an Invaſion; and this He impertinently calls, *taking the King of* Portugal's *Word, whenever he has a Fancy he ſhall be invaded, or when he is in a Humour to apprehend an Invaſion.* Is not this impoſing, in the groſſeſt manner, upon the Judgment of all thoſe concern'd in the Treaty, as well as thoſe who read, ſuch intollerable Reaſoning? Do not the very Words of the Treaty ſay, *upon certain Knowledge or Advice?* And who is the moſt proper Perſon for this Knowledge to come from but the King himſelf? Ought not Princes to be allow'd to have the quickeſt and beſt Intelligence of their own danger? And are our Admirals ſuch Novices, that they are to be govern'd by Humour and Fancy, and not be ſuffer'd to have the Conduct to know when they are impos'd on? And if they find, or conceive they are ſo, may they not, by their own Inſtructions, refuſe to go upon ſuch Errands? But there is this Fate in its lying expos'd to the *Conductor*'s Inſults, that I do not think it poſſible to expreſs ſo advantagious an Alliance in any better, or, indeed, in any other manner, conſidering, that in all Treaties, ſomething is, of courſe, to be left to the Faith and Honour of the Prince, or State, it is concluded with; and how eaſily they are eluded, and broke into, when any Caprice ſerves turn, he has himſelf given us a very glaring inſtance of.

Another Thing offends the *Conductor*, and that is, *That theſe Fleets muſt not only be ſubject to the King, but to his Vice Roys, Admirals and Governors, which*, he ſays, *is an Indignity that was never offer'd before, except in a conquer'd Nation.* How vile an Inference is this? The Subſtance of which is expreſs'd thus, *That all auxiliary Ships ſhall be ſubject to the King's Orders, and in Parts beyond the Seas, to the Orders of his Vice-Roys and Governors.* This is no more than ſaying, That they ſhall be apply'd to the uſe they were agreed on. For I would aſk the *Conductor*, If all Auxiliaries are not ſubject to the ſupreme Command, in whatever Place they ſerve in? And this is no more than neceſſary, to avoid all *Diſputes* and *Diſorders* that might otherwiſe ariſe, and render their Service uſeleſs: And, again, whatever is neceſſary to make an Alliance uſeful, can never be ſaid, with Reaſon, to be an Indignity. So that whatever he has urg'd againſt theſe four

Articles,

Articles, is both malicious and abſurd; ſince nothing has been agreed on, which was leſs than *Portugal* could aſk, or we could grant, without derogating from the Honour of our Country.

In the Defenſive Alliance, which is perpetual, the Articles relating to our Shipping are much the ſame, and therefore are to be anſwer'd by the ſame Words, but the *Conductor* does not care to meddle with the 8th Article, which has this difference, *That if the Ships of any of the three Nations are to act in Conjunction in any Expedition which is the common Concern of them all,* (and not in particular to *Portugal*) *that then the Commander, who has moſt Ships under him, ſhall give the Signal, and act in all reſpects, as Admiral of the whole.* 'Twas by this Article that Sir *John Leake*, in 1705, had under him a Flag of *Portugal*, with the Flower of the Navy-Royal. His Quarrels, at this Treaty are, in many Points, ſo very frivolous, that it is no eaſy matter to pick out any Thing that deſerves an Anſwer, of this Species is the Aſſertion following, *That if* We *or* Holland *are invaded, yet if we expect any Aſſiſtance from the King of* Portugal, *we are to ſupply him with Forces in the ſame manner as if he were invaded himſelf, which,* he infers, *muſt be a very prudent courſe for a Maritime Power to take, upon a ſudden Invaſion, by which, inſtead of making uſe of our Fleets and Armies for our own defence, we muſt ſend them abroad for the Defence of* Portugal. Now is it poſſible to expect, when there is ſuch a vaſt diſproportion in the Strength of the Parties who are to manage this Alliance, that the Aſſiſtance on each Side ſhould be equal, would it not be an unreaſonable Thing, to aſk One of the petty Electors to furniſh as much toward the War, as the Emperor Himſelf? It is the ſame Thing here, when the publick Service ſhall render a Diverſion on the Side of *Portugal* of Advantage, would it be any Crime to make ſuch an Addition to their naval Strength, as might, in all probability, enable them to do to purpoſe, which their own Force was not ſufficient for? And if otherwiſe we think it more for our ſervice to keep our Ships and Men at Home, do theſe Articles ſubſtitute us to the contrary, but upon our own voluntary Choice; But the *Conductor* ſeems to mean, that he would have the King of *Portugal* made ſome Extraordinary Effort of himſelf, to aſſiſt us, in caſe we are invaded; and, in truth, ſo would I too, but that I, and all Mankind know it is not in his power, and this is, indeed, the true Reaſon why the *Dutch* have not continued to perform their part in the firſt of theſe Alliances: For, as to the Second, as I have ſhewn, it does not properly take place yet: And if we have kept cloſer to our Articles than the *Dutch*, it was, and is, becauſe they are of much more conſequence to us, in reſpect to the real Benefits we reap from thence in our Trade.

They who remember how impatient the Nation were to have theſe Alliances made, before they were entered into, and what hopes we had of reducing *Spain*, by an Impreſſion on that ſide, on which the whole Country lies open to *Madrid*, as has been experienced by one or two happy Events, tho' not prudently or ſucceſsfully followed: And the inevitable Ruin and Decay, not only of our *Spaniſh* Trade, but that of the *Mediterranean* alſo, which muſt certainly have followed, if the Port of *Liſbon* had continued ſhut to us: All, I ſay, who remember this, muſt allow, That inſtead of blaming the late M——y, there are no Thanks or Praiſes too much for them. And had our Expectations anſwer'd in all reſpects, from thoſe Treaties, as well in the Advantages of War

as Trade, which, by the Way, no body could foreſee they would not, they wou'd have been worth to us infinitely more than what, by the Terms of the Treaty, we were to have given the *Portugueze* in lieu of them: Nor do I believe, if the War were to continue, even the new M——y would adviſe the breaking of them; while it is plain that the Advantages of our Trade, ſufficiently over-ballance all the Inconveniencies we are ſaid to receive from them, nor has it happen'd from the Articles themſelves, but from the ill Execution of ſome of them, which was almoſt unavoidable. The Treaty made with that Prince at the end of the Year 1703, for admitting our *Engliſh* Cloth, which at that time ſtood prohibited in *Portugal*, is, of it ſelf, of more real Advantage to us, than any thing they could reap by us. Their own Manufactures were immediately ruin'd by it; and both *Portugal*, and its Dominions in *America*, have ever ſince been forced to depend on us for their *Woollen Goods*: Beſides, we have in a manner carried on the *Spaniſh* Trade through them, and almoſt engroſſed the whole return of Bullion from *Brazil*, which behov'd us to have taken a little more Care of that Trade than it appears we have done. Nor this only, but our Troops in *Spain* and *Portugal* have been chiefly pay'd by the Advantages of the Ballances of Trade on that ſide, without ſending any Species from *England*. This the *Conductor* very well knows; but theſe Ends are not compriz'd within the Reaſons of his exclaiming againſt theſe Alliances, which are the ſame in the main, with his wrangling ſo heartily at the *Barrier-Treaty*, *viz.* Becauſe the latter ſecures to the *Dutch* ſuch Towns, as by ſuch a Peace as he writes for, are to be given back to *France*, which cannot be done till we have taken them from our Allies for that purpoſe; and by our Alliances with *Portugal*, we are engag'd not to leave the Duke of *Anjou* in Poſſeſſion of *Spain* and the *Indies*. We may remember how oft it has been ſaid, the *French* would endeavour to divide the Allies; and what Application theſe things afford, the World is to judge.

After all this Clamour againſt the Subſtance of our Treaties, which I have ſhewn were no otherwiſe faulty, than as they ſtood in the Way of ſuch a Peace as the *Conductor* is writing for, he comes at length to prove, as he calls it, *That we ſuffered each of our Allies to break every Article in their Treaties*, and in order to prove it, which is pleaſant enough, he propoſes negatively, *To conſider in what manner they have obſerved thoſe Treaties, &c.* And even this Charge is only againſt the Emperor, the *Dutch*, and the King of *Portugal*; and firſt, the *Dutch*, whom he attacks in the manner following.

That whereas, by a Convention ſubſequent to the grand Alliance, 'twas agreed, That Holland *ſhould bring into the Field* 60000 *Men in* Flanders; *and* England 40000, *yet there was an Augmentation made by the* Dutch, *and us, of* 20000 *Men, for the Year* 1703, *upon a Par directly contrary to the former Stipulation.* A very pretty Way of proving that our Allies have broke their Treaties, by maintaining what, indeed, has nothing to do with them. That ſuch an Augmentation was made, and upon a Par, we all know, but how much it is contrary to any former Stipulation, is a Myſtery, becauſe it was built upon an Agreement perfectly new, and upon new Conditions; and chiefly, that if we agreed to this Augmentation upon a Par, it was inſiſted by our P———t, at that Time, the *Dutch* ſhould prohibit their Commerce with *France*, which, with the Benefit of the Augmentation, they thought was a hard Bargain enough, however, for the

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Good of the Common Cauſe, they conſented to it for one Year, but finding, by Experience, that their People neither could nor would bear with it any longer; our P——t was contented to continue the Augmentation, without obliging the *Dutch* to this Hardſhip. Beſides, this Augmentation, upon a Par, was not breaking any former Stipulation, but making a new one, and if any new Regulations are to be made, are not the *Dutch* at Liberty, as well as we, to make the beſt Terms they can for themſelves. It would be, in Effect, arguing, That in any War that ſhall break out for the future, we ſhall oblige the States of *Holland* to an Obſervance of all the Articles now in Force, either for or againſt them. This is the true State of the firſt Augmentation that was made, and we might have refuſed it if we would. It is certain the *Dutch* made the greateſt Effort imaginable, at their firſt ſetting out, and raiſed above 60000 Men, beſides 45000 they had in their Pay before the War began, which was ſo heavy a Charge, that they ſoon found they could not bear the Expence of taking any more Troops into their Service, jointly with *England*, upon the firſt Foot.

His next Charge is, *That the next, and ſome enſuing Campaigns, farther additional Forces were allowed, and in every new Supply the* Dutch *gradually leſſened their Proportions.* But to ſatisfy the Reader in the Falſity of this, we ſhall here ſhew what Forces the *Dutch* annually contracted, after the aforeſaid Augmentation of 10000 Men in 1703.

The next Year, 1704, the States took into their Service one Regiment of Dragoons, and three of Foot of *Wirtembergh*, making 4000 Men.

In the Year 1706, they took, together with *Great Britain*, by Contract, two Regiments of Horſe, and a Battalion of *Heſſians*, by which their Body of 9000 Men was augmented, the States Share is 600.

And by a ſecond Contract the ſame Month, together with *Great Britain*, 3000 *Palatines*; the States third Part is 1000.

In the Beginning of the Year 1707, the States augmented their National Horſe with eight Men in each Company, amounting to 1160.

By a Contract of *April* 30, the ſame Year, *Great Britain* and the States took into their Service 4639 *Palatines*, their Share 2319.

Again, by Contract the 27th of *Auguſt*, the ſame Year, one Regiment of Dragoons of 800 Men, the States half 400.

The States, beſides, took into their Service, by a Contract of the 21ſt of *February* 1707, two Regiments of Foot of *Wolfembuttel*, making 1400 Men.

By another Contract, *March* 22, the ſame Year, together with *Great Britain*, 4092 *Saxons*, the States Share 2046.

Likewiſe by that of the ſame Month, one Regiment of Foot of *Holſtein Gottorp*, of 797. And by another Contract, 18 *April*, one of *Munſter* of 800 Men.

The States did, at the ſame Time, augment the *Swiſs* and *Griſon* Regiments, with 22 Men in each Company, making 1144 Men.

And, laſtly, the States agreed, the 29th of *June* 1711, for a *Swiſs* Regiment of 1200 Men, which is now raiſing, and in good Forwardneſs.

Now, where is this leſſening their Proportions, gradually every Year, from the Augmentation made in 1703, at a Par? Beſides which, 'tis obſervable, that all

all the Troops, ſet down in this Account, on their Part of the Supplies, receive ordinary Pay of the States, and Money of them more, One *Heſſian* Regiment excepted; whereas *Great-Britain* has allow'd theirs, beſides one Regiment of the *Landgraves*, a Body of *Hanoverians*, and 6000 *Pruſſians*, a much lower Pay, ſo that they only ſupply their Wants by Means of the Winter Quarters they have in the Flat Countries. And, 'tis likewiſe to be obſerved, that, beſides the Troops before-mention'd, the States pay ſince the Year 1706, together with Her Britannick Majeſty; the Bread, Forage, and Agio of the Money at 26 *per Cent.* for a Body of 10370 *Pruſſians*; and that this Payment does in Relation come ſo much the nearer to the ordinary Pay, becauſe a great Part of that Body has every Year its Winter Quarters in the Flat Countries of the State, which prevents getting in the Taxes, which otherwiſe would turn to Account; ſo that there is good Reaſon to infer that the States pay One Half of that Body, which is 5185 Men.

By all this, the Reader may ſee that the States have not only born their due Proportion from the firſt Augmentation, but have made ſeveral Additions to the Troops in their Service, in which we bore no Share at all; ſo that nothing can be more falſe than to ſay, *That in every new Supply the* Dutch *gradually leſſen'd their Proportions.* Whereas, the firſt Augmentation was made upon a Par, and, at leaſt, it muſt be granted, that ſo were all that have been made ſince, for the Service of *Flanders*. There were indeed in the Year 1706, 3000 *Palatines* taken into the Service of Us and the States, of which we pay two Thirds, but then, theſe Troops, tho' put on the *Flanders* Eſtabliſhment, never ſerv'd there but in *Spain*, the Service at that time requiring it: And beſides, in lieu of this, the States increaſed their Horſe againſt next Year with 8 Men in a Troop, amounting in the whole to 1200 Men, which is more than their Proportion, according to the firſt Augmentation at a Par. And as to the Parliamentary Addreſſes to the Q——n, *That the States might be deſir'd to obſerve their Proportions*; The Reader is to know that whatever was done of this kind, was upon General Rumours only, and not upon any Facts that appeared before the Houſe; nor is there any Thing more groundleſs than the Effect he pretends theſe Addreſſes had upon the States. *That they eluded them by making their Troops* Nominal Corps, *which they did by keeping up the Number of Regiments, and ſinking a 5th Part of the Men and Money.* Whereas in Truth, the *Dutch* Corps are ſo far from being *Nominal*, that they are eſteem'd to be the compleateſt in the whole Service, no Troops are ſo ſtrictly muſter'd once, at leaſt, every Campaign, and every Captain is oblig'd upon Pain of being caſhier'd, to have his Compliment to a Man.

The next Complaint is the moſt frivolous thing that I think can be ſaid by any Man who pretends to be in his Senſes. *The more Towns*, ſays he, *we Conquer, the worſe Condition we are in, becauſe they make no ſcruple of employing the Troops of their Quota, towards Garriſoning every Town, as faſt as it is taken, directly contrary to the Agreement, by which Garriſons are excluded.* This is ſo empty a Notion, that all who know any thing of the Matter, muſt allow that Frontier Garriſons are the Strength of an Army, elſe it might properly be ſaid, that the Enemy are ſtronger, and in better Condition for every Town that is taken from them, becauſe we are the weaker for every Man we put into Garriſon; which would be

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a pretty way of arguing. But to leave this to thoſe who are better Soldiers than either the *Conductor* or myſelf; what he alledges is otherwiſe no more than an mere Equivocation; for if he would give us the Words of this Agreement, we ſhould find "That the Garriſons excluded," mean no more than the Garriſons of the Towns, which at that time belonged to the States, and not thoſe which ſhould be taken from the Enemy, in the Proſecution of the War. Beſides, it is known to thoſe who underſtand ſuch Affairs, that what Troops remain in Garriſon, are but a Trifle in Compariſon of the whole Army, and generally of ſuch Regiments as ſuffer'd moſt the Campaign before, and ſcarce in a Condition to take the Field. As to thoſe Troops which lie neareſt the Enemy, they have indeed larger Garriſons, but, at the ſame time, as I have obſerv'd, they are as uſeful for the Service of the War as thoſe in the Field: Firſt, in regard of ſecuring our Convoys and other extraordinary Services; and likewiſe, that upon any Emergency, the greateſt part of them may join the Army upon the leaſt Signal. Now if the *Conductor* be ſo good a Proficient in the Art of War, to tell us which way we ſhall find Troops to put into the Towns we take, without drawing them from the Army, I ſhall believe the *Dutch*, by purſuing ſuch a Method, have broke their Alliance.

This at length, he aſſerts, arriv'd to ſuch a Height, *That there are at preſent in the Field, not ſo many Forces under the D. of* M———'s *Command in* Flanders, *as* Britain *alone maintains for that Service, nor have been for ſome Years paſt.* One would have thought it out of the Power of Malice to have ſuggeſted any thing ſo fooliſh and abſurd! That if there was nothing elſe in his whole Book, this alone were, in a reaſonable Community, enough to deſtroy the Credit of all he has ſaid. In the Eſtimate of the Troops in Her Majeſty's Pay in *Flanders*, it appears that they make ſomething above 62000 Men, which may be computed at 52 Battalions of Foot, and 68 Squadrons of Horſe: Now if the D. of *M.* has, for ſome Years paſt, beaten, puſh'd, and harraſs'd the *French* Army, beſides taking their Towns, with an Army conſiſting of no more than 52 Battalions and 68 Squadrons, when the Enemy were, at leaſt, by their own Accounts, 170, or 180 Battalions, and above 200 Squadrons, it muſt certainly be allow'd, we are the more oblig'd to his Grace's Conduct, to do all this for us; which Acknowledgment, I find, the *Conductor* was unadviſedly drawn into, contrary to his conſtant and natural Reflections on that General, in other Parts of his *Libel*; but 'tis to be preſum'd that his Reaſons for black'ning the *Dutch*, in this remarkable Inſtance, made him quite forget himſelf, or by a wilful Miſtake, to chuſe the greateſt inſtead of the leaſt of two Evils: Tho' at the ſame time it was an Error in a Purpoſe, perhaps leſs ſignificant; the blackeſt Arts being then on Foot, to ruin and diſplace the D——, and render him contemptible in the Eyes of the People, which, it has ſince appear'd, is not poſſible to be done, neither by any thing the *Conductor* can write, or his Friends deviſe for him.

But to purſue his Complaints againſt the *Dutch*, the next is, for their not complying with the D. of *M*———'s Project for Winter-Quarters laſt Year. And here, I cannot but obſerve, to the Honour of the *States*, that neither in this, nor in any one Inſtance through his whole Book, does he prove them to have broke any one *Treaty*. I do not find, by any Agreement, that they are oblig'd to come into all the Projects we propoſe; and if they did not come into this,

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it was not for the Reaſons the *Conductor* lays down. That it was becauſe the *Dutch* would not loſe the *paultry Benefit ariſing by Contribution*: On the contrary it is certain, that the *States* gave ſeveral prudent Reaſons againſt this Project, alledging, That to croud ſuch a Number of Troops upon the Frontier, would, in many Reſpects, be very inconvenient, and not only render them unfit for Service at the opening of the Campaign, but leave the *Netherlands*, and their own *Provinces*, too much expos'd; and that the extraordinary Expence for Building, Stabling, and other neceſſary Charges, was too great for them to bear, conſidering the prodigious Expence they were already at. However for the Good of the common Cauſe provided the Troops of the ſeveral Nations, in that Service, would furniſh their *Quota* towards theſe Cantonments, and the Q—— would come into a proportion of the other Articles, beſides Forrage, they would agree to it. This Project the E. of *St——rs* came over with ſo early as *July* laſt. But ſo long Time was taken here before it was conſented to, that it was forced to be laid aſide, tho' the beſt care had been taken, that the Execution of it might not be loſt for want of Time.

As to *the paultry Benefit of Contributions*, the *Dutch* have ſufficiently cleared themſelves in that Point, by ſhewing, That the *Treaty* for *Contributions* was made before this Deſign was formed, and interfer'd but little therewith, *viz.* to hinder the Enemy from erecting Magazines ſince the ſaid *Treaty* for *Contributions* only ſays, *That the Product of thoſe Countries, under Contribution, ſhall paſs free and unmoleſted.* But the Product of that Country was entirely eaten up by our Armies, and therefore the *French-Magazines* muſt be made of what is not the Product of that Country, and, conſequently are not affected by this *Treaty*. By which, it appears, that the *Conductor*'s *paultry Benefit* had no part in it: Tho', at other Times, 'tis a *Benefit* which he will not allow to be a *paultry* one, when he, and his Friends, endeavour to make it amount to a mighty Sum, and to perſuade the World, that the D. of *M*—— had a conſiderable Snack of it; tho', by this *Treaty*, they well know, that 'tis allotted to the *States*, in conſideration of the *Contributions* they pay themſelves, and of the vaſt Expence they are at in Sieges, which, by the Succeſs of the War, and the loſs of Engineers, exceeds whatever could have been expected or imagin'd they were able to bear. And, after all, if it were true, that the *States* did not agree to this *Propoſal*, to exert themſelves, who can blame them? With what Heart could they enter into an expenſive Project for the War, when they were aſſured, that Negotiations for Peace were privately carry'd on, was it likely for them to expect a Project of ſuch importance, wholly form'd by the D. of *M*——, and highly for his Honour, would be ſupported, when Meaſures were then actually taken to ſupplant him, and where he had no longer any Credit.

Again, I muſt obſerve, that, after all, this Project did not miſcarry under the late M——y, which was a Point that the *Conductor* ſhould have prov'd, when he ſays, *That* WE *ſuffer'd our Allies to break all their Treaties.* Who he means by *WE*, I ſuppoſe, will be no otherwiſe interpreted, than the *Old M—y*, when, if it had any ill Conſequence it was under the Influence of his *New Friends.* But, I believe, I may ſhew that it had no ill Conſequence at all; for the *States*, ſo far comply'd with the Extent of it, as enabled us to prevent the Enemy from making any new Lines, which they intended, and cutting off

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Bouchain, as we may remember they afterwards attempted. And, for the reſt of it, we ſee, in Fact, that they have ſince overturn'd all Objections to their Conduct at that Time, by burning the Enemies Magazines, the Foundation on which the Cavil was firſt built, which, perhaps, was then their Deſign, and has coſt us not much leſs than the cantoning ſuch a vaſt number of Troops all Winter.

He now brings the *Dutch* to Account for their Navy-Affairs, and begins with ſaying, *That inſtead of making up their Fleet, what they fell ſhort in their Army, they never once furniſh'd their Quota either of Ships or Men.* I know ſome who bore conſiderable Commands in our Navy at that Time, and never made the leaſt diſpute of that then, till they were put on it ſerve a *Purpoſe*, in being vexatious to our Allies. But, as I have already ſhewn, that they never did fall ſhort in their Quota for the Army, but rather exceeded it, as appears by the Liſt of their Forces, whereby they ſtand charg'd with the Payment of 143385 Men, there was no Obligation to make any Addition to their Fleet on that account. So I am likewiſe pretty well aſſur'd, that what they are charg'd withal, in relation to their Navy, will appear only ſome prudent Steps of good Huſbandry and Frugality, and not any Contempt of Us, or Neglect of the Common-Cauſe, which they have zealouſly and conſtantly ſhewn to have ſo much at Heart: And this the *Conductor* ſeems to intimate himſelf. *Or if*, ſays he, *ſome few of their Ships, now and then, appear'd, it was no more than appearing, for they immediately ſeparated, to look to their Merchants, and protect their Trade.* Which is a Thing they are, it ſeems, very careful in, and 'tis much for their Honour, as well as Advantage, they are ſo ſmall a State, to hold out ſo expenſive a War, equivalent to their Neighbours, who have much larger Territories. And if this be retorted as a Reproach to them, I wiſh it could be laid at our Door; who may remember, 'tis not much above a Twelve-month, ſince our *Virginia Fleet* was loſt, upon our own Coaſt, for want of a little *Dutch-Care*.

But to judge of this more exactly, let us remember what it was we propoſed to do with our Fleets when the Propotions were ſettled at the beginning of the War: Was it not chiefly that we might be able to act offenſively againſt the Common Enemy, as well by Sea as Land? And did not the States join heartily in this till we had gain'd our Point? Have the *French* ever been able to ſhew their Heads ſince the Fight at *Malaga*, 1704? Where we ought to remember how Serviceable the *Dutch Line* was, and what Encomiums both the Enemy and ourſelves beſtow'd on 'em. And if they contributed their ſhare till the the Point was gain'd, and the Enemy had no more a Fleet to put to Sea, ought they not to enjoy the Benefit of doing double Service whilſt they were at it? It is but natural to imagine that when the Quota's were firſt ſettled, it was upon a plain Suppoſition, that the Enemy would have ſuch a Number of Ships at Sea, of which ſome near Computation might eaſily be made, and no doubt but it was made at that time. But we cannot conceive, nor imagine, that, if it could have been ſuppos'd the Enemy would not have kept out a Fleet, the Proportions on either ſide would have been ſo large. And this I cannot but take to be a good Reaſon for their Frugality to ſave what might be ſav'd: Or let me aſk the *Conductor*, What they ſhould have done more with the Ships they ſent to Sea? Since it appears on any Emergency, we had ſufficient to execute our Pur-

poſe. I can tell him, the *Dutch* are too Wiſe a People to be fond of Expeditions, and I believe, had they never ſuch a number of Ships to ſpare, they would ſend none to make Conqueſts in the *Indies*, or the Lord knows where; where, at beſt, they are liable to ſo many Accidents, as ſeldom fails to Ruin both the Ships and Troops employ'd on ſuch Adventures; and this I think may be witneſs'd by our late Voyage to *Canada*, where it had been happy for us, had we, like our cautious Neighbours, the *Dutch*, kept our Ships in our Harbours, or employ'd them in ſecuring our Trade; and not have ſuffer'd the Enemy to Sail after us with an Equivalent Squadron, and come Home at the Heels of us, big with the Plunder of our Faithful Allies; not wholly forgetting our Selves too.

He has ſtill another Charge againſt the *Dutch*, *that theſe Guarantees of our Succeſſion, having not one Ship in the Mediterranean for many Months, they ſent that part of their Quota thither, and furniſhed nothing to us, at the ſame time that they allarm'd us with the Rumour of an Invaſion.* This is ſaid to inſult the *Dutch* as Guarantees, by the Barrier Treaty, of our Succeſſion; That being the Hinge upon which all his Arguments turn. Now the Fact is this, It having been agreed, upon the conſideration of the Poſture of Affairs in *Spain* at that time, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Squadrons ſhould winter in the Mediterranean, contrary to what had been done in former Years, the States ſent Two Expreſſes by Land to *Genoa*, and, as I remember, one by Sea; but all theſe unfortunately miſſing their Admiral, he inadvertently returned: Whereupon they immediately fitted out another Squadron, where they loſt no time in ſending away. But now he talks of *The Rumour of an Invaſion*, I remember indeed, about that time, we had ſuch an Alarm; and that it gave great Offence, where it ought rather to have been cheriſh'd: And becauſe an Invaſion did not actually follow, 'twas preſently ſaid to be a Plot of the *Dutch* and the late *M——y*, but I rather wiſh we don't ſuffer another time for diſcouraging ſuch uſeful Intelligence. And if no Invaſion was ſo much as intended, I can't ſee where the Deſign of the *Dutch* could be upon a Suppoſition only to give us Notice: the *French* were at that time fitting out a Fleet, and making Preparations for an Invaſion ſomewhere, tho' it fell in another Place; and the Pretender was ſent on a ſleeveleſs Errand to viſit the Provinces of *France*, with no other Purpoſe to be ſure but to amuſe us, and give Occaſion of a *Rumour of an Invaſion*; and if the *Dutch* were too haſty in taking the Alarm, I believe there were Thouſands in *England* of the ſame Mind, that were far from any Plot or Deſign againſt the Government. *But the Dutch ſent their Ships to the Mediterranean, and furniſh'd nothing to us:* There is the Complaint. Now I would aſk the *Conductor*, What Occaſion there was, if, as he ſays, 'twas only *the Rumour of an Invaſion*? and whether they might not, nothſtanding the Squadron ſent to the Mediterranean, have ſpared us on an Exigency Eight or Ten Men of War? The few Ships they ſent upon that Service, were not all they were Maſters of; or if indeed they were, I never heard that any Application was made to them to deſire them to delay a-while the Sailing of that Squadron, till the Rumour was over; and would it not have been time enough to have given Aſſiſtance, when either our Requeſt, or the Reality of the Danger had made it neceſſary.

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In ſhort, his Complaints againſt the *Dutch* are ſo many and ſo violent, that I grow even weary of taking notice of them; now would I indeed ſay more, but that the following is ſomething remarkable; Sir *James Wiſhart*, he affirms, *met laſt Year with ſuch a Reception, as ill became a Republick that lies under ſo many Obligations to us: In ſhort, ſuch a one, as thoſe only deſerve, who are content to take.* It happens here that the *Conductor* has blab'd out his Reſentments from the real Sentiments of his Heart; he ſeems to think we ſhould demand Satisfaction; which he backs in another Part of his Libel, where he ſays, *And we ourſelves may be nnder a Neceſſity of recovering Towns out of the very Hands of thoſe, for whom we are now Ruining our Country to take them.* I think theſe two Quotations, drawn into one entire Paragraph, give a plain Intimation of the *Conductor*'s Good-will to the *Dutch*, and how reaſonable he, and his Friends, (for I muſt always conclude them) would at any time think another *Dutch War*. Their aſſiſting us againſt King *James*, and being the original Spring of the Revolution, will not be forgiven them by ſome People, in many Ages to come. But to the matter. As to the Reception of Sir *James Wiſhart*, he gives us no Particulars how, or in what manner this Compliment is gounded, and therefore little is to be ſaid to it at preſent: But I ſhall here obſerve in Juſtification of the States, that it is the firſt Complaint of this nature that has happen'd in Ten Years; and beſides, that the *Dutch* did not comply in the Meaſures urged by Sir *James*, it was becauſe they were neither able to do what was deſired of them, not did he come time enough to concert it; for the State of the War both by Sea and Land that Year was fix'd before his Arrival, which rendered it impoſſible for him to ſucceed in the Buſineſs he went about.

I ſhall not, I believe, need to repeat any Inſtances, that the States have always behaved themſelves with the utmoſt Reſpect to her Majeſty, and the Intereſt of Her People; when, to ſhew the true regard they have to any Propoſition that ſhall come from her *Britannick* Majeſty, after all this Ill treatment they conſented to a *Congreſs* for Peace, even againſt their own Judgment, and that of their Allies, as is ſet forth in their Reſolution upon that Subject. And after all the Clamour that is raiſed, they appear Guilty of nothing but of a little Prudent Management, the better to be enabled to bear the grievous Expences of ſo long a War; and not being able to anſwer all the Parts of it, they let the Deficiency fall on their Fleet, where it would be leaſt felt, and the Service of the Common Cauſe leaſt neglected. This is all the *Conductor* has to ſay againſt the *Dutch*, eſpecially in relation to the Sea; and it is plain, they maintain above 140000 Men by Land, and the States of the War, for one Year, comes to near Four Millions and a half.

Beſides which, 'tis neceſſary to obſerve, —— That the Revenue ariſing from the Places the *Dutch* are poſſeſſed of in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and of all the Places in the *Generality*, ſuch as *Breda*, and others, that are not properly a part of the Seven Provinces: All this Revenue is appropriated to the Payment of Charges not within this Eſtimate. Each of the Seven Provinces a-part, is at the Charge of its own Civil Government; nor is there one of the Provinces that has not been obliged to borrow from time to time very great Sums to furniſh their Contingent for the War; and conſequently there is none of them that do

not pay Annually, a great deal for Intereſt, none of which Sums is reckoned in this Eſtimate.

Now let the *Conductor* compare the Revenue of the Two Nations, with the Annual Expence of each, and then ſee upon whom the Weight of the War lies heavieſt; and I dare engage it will be found that the *Dutch* lye under much heavier Preſſures than our Selves: Which is at once a FULL ANSWER to all that has, or can be ſaid againſt them. And if they were capable of being incens'd to deſert their Allies, and go into the Intereſt of *France*, after having had the greateſt hand in our Succeſſes againſt them, he has furniſhed them with better Arguments to juſtify their Proceedings, than any he has brought againſt them. And therefore to fall foul of them at ſo baſe a Rate, is an Inſtance of the utmoſt Ingratitude, when it rather ought to be the matter of Surprize, to conſider the wonderful Efforts they have made, in which they have out done even the Expectations of the Enemy; and I dare ſay, the Faction in *England*, are the only People in *Europe*, that do not think they have not done enough.

The *Conductor* having thus far attack'd the *Dutch*, he next falls foul on the late, and preſent Emperor, who 'tis neceſſary for his Purpoſe to bring into the Liſts too; eſpecially ſince he has remonſtrated againſt a Peace, which is ſufficient alone to raiſe a Charge heavy enough againſt him. Paſſing by ſome few Points that ſeem very trivial, I ſhall begin with a particular Complaint againſt the Emperor, under the Stile of the Imperial Court. *That inſtead of* 90,000 *Men, which they ought to furniſh, neither of the two laſt Emperors, ever had* 20,000 *on their own Acconnt, but once in* Italy: Which is a Complaint juſt as true, as where he ſays, *There has not for ſome Years paſt been ſo many Men under the Duke of* Marlborough's *Command in* Flanders, *as the Queen alone maintains for that Service.* If I do not repeat the Words exactly, the Reader may turn a little back to the Quotation.

But to return: The Emperor we all know, did at the Beginning of the War, certainly raiſe his full Quota of Troops; and I dare ſay, that the *Corps* included in that Number do ſtill ſubſiſt, tho' the diſtant and hard Services they have been employ'd in, and the low Condition of the Imperial Finances are reduc'd to by continual Wars, and the great Degree to which the Hereditary Countries are exhauſted of Men, have made it impoſſible for the late Emperors to recruit them well. Once I think the *Conductor* allows, that the Imperial Court did exert themſelves. And I muſt likewiſe affirm, That if they had not done it, the Liberty of *Europe* had been loſt beyond a Poſſibility of retrieving: This at leaſt we owe to the Imperial Court, if we will but call to mind the prodigious Expence that firſt Campaign was to the Emperor, and what a noble Body of Troops were deſtroy'd to make head, not only againſt the *French*, but the Duke of *Savoy*, and other Princes of *Italy* that join'd with the Enemy, which he held out for Six Campaigns, and with that Vigour and Succeſs, as does ſufficiently juſtify the great Zeal that was ſhewn to the Common Cauſe: And this I think the *Conductor* does not much deny, when he ſays, *That as ſoon as they had ſucceeded in their Attempt on the Side of* Italy, *they found out the moſt effectual Method to excuſe themſelves.* And indeed, confeſſing, that after the Imperial Court had ſuſtain'd the Burthen of the War in the moſt Critical Place for Six Years, it might with Reaſon be allow'd them to breath a little: But then this was not till after the

Battle

Battle of *Turin*, at which time, their Affairs were in the moſt deſperate Condition. Neither after this prodigious Succeſs had ſet the Empire a little to rights, can it be ſaid, *That they had ſucceeded in their Attempt on that Side*; for as long as *Naples* remain'd in the Enemy's Hands, it was impoſſible they ſhould be eaſy, and this made them exert themſelves for one Campaign more at leaſt; ſo that here were Eight Campaigns before they had ſucceeded, and were at Leiſure to find out the *Expedient* to excuſe themſelves: And for all the following Campaigns, 'tis known they had a conſiderable Number of Troops in *Flanders*, which the Neceſſity of Affairs obliged them laſt Year to draw away towards the *Rhine*. Beſides which, 'tis known the Emperor has for ſeveral Years paſt, ſent more than his Quota to the *Rhine*, as an Example for other Princes to do the like. Nor did I ever hear that the Empire has been tax'd with Neglect in furniſhing their due Proportions to the Duke of *Savoy*; and if nothing has been done theſe four Years paſt, it has not been for want of the Emperor's Troops to do their Part, but from certain unlucky Diſputes between him and the Duke of *Savoy*, which how far either Side ought to have acquieſced in, is not my Buſineſs to determine. Now, after having ſhewn all this, which is evident, even to the meaneſt Underſtanding that has but read the *Gazettes*; With what Juſtice or Regard to Truth can it be affirm'd, *That neither of the late Emperors ever had* 20,000 *Men on their Account in the Common Cauſe?* Or wherein did they find an *Expedient*, but their Inability to do more? which cannot be better ſhewn, than by the great Intereſt they pay here in *England* for Money borrow'd on the beſt Funds they have: It is with the ſame Juſtice that he ſays, (to cut with two Edges, and wound the Duke of *M*——— at the ſame Blow) *That they computed eaſily, it wou'd coſt them leſs to make large Preſents to a ſingle Perſon, than to pay an Army.* What a ridiculous Aſſertion is this! eſpecially after I have ſhewn, that they were not deficient in their Troops; And tho' I know the D—— does not want the Aſſiſtance of ſo mean a Pen as mine to clear him from the Imputation of ſo malicious a Suggeſtion; for indeed it is no more: I believe I may affirm, there is not in his whole Libel, (which is a bold Word) ſo notorious a Falſehood. I do confeſs indeed, That the firſt Emperor *Leopold*, in a juſt Acknowledgement of his having preſerv'd the Empire, made him a Prince thereof; an Honour which he ſeveral times declin'd, but at length, by repeated Interceſſions, and with the Approbation of her Majeſty, he did accept it. And I think I have heard beſides of a few Pictures given him, which having been the Elector of *Bavaria*'s, ſeem'd a very Natural and Decent Preſent for him who had freed the Empire from ſo dangerous an Enemy. More than theſe Preſents I never heard of any, and have juſt Grounds to believe he never receiv'd ſo much as one; and what is more, I do really helieve the Conductor is of the ſame Opinion; which, if any thing can, adds to the Villainy of ſo baſe an Aſſertion.

Having thus, in general, complain'd of the two late Emperors, for *not furniſhing their Quota's, and leaving it to us to fight their Battles*; he comes next, particularly, to prove, *How little they regarded their Allies, whenever they thought the Empire itſelf was ſecure.* Now I would fain know when that was, that the Empire was thought to be out of Danger? When it is otherwiſe very plain, that, after all the late Succeſſes of the Imperial Court, it is not ſecure yet; but

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is even, at this time, threaten'd with a new Invaſion, if not oppos'd with more Vigour and Unanimity than hitherto has been ſhewn among the Princes of it; which eaſily ſhews us upon what miſtaken Grounds the *Conductor* judges of Things. We may remember how the Empire, as ſecure as it is ſaid to be, (and was then, as far as any Thing I can ſee, as ſecure as it is now) was ravag'd in the Year 1707, without almoſt any Oppoſition; and nothing is more certain, than that it had been ſerv'd ſo every Year ſince, had not the Duke of *M*———, by his admirable Vigilance, drawn the Enemy's Attention another Way, and oblig'd them to look to themſelves, inſtead of invading others; ſo that they have often been compelled to harraſs their Troops by ſwift and troubleſome Marches, to prevent ſome dreadful Blow in *Flanders*. We may, beſides, with very good Reaſon, conſider the Danger from the War in *Hungary*, on one Side, and of the juſt Apprehenſions of an Inſurrection in *Bavaria*, on the other, where the leaſt Spark, if not timely extinguiſhed, might have been very fatal to the Empire, eſpecially while the *Hungarians* were in Arms. But we may eaſily ſee it is not the Empire the *Conductor* quarrels with, who have been really in fault, but the Emperor, who has given no Occaſion at all, unleſs that he inſiſts on the Reſtitution of *Spain*, which, as it is the Foundation of obſtructing the Peace he writes for, is ſufficient to raiſe againſt him the moſt partial Cenſure.

Another Complaint againſt him is, his not putting an End to the War in *Hungary*, " which (*ſays he*) he might have done, ſeveral times, upon Terms, not " at all unbefitting either his Dignity or his Intereſt." How far the Court of *Vienna* were to blame in this, does not appear by any Inſtance the *Conductor* produces; and the Reaſons there is to think, that if either of the two late Emperors could have put an End to that dangerous War, on any Terms conſiſtent with their Honour or Intereſt, make me believe it would never have been omitted. Their Affairs were in the utmoſt Danger and Confuſion, both in *Italy* and the Empire, eſpecially in 1707, when, as I have ſaid, the Empire was invaded. The King of *Sweden* was with a victorious Army on the Frontiers, preſſing into the hereditary Dominions, and No-body knew what he deſign'd, or what would content him: The Affairs of King *Charles* were, at the ſame Time, at a dangerous Criſis; and if theſe Neceſſities would not preſs them to put an End to ſuch unhappy Troubles, it may very reaſonably be thought, as all Governments are the beſt Judges of their own Affairs, that there was ſomething which render'd it impoſſible to pacify them at that Time; however, it can on no Conſtruction be thrown on the late M——y, that *they tamely ſuffer'd the Emperor to ſacrifice the whole Alliance to his private Paſſion*, when it is ſo well known, that the M——rs of *England* and *Holland* labour'd indefatigably to carry this Point at *Vienna*; and what Pains the Earl of *S———d* and Mr. *Stepney* particularly took in it, the former going thither expreſly for that very Purpoſe. Nor did ever any Men preſs a Thing more forcibly than the late M——rs did this Accommodation. So that, tho' the Court of *Vienna* had been remiſs, I cannot ſee where the *Conductor* can find room to throw the Blame on the late M——y.

The next Complaint is the Affair of *Toulon*; which he draws in, to *ſhew the Emperor's Indifference or Diſlike of the Common Cauſe*; the Miſcarriage of which he throws wholly on the Court of *Vienna*. But firſt, as tho' he was infatuated to ruin the Credit of all he ſays, he tells you the Deſign was diſcover'd here by the

the *Creature* of a great Man laying Wagers about the taking of it. This is a very odd Way of proving that *Toulon* was loſt, or rather not gain'd, by the Emperor's Neglect, to tell us firſt, that very probably it was not, for the Deſign was diſcover'd here. *This Creature of a certain great Man* happens to be known, I believe, to very few People in *England*; but moſt Men can remember the Clerk of another great Man, who was deſervedly hang'd for ſomething like it. One would imagine by this, that his Arguments againſt the Emperor will be juſt as wiſe; one of which is, That he had no mind *Toulon* ſhould be taken, becauſe he diſpatch'd 12000 Men to ſeize *Naples*, as the *Conductor* ingeniouſly expreſſes it. Now, that the Emperor did, at that Time, make an Expedition to *Naples*, is true, but not becauſe he had no mind *Toulon* ſhould be taken; but in very deed, becauſe thoſe who would make a ſcandalous Peace now, were attempting the ſame Thing then; which made him ſomething more careful than ordinary to ſecure the Intereſt of his Family in *Italy*, where he had had a hard Struggle to recover it, and was then afraid it would have been ſacrificed to other Views. This is the true State of this Matter, and not the Emperor's Deſign, that the Siege of *Toulon* ſhould miſcarry; nor did his Imperial Majeſty, when he was preſſed to put off this Expedition to *Naples*, want an Anſwer: He told them, "That without theſe 12000 Men, they had as many as had been requir'd of him "at firſt for the Expedition, which were more than would be able to find Sub-"ſiſtence, wherefore more would be but a Burthen to them; and while they "were employ'd in the Reduction of *Toulon*, the other 12000 Men ſhould, by "great and ſpeedy Marches, haſten to *Naples*, and then return to join them for "any farther Service."

Another Charge, equally as juſt as this, is, where he ſays, *That 'tis plain the Emperor had no mind* Toulon *ſhould be taken, becauſe the Attempt might have ſucceeded if Prince* Eugene *had not thought fit to oppoſe it.* Now nothing is better known, than that the Duke of *Savoy* had the chief Command in the Expedition; the *Conductor* had better have told us, if he could, and very probable he did know, what was the Reaſon they delay'd their March ſo long; and after they had paſſed the *Var*, who it was that propoſed the holding a Council of War on board the Fleet, to conſider, whether to proceed directly to *Toulon*, or beſiege *Antibes?* From which Step, and the Time that was loſt before, it was no hard Matter to judge what was like to become of the Expedition. And again, let him reſolve us, who govern'd the Motions of the Army till they came before the Place? When the ſlowneſs of our Motions gave the Enemy an Opportunity of poſſeſſing the high Grounds before our Arrival, which was the true Reaſon of our Miſcarriage there, and not the Fault of Prince *Eugene*, much leſs the Emperor, from whom, 'tis more than probable, by the great Diſtance he was at, he had not Time to receive freſh Inſtructions upon any ſudden Turn or Proſpect of Affairs: And if the Duke of *Savoy* did not think fit to hazard a Battle, it could be no great Fault in Prince *Eugene*, that complied with him in drawing off the Army; but had the Expedition either been begun ten Days ſooner, or the March from the *Var* not ſo unaccountably delay'd, there is no Doubt but the Deſign had ſucceeded without the Troops diſpatch'd to *Naples*, or running the Riſque of attacking the Enemy in their ſtrong Camp.

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I ſhall only add to this, that be the warlike Enterprizes adjuſted as they will, it is in no wiſe chargeable on the late M——y, who formed the Deſign with the greateſt Secreſy, and with the ſame Privacy made the moſt early and effectual Preparations for the Execution of it; and as a farther and more particular Effect of their Care and Concern therein, labour'd all they could to divert the Deſign againſt *Naples*, and to remove any Difficulty that might poſſibly be thought in the Way, to retard or prevent the Succeſs of it.

Another Complaint againſt the late Emperor is indeed very extraordinary; *That he drain'd into his own Coffers the Wealth of Countries conquer'd or recover'd for him by the War, without increaſing his Troops.* This is all over a very pleaſant Banter, which ſure the *Conductor* was not ſo ſenſeleſs to think could paſs upon the World, who know how full the Emperor's Coffers are like to be after ſo long a War, that were exhauſted and empty even before it began. No doubt but his Succeſſor, the preſent Emperor, would be very glad to find the Truth of this; but I am afraid he will only experience juſt the quite contrary.

But to ſee what this boaſted Wealth, ariſing from conquer'd Countries, muſt come to, we are to conſider the vaſt Expence there muſt be in maintaining them after they are got. The beſt and moſt conſiderable Perſons generally remove themſelves, and thoſe that ſtay are to be gratified and kept in the Intereſt of the Conqueror, by ſuch Favours as muſt diminiſh great Part of the Revenues: There is likewiſe many times a neceſſity of remitting ſome conſiderable Duties, in regard of what the People have ſuffered by the War. This, with other incident Charges of taking ſtrong Places, and maintaining them afterwards, may ſoon convince a Man of any Reaſon, how full the Emperor's Coffers are like to be: Where we to forget the Neceſſities the Empire has been put to for Money; and that even here we have a Mortgage upon the beſt, and moſt conſiderable Fund they have.

The next Part of the *Conductor*'s Charge againg the Allies, is levied at the *Princes* of the *Empire*, of whom the Queen has hired Troops; yet the *Dutch* are ſo perpetually in his way, and the Deſign of leſſening and defaming them being his chief Aim, he lets fall ſome of his Malice and Virulence by the Way: *In order to augment our Forces*, ſays he, *every Year, in the ſame Proportion as thoſe for whom we fight diminiſh theirs, who have been obliged to hire from ſeveral Princes of the Empire.* To ſhew the Falſity of this, and how liable the *Conductor* is to prevaricate when his Purpoſe is to be ſerved by it; he is ſo far miſtaken, as that we did not begin to hire, in order to augment our Forces: Our firſt 50,000 Men, were for the moſt part compos'd of hired Troops, to ſave *Engliſh* Blood, and that there might lie the Fewer on the Nation to provide for at the End of the War. Now the Forces we have not augmented every Year; and whenever we did augment our Troops in *Flanders*, the States, as I have already ſhewn, did equally augment theirs; ſo far were they from diminiſhing their Troops from Time to Time; and much leſs could the Proportion in which they diminiſhed their Troops, be the Rules by which we encreaſed ours, as the *Conductor* endeavours to ſhew; nor is it for them we fight, but for ourſelves, the common Concern and Safety of us all. But he proceeds, and ſays, *The Miniſters of which Princes, have perpetually importuned the Court, with unreaſonable Demands, under which our late M——rs were paſſive.* Here he includes

includes all the Princes; but I muſt tell him that one of them at leaſt has not been importunate *with unreaſonable Demands*, and that is the Elector of *Hanover*, to name no others; Nor have the reſt been perpetually ſo unreaſonable as he makes, tho' it muſt be confeſs'd they were always for making the beſt Bargain they could; which however does not affect the late M——y, when it can be prov'd, that they have many times oblig'd them to deſiſt from their Pretenſions; and many have been utterly refus'd. But what is worſe——ſays he, *Theſe Demands were always back'd with a Threat to recall their Troops; which was a Thing not to be heard of, becauſe it might diſoblige the* Dutch.

Were this true, (which by the way, has been more ſince the Admiſſion of the new M——y than the Beginning of the War beſides) it has been chiefly under pretence, that they were oblig'd ſo to do, in reſpect to their own Safety; unleſs the Allies would concur with their Remonſtrances to ſecure the Peace of the Empire, and oblige the King of *Sweden* to a Neutrality: Whatever was the particular Occaſion, the Treaties for their Troops are but for a Year only, and when they are to be renew'd, they are at liberty to inſiſt on new Articles; and if they grow upon us in their Demands, 'tis becauſe they are of great Service to us, and that the War is more our Concern than theirs. And if the recalling their Troops is a Thing not to be heard of, 'tis not becauſe it might diſoblige the *Dutch*, but becauſe both we and the *Dutch* want them; and becauſe the *Dutch* hire Troops of the ſame Princes as well as we, and are oblig'd many times to ſubmit to the ſame unreaſonable Demands; the doing of which is of ſuch Conſequence, that a Stop muſt be put elſe to the Progreſs of our Arms, and the Fruits of a promiſing Campaign loſt, by having a good Body of Troops recall'd in the middle of it: which we had like to have experienced laſt Year, had not the Duke of *M*——— found out an Expedient to prevent it, without ſubmitting to any unreaſonable Demand. But after theſe, and other frivolous Accuſations againſt theſe Princes, I would come to the main Point, and know, Whether this is to be charg'd upon any of the principal Allies? Much leſs upon the late M——y? Is it not well known that the Emperor himſelf can't redreſs this? And that the Fault lies in the Conſtitution of the Empire, there not being any ſufficient Power veſted in it to oblige theſe Princes to contribute as they ought to the Defence of it, the Quota's they are aſſeſs'd by the *Diet*, tho' that *Diet* be themſelves, and the Reſolutions of it conſequently their own Acts.

The next Complaint againſt theſe Princes, carries with it ſo impudent a Reflection, as I am confident is not to be precedented in any Book ever Printed, where the Characters of Princes in Alliance with us, are drawn in ſuch odious and villainous Colours, as nothing can excuſe it; and the Honour and Juſtice of Nations, eſpecially our own, are ſo infamouſly perverted, as muſt needs be ſhocking to all that have any Senſe of the Dignity ſacred to Crown'd Heads. The Charge againſt them being a General Character of all the Princes to whom we pay Subſidies, in the Terms following: *There is hardly* (ſays he) *a Petty Prince, to whom we pay Subſidies and Penſions, who is not ready to threaten us to recall their Troops, (tho' they muſt ROB or STARVE at Home) if we refuſe to comply with him in Demand, however ſo unreaſonable.*

Is not this very pretty Language to treat Crown'd Heads with? and ſhould not the Elector of *Hanover* been excus'd at leaſt? Is this villainous and infamous

Treatment fit for Crown'd Heads? Princes that are our Friends, of the ſame Intereſt, and of the ſame Religion with us? For under this Title, of *Petty Princes*, are meant, and principally included, the Kings of *Denmark*, *Pruſſia*, and *Poland*. Notwithſtanding any Prevarication the *Conductor* ſince makes, the firſt ought to expect better Treatment, both as a Proteſtant and an old Ally; if not out of a Senſe of his particular Relation to Her Majeſty. The Second has been a very zealous and hearty Promoter of the Common Cauſe, and of the Proteſtant Religion, his Purſe and his Country have been always open to poor Refugees; and nothing is omitted by him, which may poſſibly contribute to enlarge the Reform'd Religion. And even the laſt, tho' it will always be a Blemiſh to him, that he parted with his Religion for the Enjoyment of a Crown, yet amidſt all his Troubles, he has appear'd with great Firmneſs in the Intereſt of the Grand Alliance; whilſt his Inſulting and Victorious Enemy the King of *Sweden*, inſtead of aſſiſting with the neceſſary Quota, unnaturally forc'd the Emperor by Threats and a diſhonourable Treaty, to deſiſt from all Demands therein, paſt, preſent, and to come, till he had ended the War he was engag'd in; and what more was fear'd from him, made this, as well as ſome other hard Articles be agreed to by the Court of *Vienna*. Theſe are ſome of the Princes who are to ROB or STARVE if it were not for our Subſidies; which Aſſertion is beyond all Truth, Honeſty or Good Manners.

But could this infamous Charge againſt them be ſuppos'd to have any thing in it of Truth, I would once more fain know of the *Conductor*, how he proves his Point, *That our Allies have broke every Article of their Treaty with us?* Or whether the Faults they are charg'd with, come within the Terms of eſtabliſh'd Treaties, but are rather generally the Effects of new Engagements, and not proceeding from any Diſregard to the Queen, or Neglect of the Common Cauſe; but for the moſt part from their general Weakneſs or an Inability to do otherwiſe; or perhaps from the Difficulty or Neceſſity of their Affairs at ſome particular Junctures. And in the ſecond Place, were theſe Princes inexcuſable in their Conduct and Behaviour, as to their Parts in the War, Is it an Argument that *the late M——y have ſuffer'd it?* When it is ſo well known, what Methods they have taken to make them exert themſelves in the moſt effectual Manner? what Remonſtrances and Expoſtulations they have uſed? which were ſufficiently back'd by the Miniſters of the States, who with the ſame Force and Vigour always preſs'd the Service of the Common Cauſe, where-ever they found any of the Allies defective. But if after all this Aſſiduity, ſome Faults have remain'd in any of our Allies, and all Parts have not done, what by the Tenour of their Treaties they were oblig'd to, Is there any thing in it ſo very wonderful? Was there ever any Alliance where it was otherwiſe? or is it poſſible to ſuppoſe there ever will? And is it not Matter of Wonder and Reflection, That a Confederacy conſiſting of ſo many different Forms of Government, and no leſs different Intereſts, ſhould ſubſiſt ſo many Years with that Harmony it has done? and be render'd ſo ſucceſsful againſt a very formidable Enemy? Nor have their Artifices in ſo long a War, (where doubtleſs no Endeavours were omitted) been able to corrupt the leaſt of them to any ſeparate Meaſures; which I believe is without Example, and which we muſt never hope to ſee again, if the *Conductor* and his Friends carry their Point in View. And is it not eaſy to imagine the mighty Advantage

vantage the *French* have in this Particular, who are a ſingle Power, and have all Orders within themſelves; and may with a greater Diſpatch and Secrecy bring all the Parts of the War to bear, whilſt in a Confederacy, conſiſting of ſo many different and independent Powers, it is impoſſible to act with that Vigour and Unanimity that is requiſite: And if the Alliance has ſucceeded under theſe, and many the like Inconveniencies, is there not the greater ground to take off all Cenſure from the late M——y, and give them the undoubted Praiſes due to their great Abilities, Prudence and Integrity? who by the Influence their dext'rous Councils have had in Foreign Courts, have chiefly contributed to keep ſo extenſive an Alliance in Harmony and Concert; by which alone, in all human Poſſibility, they have been able to humble ſo formidable an Enemy. And if no Alliance muſt be made, or kept up, till ſuch little Inconveniencies as theſe objected, can be over-rul'd, 'tis in vain ever to think of making any; but to give all up, and ſubmit to the Common Enemy, which perhaps is the *Conductor*'s Senſe of future Benefits.

It will be needleſs to argue farther upon this Point, ſince what is urg'd by the *Adverſary* has ſo little of Moment in it; but more eſpecially, becauſe it does not come up to the Propoſitions laid down, *That either the Allies have broke all their Treaties*; or, that if they had, *it is chargeable on the late M——y*, both which Points were chiefly his View: But that no Invective may be ſpar'd, where he can find an Opportunity to bring it in, he now takes the new Emperor to Taſk, for it is ſomething neceſſary to his Purpoſe to render him too as odious as he can. *The whole Army in* Catalonia, ſays he, *which is, or ought to be* 50,000 *Men, excluſive of* Portugal *and* Gibraltar, *is paid by the Queen, excepting only* 7 *Battalions, and* 14 *Squadrons of* Dutch *and* Palatines; *and even* 1500 *of theſe in our Pay; beſides the Subſidies to King* Charles. But it is obſervable he does not in this Number include the *Spaniards*, who have been conſtantly paid out of the Subſidy, and never receiv'd a Farthing out of any other Money. He infers, that the Queen paid about 43,000 Men out of 50,000; which how true it is, the Reader may ſee by the exact Abſtract of all the Forces that have been yearly paid by her Majeſty, or provided for by Parliament, for the Service of *Catalonia*, or to act on that Side of *Catalonia*, or to act on that Side ſince the War begun there, which was 1705, excluſive of *Portugal*, and beſides the Subſidies granted the King of *Spain*: For the Year 1705, ending at *Chriſtmas*, 4970 Men. For the Year 1706, 18757 Men; in which Number is included, 5330 Men, which the Parliament provided for, to ſerve in other Parts, *viz.* One Regiment in *Portugal*, Four in *Flanders*, and a Battalion of Guards on the Eſtabliſhment of Guards and Garriſons. For the Year 1707, the Troops provided for to Serve in *Spain* and *Portugal* were 29,395 Men, of which the Corps that ſerv'd in *Spain*, excluſive of *Gibraltar*, if compleat according to their Eſtabliſhment, would make 25,141 Men; and adding the Battalion of Guards and Marines, amount to 27,141. Of this Number Six Regiments of Foot were reduc'd, and the Officers ſent Home to recruit in *March*, 1707. For the Year 1708, of the Troops provided to ſerve in *Portugal*, and other Parts, there ſerv'd in *Catalonia*, 17,910 Men. But the Numbers Voted for this Year to ſerve in *Spain*, and other Parts, were 30,530 Men: Of which 12,620 ſerv'd in *Portugal*, *Gibraltar*, *Great-Britain*, and on the Expedition under General *Erle*. For the Year 1709,

Of the Troops provided to ſerve in *Spain*, *Portugal*, and elſewhere, there ſerved on the ſide of *Catalonia*, including 3800 *Portugueze*, to which Number they were then reduc'd from 7000 Men, 32644; towards whoſe Pay the Queen gave 80000 *l.* For the Year 1710. Of the Troops granted for *Spain* and elſewhere, there ſerved on the Side of *Catalonia*, including the Garriſons of Port *Mahone*, and the 3800 *Portuguze*, 33995. For the Year 1711. 32900 Men. But ſeveral Regiments taken at *Bribuega*, the latter End of the Year 1710. continuing ſtill Priſoners, are not included here, altho' provided for to ſerve in *Catalonia*. Now the Subſides granted to the King of *Spain*, were every Year thus: For 1706, 103000 *l.* For 1707, 150000. For 1708, 150000. For 1709, 150000. For 1710, 150000. And for 1711, 150000. Out of which was defray'd, beſides paying the *Spaniſh* Troops, the Charge of Fortifications, (omitting Port *Mahone*, and *Gibraltar*) with the Charge of Subſiſting great Numbers of *Spaniards* at *Liſbon*, and elſewhere, as they deſerted from the Enemy, purſuant to the Manifeſto of the *Engliſh* General; and ſome other Heads of Expence; by which it may be imagin'd what great Number of Troops could be kept with the Remainder.

Immediately after which the *Conductor* alledges, *That we were at the whole Charge of Tranſporting all the Troops from* Italy, *and paid Levy-Money for every individual Man and Horſe*; which may paſs for another Equivocation; For we never paid the Tranſportation of one Man or Horſe, except ſuch as were actually in the Queen's Pay. As for the *Dutch*, they conſtantly paid the Charge of Tranſporting the Troops in their own Pay. And as to the Levy-Money, there never was one Farthing paid for the Horſe. The Allowance was 5 *l.* for every effective Man that ſhould be actually embarked; and it was only for the Imperial Regiments, none at all being paid for the *Italians*, *Neopolitans*, or *Griſons*; and if we had paid for Man and Horſe, as he infers, it would have come to 20 *l.* at leaſt.

A Page or two farther he ſays, *That Seven* Portugueze *Regiments, after the Battle of* Almanza, *went off with the reſt of that broken Army to* Catalonia; *the King of* Portugal *ſaid he was not able to pay them while they were out of his Country; the Queen conſented therefore to do it Herſelf, provided that King would raiſe as many more to ſupply their Room. This he engaged to do, but never performed. Notwithſtanding which, his Subſidies were conſtantly paid him by my Lord* G——, *for almoſt four Years, without any Deduction upon Account of theſe ſeven Regiments.* Of all which, there is not a Syllable: Of theſe ſeven Regiments he ſpeake of five of them were Horſe, and the other two Foot, which when compleat, amounted to 134707 *l.* 5 *s.* 4 *d.* ½ *per Annum.* This was entirely born by the King of *Portugal* to the 1ſt of *December* 1708. But having in the Year 1709 rais'd a new Army, and the Expence of theſe ſeven Regiments encreaſing greatly by the Extraordinary Charge of furniſhing Money, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries to them, in a Country whereof *Liſbon* had but a ſlender Credit; The Q——n, to Eaſe the growing Charge, conſented to pay 80000 *l.* towards their Pay, for the Year 1709. They were paid about the like Sum for the Year 1710, and 1711, and receiv'd Subſiſtance for their Effectives, in like manner as the other Troops. And from the other End of *December* 1708; to which time the Q——n did not expect one Groat for the ſeven

Regiments

Regimes beforementioned, to the End of *Auguſt* 1710. (which was the laſt Month Subſidy the King of *Portugal* ever receiv'd in my Lord *T———r*'s time) is twenty Months, which the *Conductor* tells us with the Aſſurance of four Years. And notwithſtanding what he ſays, *That the King of* Portugal *raiſed no Forces in the Room of the ſeven Regiments:* He knows that the *Portugal* Miniſter, upon Enquiry into this Affair about a Twelve Month ago, gave the Court entire Satisfaction to the contrary. Nor is he ignorant, that in the Year 1708. there was 25000 *l.* paid out of the Treaſury for part of the Subſidy for buying Horſes here, to remount the King of *Portugal*'s Cavalry, which was expended accordingly; and the Horſes were Tranſported at his own proper Charge, and the Money was deducted out of the Subſidy due to him: Which Sum alone is almoſt ſufficient to mount the four or five Regiments of Horſe aforeſaid.

Another Objection he has in this Point: He intimates, *That we have been put to double Expence in maintaining our Troops by the Charge of Forage:* Which has much the ſame Air of Truth and Ingenuity, with what has gone before. The Army in *Portugal*'s Pay, as well thoſe in the King of *Portugal*'s Pay, as thoſe upon Her Majeſty's Eſtabliſhment, are furniſh'd by Contracts made with *Engliſh* Merchants, and Factors. The Corn they uſe is for the moſt Part of the Product of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*; and the Rates agreed upon by Contract, is regulated according to the Price of Corn in the Markets of *Liſbon*; which of late Years has been ſo high, that it was difficult many times to get the Contracts compleated; inſomuch, that for a Year, beginning at *Michaelmus* 1710, there was ſuch an Advance, in the Price agreed upon, that the Retation of Bread or Forrage ran at a greater Rate than the Soldiers could allow for it out of their Subſiſtence, and therefore the Overplus became a Charge to the Government, and conſequently occaſion'd an Expence to the Q—n for that Year of 5000 *l.* The Contract for the next Year 1711, extended to an higher Price; ſo that the extraordinary Charge to the Q—n, would have amounted to 30000 *l.* provided the Troops there had been compleat, according to their Eſtabliſhments: But as there are many Regiments already reduc'd, and others drawn off, this extraordinary Charge will not amount to 10000 *l.* a Sum very far ſhort of double the Charge of Maintaining our Troops, as this ingenious Writer injuriouſly affirms. And to ſhew how little Intereſt the King of *Portugal* has in this Extraordinary Expence by theſe Contracts, wherein he bears much the greateſt ſhare in ſupplying his own Troops, it is certainly known, that when the Affair was taken notice of here, the *Portugal* Envoy preſented a Memorial to Her Majeſty, requiring, or rather propoſing, that ſhe would be pleaſed to give Directions for Furniſhing Her Troops in *Portugal* with Bread and Forrage by Commiſſaries, or Contracters, of her own Appointment; in which caſe they might make the beſt Terms they could for Her Majeſty's Advantage: And the chief Reaſons he gave were, That the Court of *Portugal* found it very difficult to get Perſons to Enter into ſuch Contracts, tho' at much higher Rates than uſual, and by which, inſtead of Advantage, nothing but Loſs could accrue to His *Portugueze* Majeſty.

I have been led ſomething out of the Way by the Author's very ſingular Method of Writing, who, as he is never weary of ſaying the ſame thing over and over, ſo his Arguments are ſcatter'd and interſperſed throughout the whole

Libel.

Libel, as make it impoſſible, if it were not unneceſſary, to anſwer them in any regular Manner. He cannot well forget his old Friends the *Dutch*, and that he may not leave any thing unſaid to brand them with as much Infamy as poſſible, he now draws them into a Confederacy with the Duke of *M*——— in fleecing and oppreſſing the People of the *Netherlands*. *The* Hollanders, ſays he, *have made good Uſe of their Time, and in conjunction with our G——l, the Oppreſſions of* Flanders *are much greater than ever*. Now, if there were one Word of Truth in this, I would forgive all he has ſaid; I wonder we were not told the Particulars of theſe *Oppreſſions*, what they were, and in what manner they have been redreſs'd by the New M——y? There is no Diſpute, had there been any thing of Fact in it, that the *Conductor* could not, thro' the Intereſt of his Friends, have wanted due Intelligence; and how much the proving of this Aſſertion, would have contributed to the ſerving of a *Purpoſe*, is ſufficient to convince me it did not want for Induſtry to find it out. This is indeed the true Reaſon why People are not told in what Manner the Duke of *M*——— oppreſs'd thoſe Provinces; and it is for the ſame Reaſon that they did not impeach his Favourite C——n, tho' they went as far in uſing him ill as they well could, and would not have bated ſo material an Article as this, if it could have done him any harm, or themſelves any good. But the Truth is, it would not; the Oppreſſions he ſpeaks of, where only neceſſary Points of Juſtice, and tranſacted conformable to the moſt ſolemn Councils, and all the Rules of War. And to ſhew that they were ſo, it is to be obſerved, that ſince the Year 1708, when Prince *Eugene* join'd my Lord *M*—— with a Body of Imperial Troops, beſides a few Regiments rais'd and maintained by this Country, they have found Bread and Forrage for theſe Troops. And to anſwer this Charge, and other neceſſary Expences of the War, the yearly Revenue of theſe Provinces not being ſufficient, they borrow'd Money upon ſome Branches of it, to ſupport the Service; none of which were engaged for above Ten Years, and ſome not above Four or Five. This is the wonderful Oppreſſion theſe People have lain under; they have paid what was neceſſary for their own Defence, and what could not, without the greateſt Injuſtice to other People, he diſpenſed with. I would aſk the *Conductor* which way the War could have been carried on with the Succeſs it has been, without theſe Troops? Or if this, either thro' Folly or Obſtinacy, could be objected to, which way they ſhould otherwiſe have been maintain'd? Was it requiſite that the Emperor ſhould have been at that Expence? Who declares, That tho' Bread and Forrage are found for theſe Troops of his, they are a greater Charge to him than if they had ſerv'd on the *Rhine*. Was it Reaſonable, that the Queen or the States, ſhould have paid this additional Charge? Becauſe in other Places he ſays, *The Burden of the War was too heavy for us before*; and if it was upon us, I can anſwer it was ſo upon the *Dutch*: There is therefore no Place it could fall on, ſo juſtly as theſe Provinces: And is there any Reaſon they ſhould be exempted from the Charge, or have their Revenues kept clear, whom thoſe of moſt of the Confederates are ſo much anticipated? Not only that they are the moſt eaſy in this point, but that they have alſo the leaſt Reaſon to complain of all People, in regard that by the Aſſiſtance of theſe Troops, the Duke of *M*— has been chiefly enabled to carry the Seat of the War out of their Provinces,

where

where they muſt have ſuffer'd more in one Campaign by the Ravages of Two Powerful Armies, than all the other Methods that have been us'd of Subjugating them to pay a little Money for their Quiet, under the dreadful Name of OPPRESSIONS; forgetting otherwiſe the great Advantages they enjoy by having great Sums of Money continually Circulating thro' their principal Towns, where they find the Army a ready Market for the Produce of their Country, and at leaſt reap the Benefit, of paying their Subſides in the way of Trade, and not in Specie, which they have a treble return for. And is it not to the Conduct and Vigilance of the Duke of *M*———, that they owe theſe Advantages, and of living free from the Inconveniencies and Ravages of an Army? Beſides, is it not the Troops of their Natural and Lawful Prince they pay theſe Subſides of Bread and Forrage to, whoſe Intereſt, as well as their own Preſervation, is owing to the Succeſs of the War? And is not this more than a ſingle Reaſon why they ſhould contribute their ſhare to it? Nor were it any hard matter to ſhew, if I have not ſufficiently done it already, that the Duke of *M*— inſtead of oppreſſing theſe Provinces, has been their greateſt Benefactors? No one Inſtance of Oppreſſion being of any of theſe Provinces Perſonally imputed to him. To prevaricate therefore, 'tis pretended that *M*—— *C*——*n* had done it under his Protection, and for his Intereſt. But as I have obſerved before, if either of theſe could be proved, there is nothing more certain, than that it had not been omitted till now; but brought under the general Cognizance of Complaints; nothing of which has appear'd more groundleſs, than the Clamours raiſed againſt the Duke of *M*—— on this Occaſion, or can we yet ſee the great Sums of Money they tell us have been miſapply'd, which have been ſo ſtrongly buzzed into the Heads of the People. But further yet, I will undertake to prove, That *M*—— *C*——*n* has not Oppreſſed theſe Provinces, nay that he could not do it; it being too well known, That neither he, nor the States Deputies, who are call'd a *Conference*, ever touch'd a Penny of the Publick Money. Their Buſineſs was to repreſent to the *Council of State*, what Sums the ſeveral Branches of the Service would require, and by ſome reaſonable Method, oblige them to think of complying with the Demands. But after this, they had no further Hand in it, the Money was Levied and Collected, and Iſſu'd by their own particular Orders, never once coming under the Diſpoſal of *M*—— *C*——*n*, or the States Deputies, ſo that it was impoſſible any Fraud or Oppreſſion could be carried on by Them. They after found it difficult to make a *Council of State* do what was neceſſary for carrying on the Service; which oblig'd the *Conference* ſometimes to be round with them, and to let them underſtand, that they had demanded nothing but what was abſolutely requiſite to be comply'd with. They have ſometimes likewiſe over-rul'd the *Council of State*, in the Buſineſs of Chuſing their Magiſtrates: And ſince the Surprize of *Ghent*, which every Body knows was the effect of Treachery, they have found it neceſſary to intermeddle in an Affair of that Conſequence, which diſcover'd too plainly the Diſpoſition of thoſe Provinces to favour the *French* or *Bavarian* Intereſt. If theſe were Oppreſſions, theſe Provinces have Reaſon of Complaint; and that they have ſuffer'd till the laſt Year, which has given them all the Relief they could expect or deſire; for inſtead of finding Bread and

Forrage

Forrage for this Body of Imperial Troops, the laſt Campaign they refuſed to provide for one ſingle Regiment of *Huſſars*, which Prince *Eugene* was prevail'd with to leave behind him; the Service at that time being in great want of them. Nor was the leaſt Thing the Duke of *M*—— aſked of them comply'd with, but with the greateſt difficulty imaginable. Their Diſaffection to the Common Cauſe, was ſo apparent, that towards the End of the Campaign, when the Army found it difficult to ſubſiſt in the Neighbourhood of *Bouchain*, they refuſed the Duke of *M*— a ſupply of Forrage; notwithſtanding it was repreſented to them in the moſt preſſing manner, that ſuch a refuſal could only be attended with the return of the Army, deſiring to be excuſed, and delay'd it ſo long, that our Troops ſuffered greatly by their willful Neglect, tho' the Duke found means to ſubſiſt them longer than could be exprcted. This is the happy Change they have received in their Affairs. They have likewiſe been reliev'd in the point of chuſing their Magiſtrates; and the good uſe they have made of this Liberty, is, that they put the very Perſons into the Magiſtracy of *Ghent*, that are ſuſpected of having before betray'd it to the *French*; nor would it be any Surpriſe, if we ſhould hear the ſame again. Their other Towns are filled with Perſons of the ſame Faction, and from whom, when opportunity ſerves, we may expect the ſame faithleſs Dealings. This is the true State of the Duke of *M*——'s Oppreſſing theſe Provinces in Conjunction with the *Dutch*, and of the Benefits we are like to have by their Relief.

Honour, I find the *Conductor* has a very barbarous and contemptible Notion of, and ſeems to think, at leaſt, that in the beggarly Condition he has repreſented his Country, we have no Occaſion to ſtand much on that Point. *It will, no doubt*, ſays he, *be a mighty Comfort to our Grand-Children, when they ſee a few Rags hang up in* Weſtminſter-Hall, *which coſt an hundred Millions, whereof they are paying the Arrears, and boaſting, as Beggars do, that their Grandfathers were Rich and Great.* There is ſomething in theſe *Rags*, that the *Conductor* cannot endure to think of; every little Motion the Air gives them, beſpeaks the Honour of that unequalled Man who placed them there, and will do ſo to all Poſterity, as long as any Signs of them ſhall remain: But *Rags* they are, he ſays, and *Rags* e'en let them be; they were thought of the more Honour in the Hands of thoſe they were taken from, and will be ſo where they are, whilſt there is Hiſtory to relate the incredible Succeſſes of thoſe Days; that *Britain* triumphed over her Enemies, in ſo many glorious Emblems of her memorable and repeated Conqueſts. And 'tis with a heavy Heart I wiſh, our Grand Children have not rather Cauſe, by that Time, to mourn the real Miſeries which the Tenets of this deſtructive Book may bring on them, and reflect what a flouriſhing State their Anceſtors were in, when they were ſo compleatly bleſſed with Liberty and Conqueſt, which the Antiquity of thoſe *Rags*, if they are ſtill ſuffered to remain there, will give them a melancholy, but true Idea of.

Having thus ſported with theſe *Rags*, as he terms them, the Uſe he makes of it is this, *That after all theſe miraculous Doings, we are not yet in a Condition to bring* France *to our Terms, nor can tell when we ſhall.* I wiſh the *Conductor* and his Friends, would be perſuaded to put this upon the Iſſue of a fair Trial, and leave *France* to ſhift for herſelf, I ſhould be far from making the leaſt Doubt of *bringing them to our Terms.* But he writ before the Allies had given in their Demands

mands to the Offers of *France*, and therefore may be excuſed: And I will further affirm, That if we do not now *bring* France *to our Terms*, it muſt be owing to the Converſation they have had with his Book, which perhaps may have intoxicated them, and turned their Heads; but if they remain in their Senſes, and find no Encouragement *elſewhere*, 'tis eaſy to conclude we ſhall ſoon have a better Peace than the *Conductor* writes for, and at once deſtroy another Argument he makes uſe of—*That our Victories only ſerved to lead us on to farther viſionary Proſpects, where romantick Views were propoſed, and the old reaſonable ſober Deſign was forgot*, by which he means the Reſtitution of *Spain* and the *Indies*; nor know I of any *farther viſionary Proſpects*, or *romantick Views*. The Reſtitution of *Spain* and the *Indies*, was always the Point in View, and 'tis very ſtrange, that any reaſonable or ſober Man ſhould ſay otherwiſe; to which End the Grand Alliance was expreſly formed, in Oppoſition to the Partition Treaty that the Emperor ſo much diſliked; and in all the Overtures made by *France*, this was always made the firſt Preliminary, conſtantly laid down by all the Allies, and never diſputed by the Enemy: But, thinking to help the Enemy out a little, he ſays, *That the Face of Affairs, ſince the Emperor's Death, has been very much changed.* True, they have ſo, but not in his Senſe, they have changed much for the better on the Confederates Side, not on the Side of *France*. The Acceſſion of King *Charles* to the Imperial Throne, has put it in his own Power to aſſert his Right to the Crown of *Spain* with more Vigour than ever, and what he was fain to ſolicit, in vain ſometimes, from a Father or a Brother, he may now command, and poſſibly with a double Chearfulneſs from his Subjects. But ſuch a Union of the two Crowns in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, is of late rendered in dreadful Colours; it may indeed be ſo to *France*, but to No-body elſe, at leaſt not to *England*, whoſe Fleets the Emperor will always have Occaſion for, to render *Spain* and the *Indies* uſeful to him, which muſt needs be attended with ſome very great Advantage on our Side. But he tells us, *That the* Dutch *like this Union as little as Any-body, whatever they may now pretend, and reſolved thoſe two Powers ſhould not be joined in the ſame Perſon.* The *Conductor* ſhould have ſhewn us this Reſolution of the *Dutch*, if he would have us believe him. 'Tis poſſible that the ſudden and unexpected Death of the late Emperor a little ſtartled them; and as Things then ſtood, before they could well recollect themſelves, they might be drawn in, to liſten to a kind of Scheme in favour of the Duke of *S—y*, which, as ſoon as they had well conſider'd, they found that Duke had no Claim, by any Pretence, to the *Spaniſh* Dominions, till after the Demiſe of King *Charles*, whoſe Election to the Imperial Dignity, could no way obſtruct his Right to *Spain*. But ſuppoſe it had been otherwiſe, would ſuch a Project, in favour of the Duke of *S—y*, have mended the Matter? Would *France* be more willing he ſhould have the Monarchy of *Spain* than the Emperor? Or was he in a better Condition to maintain his Pretenſions to it? Nay, ſuppoſe the Allies had declar'd for him, could he have made any other Uſe of it, but to have exchang'd it with *France* for an Equivalent in *Italy*; where nothing could have been given him but in Prejudice of the Emperor, who had redeemed what he had there, by the Sword, and at immenſe Charge? How then would ſuch a Scheme have reduced the *exorbitant* Power of *France*, or excluded them from the Trade of the *Indies*; which is ſo ſtrongly ſtipulated for by the Grand Alliance, and is, above all, moſt particularly the Con-

cern of *Britain?* Theſe were ſome of the Reaſons that made the States utterly reject the Project in favour of *S——y*. And that is one Reaſon, perhaps, we are ſo angry with them, and ſo fond of the Duke of *S——y*, againſt whom we hear no Complaints, tho' his Conduct for theſe four Campaigns paſt, would otherwiſe have made ſome very ſhining Paragraphs in this Libel.

So much of the *Conductor*'s Malice is levied at the *Dutch*, that they are conſtantly brought in, let the Scene lie where it will. "Thus they put the late "King upon ſpending ſix Millions a Year to inlarge their Frontiers; they got all "the Advantages of the *Ryſwick* Treaty, and have been Inſolent, Unjuſt, and "Ungrateful in this: The *Dutch* might have defended themſelves with the "10,000 Men King *William* ſent them, without involving us in the Rupture." And then Ten Thouſand to One but we had been, by this Time, in the Condition the *Conductor* would have us. "The inlarging the *Dutch* Frontiers is of no "real ſolid Advantage to us: And that 'tis an Affront, and leſſening to us, to "couple us with them, and call us, jointly, the *Maritime Powers*." Contrary to what we have from that great and learned Author Sir *Walter Rawleigh*; who ſays, "That he ſhall never think him a Lover of his King and Country, that "ſhould perſuade his Majeſty from embracing the Amity of the States of *Hol*-"*land*; his Majeſty being no leſs ſafe by them, than they invincible by him. "The *Dutch* have broke their Alliances; and the *Dutch* deſign to rob us of our "Manufactures, to increaſe their own Trade and Strength: The *Dutch* bubbled "us with the Guarantee of our Succeſſion." In anſwer to this Heap of Scandal, and many other as vile Aſſertions as theſe, I think it proper to let the Reader ſee, if he can find out any of the Facts they are charged with, in the following Letter; ſuch as *Treachery*, *Inſolence*, *Injuſtice*, *Ingratitude*, *Baſeneſs*, *Theft*, &c. which coming to my Hands juſt as this Sheet was in the Preſs, has furniſhed me with an Opportunity of ſtopping the *Conductor*'s Mouth, from the undeniable Inſtances of Honour and Reſpect, that the States have always paid to her Majeſty, and is a *full Anſwer* to all that has been objected againſt them; and, indeed, to any other unjuſt Complaint that the *French* Faction can raiſe againſt them.

The Repreſentation of the States General *to the Court of* Great Britain, *by a* LETTER *dated* Feb. 19. 1712. *N. S.*

"THAT during the whole Courſe of her Majeſty's glorious Reign, they "have had nothing more at Heart, than to cultivate and maintain with "Her a good Friendſhip, perfect Confidence and Union, and to corroborate "them the moſt they poſſibly could; having always judged them abſolutely "neceſſary, and eſpecially in the preſent Conjuncture. That they likewiſe "judged they could not give a better Proof of this their Diſpoſition and Perſuaſion, than that which they lately gave, in agreeing to the Propoſition which "her Majeſty had cauſed to be made to them, to begin the Negociation of a "general Peace with the Enemy, and in concurring with her Majeſty, to facilitate the bringing together of the Miniſters of all the high Allies to the Congreſs at *Utrecht*. That they are perſuaded nothing can more contribute to "the Diſpatch and Succeſs of that Negociation, than a ſtrict Union, and entire

"Harmony

" Harmony between her Majeſty and their State. That as they had the Honour " to conclude with her Majeſty, the 29th of *October* 1709, the Treaty of mu- " tual Guaranty, commonly called the *Barrier Treaty*, ratified on both Sides in " the moſt authentick Form. They looked upon it not only as a Foundation " of their own Safety, for ſecuring which they entered into the preſent War, " and have carried it on ſo many Years, but likewiſe as a firm Support of that " good Underſtanding and Union between her Majeſty and their State, which " they ſo earneſtly and ſincerely deſire to ſee continued; ſo that they could ne- " ver doubt, in any manner, that they ſhould not, at all times, enjoy the Effect " of the ſaid Treaty. That, however, having, not long ſince, been informed, " that in *England* ſome were of Opinion, that the ſaid Treaty, in ſome Articles, " might be prejudicial to her Majeſty's Subjects, they commiſſioned M. *Buys*, " their Envoy Extraordinary, then going to *England*, to enquire what thoſe " Points were, that might be thought Grievances, and authoriſed him to treat " about them, with her Majeſty's Miniſters, and to remove, if poſſible, the " Difficulties, by all the Explanations that ſhould appear neceſſary; *which they* " *were put in Hopes would not be very hard to do, when once they ſhould have con-* " *ſented to concur with her Majeſty, as they did, to procure a Congreſs for the Ne-* " *gociation of a general Peace.* But the Misfortune was, that the ſaid M. *Buys*, " during his Reſidence in *England*, was not able to finiſh that Affair to recipro- " cal Satisfaction; and that it having been remitted to the *Hague*, no Way has " hitherto been found to terminate it there neither, tho' their High Mightineſſes " think they have ſhewn all the Readineſs to comply with any juſt Expedient, " that could reaſonably be expected from them; for, having learnt, that the " principal Exceptions taken to the ſaid Treaty, were, that it might prove pre- " judicial to the Commerce of her Majeſty's Subjects in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, " and that ſome had entertained an ill-grounded and erroneous Opinion, that " the States might deſign to take Advantage by it, to make themſelves Maſters " of the ſaid *Spaniſh Netherlands*; their High Mightineſſes did declare poſitive- " ly, and by this Letter do voluntarily repeat it, that it never was their Inten- " tion, nor ever will be, to make Uſe of the ſaid Treaty, or of their Garriſons " in the fortified Places of the Country, to prejudice, in any manner, the Com- " merce of her Majeſty's Subjects; but that their Opinion is, That whatever " relates to Navigation and Commerce there, ought to be ſettled on an entire " Equality, that ſo her Majeſty's Subjects may not be charg'd with higher Du- " ties of Importation or Exportation than theirs, to the End Commerce may be " carried on there by both Nations on the ſame Foot. That their High Migh- " tineſſes did declare, and do declare again, by this Letter, that they never had " a Thought, nor have now, of making themſelves Maſters of the *Spaniſh Ne-* " *therlands*, in whole, or in part; contenting themſelves to have Garriſons in " the Places mentioned in the 6th Article, with the Revenues ſpecified in the " 11th Article, and what is ſtipulated by the others, ſeparate from the ſaid " Treaty. That, beſides, they have not the leaſt Thought of making Uſe of " the Privilege ſtipulated in the 7th Article, to put Troops into other Places, " but only in caſe of the laſt and moſt apparent Neceſſity. That they hope, by " this poſitive Declaration, to have the Happineſs to remove all thoſe Suſpi- " cions which may wrongfully have been conceiv'd againſt them; and that they

" have firm Confidence in her Majeſty's ſo renowned Equity, that ſhe will not
" not do any thing in Prejudice of the ſaid Treaty, nor permit any to be done to
" it; but rather that ſhe will be pleaſed to ſee that they may have the entire
" Effect of it, and take off all the Uneaſineſs they may be in about it; which
" they moſt earneſtly deſire of her Majeſty. Adding, That if there be any
" Articles of the ſaid Treaty, which without affecting the Eſſentials of it, may
" be thought to want an Explanation, Her Majeſty ſhall find them ready and
" willing to treat thereupon, and with all the Facility and Condeſcenſion that
" can reaſonably be expected from them, without doing Prejudice to the Rights
" they have acquired, not only by the ſaid Treaty, but by other preceeding ones;
" and in whatever ſhall not be of the laſt Importance for the Security and Pre-
" ſervation of their State. They conclude, with intreating Her Majeſty to
" continue towards them that very precious Friendſhip and Good Will, with
" which ſhe has hitherto honoured them; and with beſeeching God to ſhower
" on Her the choiceſt Bleſſings, *&c.*

This is the Inſolence, the Treachery, the Injuſtice, &c. *the States have been Guilty of.*

After having thus injuriouſly miſrepreſented the Conduct of the Allies, and the late M——y; he comes now to lay open the *real Cauſes of our preſent Miſery. All this,* ſays he, *we were forc'd to ſubmit to, becauſe the General was made eaſy; becauſe the Monied Men at Home were fond of the War; becauſe the Whigs were not firmly ſettled; and becauſe that Exorbitant Degree of Power, which was built upon a ſuppos'd Neceſſity of employing particular Perſons, wou'd go off in a Peace.* After ſo full an Anſwer has been made, a very few Words will ſerve to confute all theſe Calumnies. And firſt, the General was made eaſy by the *Dutch,* as he ſeems to intimate; he never had any Preſent from them, nor any annual Pay; no part in the Contributions; nor any Profits ſhar'd betwixt him and the States; no Preſents from any of our Allies for this five or ſix Campaigns; no Perquiſites but what has been allow'd to other Generals; nor any Stoppages from Subſidies, but what have been apply'd to the Service. He has in none of theſe Reſpects been made eaſy; but has rather been under great Uneaſineſs often times, to bring all the Parts of ſo great a Confederacy, into Right and Vigorous Meaſures. The Monied Men had no Reaſon to be fond of the War: If the Intereſt of Money had been as great under the late Adminiſtration, as it was before, or has been ſince, there would have been ſome Reaſon in what he ſays. They had but five *per Cent.* for their Money almoſt all the whole Time, which would have turn'd to a much better Account, had it been employ'd in Trade, which the Opportunities of a goad Peace would have afforded: This is ſo evident, that the reſt he has to ſay on this Head is not worth anſwering.

Next, ſays he, *The Whigs were not firmly ſettled.* But how is this prov'd? Becauſe the P———t in *December* 1707. Humbly offer'd it to her Majeſty, as their Unanimous Opinion, *That no Peace could be Safe or Honourable, if* Spain *or the* Weſt-Indies, *or any Part of the* Spaniſh *Monarchy were ſuffer'd to remain in the Houſe of* Bourbon. And what was the Occaſion of this Vote? But becauſe the M——y and the G——l having *refus'd to accept very advantageous Offers of*

Peace

Peace, after the Battle of Ramillies, *were forc'd to take in a Set of Men, with a previous Bargain, to ſkreen them from the Conſequences of that Miſcarriage.* By this Account the Whigs were not taken in till the End of the Year 1707, and this Vote was to ſkreen the M——y, for refuſing the Terms of Peace offer'd after the Battle of *Ramillies*. Now if they were not taken in till then, the rejecting thoſe Offers does not lie at their Door: Nor the Alliances with *Portugal* and *Savoy*, the Effect of Whig Councils; by which Treaties, the Reſtitution of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, is as ſtrongly inſiſted on, as it could be by the Vote of 1707. But the Account the *Conductor* gives of this Vote, is utterly falſe; for it was not to ſkreen the M——y, or ſo much as oblige them by it; but on the contrary, it was to prevent what there was at that time no Reaſon to fear, the clapping up an inſecure Peace, contrary to all our Alliances, and to what had been always the Senſe of the Nation.

Nor did the M——y want to be ſkreen'd on that Occaſion, ſince what was offer'd was only the *Partition Treaty*, which if they had accepted, they would have deſerv'd an Impeachment as well as their Predeceſſors; and tho' it were never ſo falſe a Step to reject theſe Offers, it had been much more to the Author's Purpoſe to have dropped it, unleſs he could have prov'd that the then Sec—— had diſapprov'd it; which he was ſo far from doing, that there was not any one Step taken in that Affair, which he was not acquainted with; nor any Anſwer made to the Offers of *France*, which were not conſulted with him, and entirely approv'd by him. In ſhort, both he and the late T——r, rejected thoſe Offers with the Indignity they deſerv'd from every true *Engliſhman*, and good Servant to the Queen. And if the Whigs were for continuing the War, it is plain it was not from any ſelfiſh Views, but meerly for the Good of their Country, and becauſe *France* was not reduc'd to thoſe Terms, which the future Safety of *Europe* requir'd.

But in the laſt Place, as to the late M——y, if they were ſo very blameable in their *Conduct*, let us ſee what the preſent M——y have done to remedy the Abuſes of their Predeceſſors? Have they reduc'd the Intereſt of Money? Or found out eaſier Methods of purſuing the War? Has the *South-Sea* paid the Publick Debts? Had not the Creditors rather have their Intereſt paid them without Trade? And are any conſiderable Funds provided for that Intereſt? Are not the Ways and Means for carrying on the War the ſame as before? Have they carried the Streſs of the War into any more proper Place? Has the War in *Spain* been puſh'd with any more Vigour? Or rather has not leſs been done there this Year than ever? Has any thing been done in *Savoy?* Have we been able to act any where on the Offenſive but in *Flanders?* To which we owe moſt of our Succeſſes, and from whence in the End we muſt expect a good and laſting Peace. In fine, have the New M——y done any thing that has given more Life to the War? Or toward redreſſing the General Complaint at Home? They have indeed made an Expedition to the *Weſt-Indies*, which the late M——y never attempted; but to what Account has it ſerv'd? Only to convince us, that all ſuch Schemes are *Viſionary Proſpects, and Romantick Views:* where a bare Miſcarriage is not the worſt of it: 'Tis not only ſo much Money loſt, but a weak'ning of ourſelves in other Parts, a melancholy Inſtance of which I have ſhewn already we have ſufficiently felt, and ſhould not add any thing to what I have ſaid,

but

but as *One* is provok'd to it by the *Conductor*'s Inceſſant and Endleſs Abuſes of the late M——y; we find here 7 or 8 Tranſports loſt with 26 Companies of Foot, and hardly a Man ſav'd; and the whole Fleet preſerv'd only by a Miracle: And the Remains of theſe Troops, which might have been employ'd to the greateſt Advantage elſewhere, brought home again in a very miſerable Condition; and to compleat this great Misfortune, the Admiral's Ship blew up at *Spithead*, and in her, 'tis to be fear'd, a great part of the Stores, that can't be otherwiſe accounted for. Now all the Uſe I deſire to make of this, is, only in Vindication of the late M——y, who ſeem to be ſo highly blam'd by the *Conductor*, for not carrying on a Naval War, and attempting ſomething againſt the Enemy in the *Weſt-Indies*, which by the Experience of this Expedition, (tho' I grant it to be well concerted) plainly appears, that ſuch Schemes are Chimerical in themſelves, and have only ſpecious Outſides to delude unthinking People, who look no further than the bare View of things as they find them Repreſented; and that 'tis in Effect proving that the Conduct of the late M——y is not to be excell'd by all the Endeavours that the Ableſt and Wiſeſt Men can uſe.

Of the five Reaſons that the *Conductor* lays down for a haſty Peace, I have mention'd two of them, and now return to the third: Which is, *That our preſent Condition makes it impoſſible for Us to carry on the War.* It would however have been as great an Argument of the *Conductor*'s Zeal and Honour for his Country, as it is of his Abilities, had this Point been conceal'd; for what can be of more fatal Conſequence in any Government, than to diſpirit, and weaken the Hearts of the People? And the Advantages and Encouragements we give the Enemy, even while a Peace is tranſacting, and the Terms of it like to be proportion'd according to the Condition the Enemy think us in. Such a betraying of their Country, would be ſuffer'd in no Nation under Heaven, but our own; nor here neither, if it were not to ſerve a very wretched *Purpoſe*. Nothing of this is to be found in *France*, and if it might be ſuffer'd there with Impunity, it wou'd be hard to find a *Frenchman* ſo abandon'd to all Shame and Diſhonour, as to be Guilty of ſo foul a Villainy, a Villainy that robs the Crown of its greateſt Support, the Spirit and Vigour of the People uniting chearfully in its Defence; and at the ſame Time equally encouraging the Enemy to ſtart new Difficulties, and to refuſe ſuch Terms, as before they would have ſubmitted to in the humbleſt and moſt thankful Manner; while their Diſgraces and Misfortunes were much fewer than they are now, unleſs I may bring in ſome late Inſtances of Providence, by which Heaven ſeems to have taken the Work into its Hands, and to leave Mankind no more to do, no not even the *Conductor* himſelf, or the ableſt and moſt exalted of his Friends. Our Allies by it are recovering their Surprizes, and taking Heart, as faſt as the Friends of *France* are loſing Ground; and it ſeems impoſſible they ſhould prevail againſt us whilſt we are under ſo bleſſed a Protection.

"But perhaps, *ſays he*, our Allies will make up the Deficiency on our Side, "by greater Efforts of their own. Quite the contrary; both the Emperor and "*Holland* fail'd laſt Year in ſeveral Articles; and ſignified to us ſometime ago, "that they could not keep to the ſame Proportions in the next. We have gain'd "a Noble Barrier for the latter, and they have nothing now to aſk or deſire. "The Emperor, however ſanguine he may now affect to appear, will I ſuppoſe

"be

" be ſatisfied with *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan*, and his other Acquiſitions, rather than " engage in a long, hopeleſs War for the Recovery of *Spain*, to which his " Allies the *Dutch*, will neither give their Aſſiſtance nor Conſent. So that ſince " we have done their Buſineſs; ſince they have no Service for our Arms, and " we have no more Money to give them; and laſtly, ſince we deſire no Re- " compence, nor expect any Thanks, we ought in Pity to be diſmiſs'd, and " have leave to ſhift for ourſelves.

'Tis pity but the *Conductor* had been made Secretary to the Embaſſy; he had certainly ſav'd the Congreſs an infinite deal of Labour. There had been no Occaſion to require a number of Preliminaries; he has given them an unanſwerable Scheme of Peace in fewer Minutes, and couch'd in hardly ſo many Lines, as thoſe in a formal and lingering Way of a Treaty, are contain'd in Sheets of Paper: I wiſh I could not affirm that there are more notorious Falſities than either. *The* Dutch *and the Emperor let us know that they could not keep up their Proportions.* And this we muſt believe, tho' it is ſo profuſe a Lie, that both the Emperor and the States teaz'd us with inceſſant Applications to be heard; and when they were heard, gave the fulleſt Aſſurances of doing all that we could poſſibly require. And what is yet more, (contrary to the *Conductor*'s Deſire, I believe that it ſhould be ſo) we begin to be pretty ſenſible that they are in earneſt too: But when I ſay this, 'tis in hopes he has no new Difficulties to ſtart in Behalf of his Friends in *France*. *We have conquer'd a Noble Barrier for the* Dutch, *and they have no more to aſk or deſire.* Falſe again as it happens: For we are convinc'd; and ſo may the *Conductor* too if he pleaſes to peruſe their Demands, that they aſk ſomething more, and will go near to ſtand to it too, unleſs Providence favours his *Cauſe* more than it ſeems to have done of late. *The Emperor will accept of* Naples, Sicily, Milan, *and his other Acquiſitions*, &c. What an unlucky Thing is it now, that nothing but the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy will pleaſe him. *To which his Allies the* Dutch, *will neither give their Aſſiſtance nor Conſent.* 'Twas certainly a very unhappy time when he was thus waſting his Judgment in Politicks that he ſo little underſtood, and arrogating to himſelf the Opinion of knowing more of the *Dutch* than they know of themſelves. And as to us, *We deſire no Recompence, nor expect no Thanks, and therefore ought in Pity to be diſmiſs'd, and have leave to ſhift for ourſelves.* There's an End of the War at once; and plainly repreſents to us the Vanity of ſending Plenipotentiaries to end this by a tedious and chargeable Treaty.

But if we do not hearken to Peace, others certainly will. Were this to be prov'd now, it would be ſomething: But while it is only ſpoken upon bare Suppoſition, and by one who would count it the happieſt Event of his Life to be believ'd, I cannot ſee that any more Heed ought to be given to it, than to the Vileſt and moſt Groundleſs Aſſertion in his Book. This is what we have ſo often had in our Mouths during the War; and been ſo cautious of on all Occaſions; *That* France *wou'd ſeek to divide the Allies.* When theſe Jealouſies are infus'd, and come to make an Impreſſion once, 'tis dividing us with a Witneſs. And tho' *France* was never able to effect that great Work, we have a Set of People now, that are doing it for *Her*. What could be ſaid with a greater Air of Malice? That the farther it is from Fact, the more Villainous the Deſign appears; which is in Effect incenſing us to break Faith with our Allies, by affirming, that if we don't

don't, they will break Faith with us. I muſt confeſs, it is probable enough they might have done ſo, had they foreſeen what has ſince happened; could they have perceived how the 8th Article of the Grand Alliance would be obſerv'd, or how ſhort lived another Treaty would be, that as much concerns them.

After having expoſed our Weakneſs, and laid us fairly open to the Enemy, he comes to theſe Words, *That if the War laſts another Campaign, it will be impoſſible to find Funds for ſupplying it, without mortgaging the Malt Tax, or ſome Method equally deſperate.* This, in reality, were a ſufficient Reaſon to induce us to think of Peace, if it were laid down only upon open and apparent Views, and not made a Neceſſity to Humour, or protect a *Party*, whoſe Grandeur and Continuance ſeems to be raiſed and fixed on this Foundation. 'Tis certain, a Campaign there muſt be, and the neceſſary Supplies are, the greateſt Part of them, voted already; nor could it ever be thought, that a Treaty could be fixed time enough to prevent it: If ſo, why all this Haſte for Peace? The extraordinary Expences of a Campaign, part of which muſt, of Conſequence, be ſpent during the Treaty, and the Remainder could not have coſt us much: Or were the Friends of *France* afraid, conſonant to our former Succeſſes, that we ſhould have ſtruck ſome Blow that might poſſibly have animated our Allies above the contemptible Schemes we have ſeen erected; and convince our Friends at home, that we were not under thoſe terrible Diſadvantages of making an *ill Peace*, as the *Conductor* and his *Party* thought neceſſary, for their Purpoſe, to make them believe. At leaſt, methinks it might make them ſome Amends, to have experienced this under a G——l of their own, when they might have *crowed on their own Dunghill*, and picked up Incidents enough to have juſtified a Change in their Opinions afterwards. But Providence, in this Point, has pretty well furniſhed them already, and the leaſt we can look for now, is, that they will make as good a Peace as they can, and not furniſh the Enemy with Arguments to beat down the Market, or encourage them, upon any Account, to trifle with our Allies: Since this is only required of them, and this alone is ſufficient to do our Buſineſs, 'tis rather to be hoped, that they will drop the *Conductor* ſo far, as to throw in more vigorous Arguments, for a good and laſting Peace, than he has made uſe of.

But again, in the next Paragraph, he tells us; *That if Peace be made this Winter, we are to conſider what Circumſtances we ſhall be in towards paying a Debt of fifty Millions; which is a third Part of the Purchaſe of the whole Iſland, were it to be ſold.* To this I ſhall only add one ſhort Remark, and leave the reſt to the *Conductor*'s own Meaning: There is a Conſideration, which to me gradually falls in between theſe two Points. To reflect well, if this be our Caſe, what we ſhall do with another War, which a haſty Peace may ſubjugate us to in a few Years, People are now *in*, and tho' they ſtruggle with ſome Hardſhips, are in Hopes that 'tis near an End, and that a laſting Peace will make them ſome Amends: But ſhould another War break out in any little time, they would be Heartleſs, Thunder-ſtruck, and ſink under the melancholy Apprehenſions of being undone; no Care, no Conſolation would recover them: Our Traders would ſeek Shelter in foreign Climates, and our young Men hide themſelves in Holes and Deſarts to avoid the Wars, of which they had heard ſuch dreadful Tales; and of whoſe Events, no Man could form any Judgment, without the utmoſt Reflection

of

of Deſpair and Ruin. Therefore, I ſay, if our Debts are ſo hard to pay, and we ſhall labour under ſo many Difficulties, even in Peace, what Care, what more than ordinary Caution ought it to infuſe into us, that the ſame be ſafe, laſting, and honourable? Nay, that it ought to be put out of the Hazard of every Thing, but the unforeſeen Events of future Providence, ſince I muſt and will affirm it is within the Scope of Probability, if not a Certainty, to bring it to paſs.

But, ſays the *Conductor*, *To think that* Britain *muſt be ruined without the Reſtitution of* Spain, *is a ſtrong Deluſion; as if Princes and Great Men could find no way of ſettling the publick Tranquility without changing the Poſſeſſions of Kingdoms.*

Whether it may be ſaid, that *England* is ruined without the Reſtitution of *Spain*, I will not take upon me to ſay; it may be not: But I muſt venture to alledge, that it lays us under a very hazardous Probability of it, which we ought to provide againſt; and farther, which we may as well provide againſt, as not, by oppoſing the moſt violent and unjuſt Uſurpation. And ſince they do not pretend to deny the undoubted Right of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, will it not be a ſurer, as well as a juſter Way of ſettling the *publick Tranquility*; much rather than ruining a great and antient Monarchy, by parcelling it out to ſo many as is intended by this new Scheme, which *Europe* cannot poſſibly be long eaſy in? That the Recovery of *Spain* is not impracticable, or at leaſt was not thought ſo eighteen Months ago, let the Enemies own Offers be Witneſs, when in the moſt ſolemn manner they conſented to give it up entire? and will do ſo now, if their unreaſonable Applications are rejected with that Scorn and Indignity, which in Juſtice and Honeſty they heartily deſerve. *But if the new Schemes*, ſays he, *are probable*, 'tis *enough*; *Probabilities are cheaper by ſix Millions a Year.* But, as I have hinted before, we had better be at the Expence of twice ſix Millions for a Certainty, than run the Hazzard of paying ſo dear for a probability; where if we happen to be miſtaken, which is not improbable, the Liberty both of us and our Allies, will be forfeited to the long dreaded Scheme of *Univerſal Monarchy.*

I come now to his Fourth Reaſon for Peace: Which is, *That the Condition of* France *is not ſo low, nor the Conſequences of our Succeſſes ſo great, as is commonly imagin'd.* They were of Conſequence enough to humble a very haughty Enemy ſome Years ago, and if many repeated Succeſſes ſince have rendered his Condition better, he is the more beholding to his *Friends.* From hence it is, herhaps, that the *Conductor* affirms, *We might have had a better Peace two Years ago than we can now, and that by a parity of Reaſon, We muſt expect one ſo much worſe two Years hence.* Indeed if we have no more Succeſs in our Undertakings, than we have had ſince the old M——y went off, 'tis very probable that by chance he has ſpoke Truth; which muſt be follow'd by another neceſſary Conſequence by his Argument, That the longer the *New* continue, the worſe Condition our Affairs will be in. I preſume he would have baited the Compliment to his Friends, out of the Antitheſis of this worthy Propoſition.

Have the Towns *France* has loſt in this Time made her ſtronger? or has the Continuance of the War made her richer? or are we to ſuppoſe the nearer the Dangers approach to them, the more averſe they are to Peace? So near, that one Defeat, nay one Siege would lay their whole Kingdom open, even to their

Capital. *But every Town we take*, he ſays, *coſts us Fifty times more than 'tis worth.* If this be true, it ought to be remember'd, that 'tis the *Dutch* pay for it, and not *England.* This too, the *Conductor* might have left out; and I ſuppoſe, would too, did not his Zeal ſometimes, in the Cauſe he ſerves, make him run into Overſights. It is much with the ſame Caution that he intimates it to the Advantage of the *French* King: *That his Money is ſpent in his own Country.* Which muſt needs be a mighty Conſolation to him. Where beſides the Loſs of the Revenue of many great Towns and Provinces taken from him, he is forced to ſuffer his Country to be ravaged by his own Troops, as well as thoſe of the Allies. His Subjects muſt needs be in a better Condition to pay their Taxes, and ſupport the War, by paying large Contributions on the one Side, and finding Forrage and Subſiſtance on the other, for two or three Hundred Thouſand Men, all the Winter.

I am at length arriv'd to his laſt Reaſon for an inconſiderable and haſty Peace; which he gives us in the following Words: Laſtly, *Thoſe who are ſo violent againſt any Peace without* Spain *being reſtored to the Houſe of* Auſtria, *having not, I believe, caſt their Eye upon a Cloud gathering in the* North, *which we have helped to raiſe, and may quickly break in a Storm upon our Heads.* What he means by our helping to raiſe it, I don't underſtand: Inſtead of raiſing that Cloud, it is apparently known both the Qu—— and the States have been ever moſt ſolicitous to prevent its gathering. But what he has ſaid on this Head, if there be any meaning in it, he has himſelf anſwerable, by telling us that *the Succeſs of the War is various*; and ſo long as it is ſo, I ſee no great Injury in it to the *Confederate Cauſe. How if it ſhould break in any Storm upon our Heads*, is not eaſily to be underſtood; I hope we ſhall have no Reaſon to fear Alliances with *Infidels*. There is occaſion, I confeſs, to ſuſpect the Will of a certain Prince, if his Abilities at this time were anſwerable to his good Intentions. The *Confederate Cauſe* is indebted to him ſome conſiderable Obligations, the Emperor in particular; and notwithſtanding the repeated Tergiverſation we have been complimented with from that Quarter; I dare be poſitive, that when the Matter ſhall be impartially enquir'd into, it will appear that we have done no more than the moſt Diſintereſted People in the World could do. That both the *Dutch* and we, have laboured with all the good Offices in our Powers to keep the Ballance even, and to have rendered the projected Neutrality of as much Benefit to *Sweden*, as to any of the *Confederated Powers* at War with him. However, as to the Danger threatened to the *Common Cauſe*, from the War on that Side; ſince the *Conductor* has mention'd it, I muſt ſay, I think we are not in any great hazzard of being hurt by it; and before that time comes, it is very probable we may be at Leiſure to retaliate Favours, by mediating Terms of Peace between thoſe *Powers*, inſtead of receiving Terms from them.

And here, I leave the *Conductor*; having run thro' his Libel, with all the Care and Circumſpection I could well promiſe myſelf. And as I have had the Advantage of Reading others, who have write excellently, tho' not *Fully*, on this Subject before me; whoſe Arguments perhaps for the greater Efficacy I have ſometimes follow'd; ſo I think I have left little more to be ſaid to him: The Reflection of his own Folly, Baſeneſs, and Malice, can only correct him farther.

General

General MAXIMS *in* TRADE, *Particularly applied to the Commerce between* Great-Britain *and* France. *By Sir* THEODRE JANSSON, *Bart.* Printed in the Year 1713.

THERE are general Maxims in Trade which are aſſented to by every Body.

That a Trade may be of Benefit to the Merchant and injurious to the Body of the Nation, is one of theſe Maxims.

I ſhall confine myſelf to ſpeak of Trade only as it is Nationally Good or Bad.

I. That Trade which exports Manufactures made of the ſole Product or Growth of the Country, is undoubtedly Good; ſuch is the ſending abroad our *Yorkſhire* Cloth, *Colcheſter* Bays, *Exeter* Serges, *Norwich* Stuffs, *&c.* Which being made purely of *Britiſh* Wool, as much as thoſe Exports amount to, ſo much is the clear Gain of the Nation.

II. That Trade which helps off the Conſumption of our Superfluities, is alſo viſibly advantageous; as the exporting of Allum, Copperas, Leather, Tin, Lead, Coals, *&c.* So much as the exported Superfluities amount unto, ſo much alſo is the clear National Profit.

III. The importing of foreign Materials to be manufactured at home, eſpecially when the Goods, after they are manufactured, are moſtly ſent abroad, is alſo without Diſpute, very beneficial; as for Inſtance *Spaniſh* Wool, which for that Reaſon is exempted from paying any Duties.

IV. The Importation of foreign Materials to be manufactured here, although the manufactured Goods are chiefly conſumed by us, may alſo be beneficial; eſpecially when the ſaid Materials are procured in Exchange for our Commodities; as Raw-Silk, Grogram-Yarn, and other Goods brought from *Turkey*,

V. Foreign Materials, wrought up here into ſuch Goods as would otherwiſe be imported ready manufactured, is a means of ſaving Money to the Nation; and if ſaving is getting, that Trade which procures ſuch Materials ought to be look'd upon as profitable: Such is the Importation of Hemp, Flax, and Raw-Silk; 'tis therefore to be wondered at, that theſe Commodities are not exempt from all Duties, as well as *Spaniſh* Wool.

VI. A Trade may be called good which exchanges Manufactures for Manufactures, and Commodities for Commodities. *Germany* takes as much in Value of our Woollen and other Goods, as we do of their Linnen: By this Means Numbers of People are imployed on both Sides, to their mutual Advantage.

VII. An Importation of Commodities, bought partly for Money and partly for Goods, may be of National Advantage; if the greateſt Part of the Commodities thus imported, are again exported, as in Caſe of *Eaſt-India* Goods: And generally all Imports of Goods which are re-exported, are beneficial to a Nation.

VIII. The carrying of Goods from one foreign Country to another, is a profitable Article in Trade: Our Ships are often thus employ'd between *Portugal*, *Italy*, and the *Levant*, and ſometimes in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

IX. When there is a Neceſſity to import Goods which a Nation cannot be without, alſo ſuch Goods are chiefly purchaſed with Money, it cannot be accounted a bad Trade; as our Trade to *Norway* and other Parts, from whence re imported Naval Stores and Materials for Building.

But a Trade is advantageous to a Nation.

1. Which brings in Things of meer Luxury and Pleaſure, which are entirely, or for the moſt Part, conſumed among us; and ſuch I reckon the Wine Trade to be, eſpecially when the Wine is purchaſed with Money and not in Exchange for our Commodities.

2. Much worſe is that Trade which brings in a Commodity that is not only conſumed amongſt us, but hinders the Conſumption of the like Quantity of ours: As is the Importation of Brandy, which hinders the ſpending of our Extracts of Malt and Molaſſes; therefore very prudently charged with exceſſive Duties.

3. That Trade is immediately bad, which ſupplies the ſame Goods as we manufacture ourſelves, eſpecially if we can make enough for our Conſumption: And I take this to be the Caſe of the Silk Manufacture; which, with great Labour and Induſtry, is brought to Perfection in *London*, *Canterbury*, and other Places.

4. The Importation upon eaſy Terms of ſuch Manufactures as are already introduced in a Country, muſt be of bad Conſequence, and check their Progreſs; as it would undoubtedly be the Caſe of the Linnen and Paper Manufactures in *Great-Britain*, (which are of late very much improved) if thoſe Commodities were ſuffered to be brought in without paying very high Duties.

Wiſe Nations are ſo fond of encouraging Manufactures in their Infancy, that they not only burthen foreign Manufactures of the like Kind with high Impoſitions, but often totally condemn and prohibit the Conſumption of them.

To bring what hath been already ſaid into a narrower Compaſs, it may be reduced to this, *viz.*

That the Exportation of Manufactures, is in the higheſt Degree beneficial to a Nation.

That the Exportation of Superfluities, is ſo much clear Gain.

That the Importation of foreign Materials to be manufactured by us, inſtead of importing manufactured Goods, is the ſaving a great deal of Money.

That the exchanging Commodities for Commodities, is generally an Advantage.

That all Imports of Goods which are re-exported, leave a real Benefit.

That the letting Ships to freight to other Nations, is profitable.

That the Imports of Things of abſolute Neceſſity, cannot be eſteemed bad.

That the importing Commodities of meer Luxury, is ſo much real Loſs as they amount to.

The

That the Importation of ſuch Goods as hinder the Conſumption of our own, or check the Progreſs of any of our Manufactures, is a viſible Diſadvantage, and neceſſarily tends to the Ruin of Multitudes of People.

Having premiſed thus far in Relation to Trade in general, and made it evident that there are ſeveral Ways of Trading advantageous to a Nation, and others which are not ſo. I ſhall now examine which of theſe beneficial or hurtful Ways to us the *French* Trade doth anſwer, and then draw the Ballance at the Foot of the Account.

I. The Exportation of our Woollen Goods to *France*, is ſo well barr'd againſt, that there is not the leaſt Hope of reaping any Benefit by this Article.

The *French* did always out-do us in Price of Labour: Their common People live upon Roots, Cabbage, and other Herbage; four of their large Provinces ſubſiſt intirely upon Cheſnuts; and the beſt of them eat Bread made of Barley, Millet, *Turkey* and black Corn; ſo that their Wages uſed to be ſmall in Compariſon with ours.

But of late Years their Crown-Pieces being being made of the ſame Value as ours, and raiſed from ſixty to one hundred Sols; and the Manufacturers, Servants, Soldiers, Day-Labourers, and other working-People, earning no more Sols or Pence by the Day than they did formerly, the Price of Labour is thereby ſo much leſſen'd, that one may affirm for Truth, they have generally their Work done for half the Price we pay for ours. For although Proviſions be as dear at *Paris* as they are at *London*, 'tis certain that in moſt of their Provinces they are very cheap; and that they buy Beef and Mutton for half the Price we pay for it here.

But the Price of Meat and Wheat doth little concern the poor Manufacturers; as they generally drink nothing but Water, and at beſt a ſort of Liquor they call *Beuverage* (which is Water paſs'd through the Huſks of Grapes after the Wine is drawn off) they ſave a great deal upon that Account: For 'tis well known that our People ſpend Half of their Money in Drink.

The Army is a notorious Inſtance how cheap the *French* can live: It enables their King to maintain 500000 Men with the ſame Money we maintain 112500. Their Pay being five Sols a Day (which is exactly three Pence *Engliſh*) and our Soldiers Pay is eight Pence.

However, they ſubſiſt upon that ſmall Allowance; and if there be the ſame Diſproportion between our Manufacturers and theirs, as there is betwixt our Soldiers and their Soldiers as to Pay, 'tis plain that the Work in *France* is done for little more than a third Part of what it is done for in *England:* And I am confident 'tis ſo in moſt Part of their Manufactures, of which I could give give many Inſtances if it were needful; but let theſe two following at preſent ſuffice.

At *Lyons*, which next to *Paris* is the beſt City in *France*, they pay nine Sols an Ell for making of Luſtrings, which is little more than five Pence *Engliſh* Money; and the Price paid here for making Luſtrings is twelve Pence *per* Ell.

In

In the Paper Manufacture abundance of People are imploy'd for ſorting Rags in the Mills, who earn in *France* but two Sols a Day, which is leſs than five Farthings of our Money; and the Price paid here for ſuch Work, is four Pence a Day.

The *French* working thus cheap, 'tis no Wonder if they afford their Manufactures at lower Rates than their Neighbours.

But to leave no Room for Doubt in a Matter of ſo great Importance, ſeveral Merchants have brought over from *France* Patterns of their Woollen Goods, with the Prices they are ſold at; and it appears that in general they are, Goodneſs for Goodneſs cheaper than ours: Their Cloth made of *Spaniſh* Wooll, which is brought to great Perfection, is ſold in the Shops for ſixteen or ſeventeen Livres the Ell, (which is a Yard a Quarter and an Inch) and as a *French* Livre is exactly worth one of our Shillings, they ſell the Ell there as cheap as we ſell here the Yard, which is twenty five *per Cent.* difference.

And if what is own'd on all Hands be true, that the *French* do ſend great Quantities of Woollen Goods to *Italy*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Turkey*, the *Rhine*, and other Places, although they pay a Duty upon Exportation; 'tis a Demonſtration that they have more than is ſufficient for their own Wear, and conſequently no great Occaſion for any of ours.

Objection, What need the *French* limit the Importation of our Cloth, *&c.* to three Places, ſubject it to ſtrict Viſitations, and inſiſt to continue a high Duty upon it, if they have enough of their own, and can afford it cheaper than we?

Anſwer, By the long Interruption of Commerce and Correſpondence between the two Nations, the *French* knew as little the Price of theirs; and being extremely jealous of their Manufactures, they would not give way to any the leaſt thing that could prejudice them: In ſhort, they had a Mind to be ſecured againſt all Events.

Have not we done the like in the ſelf-ſame Caſe? We out-do, in our own Thoughts, all the World in the Woollen-Manufactures; but not depending upon this ſingle Advantage of working better than others, we have laid very high Duties upon all foreign Woollen-Goods, and even prohibited them. And 'tis well we do ſo! for elſe the *French* would have made our Hearts ake ſince the Peace, by their great Importation of Woollen Goods upon us.

But they are ſo well appriſed of the Matter now, and know the Advantage they have over us in Point of Cheapneſs, that I don't doubt they will give us Leave to import into *France* not only Woollen Goods, but all other Commodities whatſoever upon very eaſy Duties, provided we permit them to import into *Great-Britain* Wines, Brandies, Silks, Linnen, and Paper, upon paying the ſame Duties as others do. And when that's done, you'll ſend little more to *France* than now you do, and they'll import into *Great-Britain* ten times more than now they can.

II. As to the othef Products of our Land, I mean our Superfluities, it muſt be own'd the *French* have Occaſion for ſome of them, as Lead, Tin, Leather, Copperas, Coals, Allum, and ſeveral other things of ſmall Value, as alſo ſome few of our Plaatations Commodities: But theſe Goods they will have whether we

we take any of theirs or no, becauſe they want them; as they were ſupplied with them during the War by Way of *Italy* and *Flanders*, and paid us a little more Money for them than now they do, when they can have them at the firſt Hand in *England*. All theſe Commodities together that the *French* want from us, may amount to about 200000 *l.* yearly.

III. As to Materials; I don't know of any one ſort uſeful to us that ever was imported from *France* into *England*. They have indeed Hemp, Flax, and Wooll, in abundance, and ſome Raw-Silk; but they are too wiſe to let us have any, eſpecially as long as they entertain any Hopes we ſhall be ſo ſelf-denying, as to take thoſe Materials from them after they are manufactur'd.

IV. Exchanging Commodities for Commodities (if for the like Value on both Sides) might be beneficial; but 'tis far from being the Caſe between us and *France:* Our Ships went conſtantly in Ballaſt (except now and then ſome Lead) to St. *Malo*, *Morlaix*, *Nantes*, *Rochelle*, *Bourdeaux*, *Bayone*, *&c.* and ever came back full of Linnen, Wines, Brandy and Paper: And if it was ſo before the *Revolution*, when one of our Pounds Sterling coſt the *French* but thirteen Livres, what are they like to take from us (except what they of Neceſſity want) now that for each Pound Sterling they muſt pay us twenty Livres, which inhances the Price of all *Britiſh* Commodities to the *French* above fifty *per Cent.*

V. Goods imported to be re-exported, is certainly a National Advantage; but few or no *French* Goods are ever exported from *Great-Britain*, except to our Plantations; but are all conſumed at Home; therefore no Benefit can be reap'd this Way by the *French* Trade.

VI. Letting Ships to freight cannot be but of ſome Profit to a Nation; but 'tis very rare if the *French* ever make uſe of any other Ships than their own: They victual and mann cheaper, than we, therefore nothing is to be got from them by this Article.

VII. Things that are of abſolute Neceſſity cannot be reckon'd prejudicial to a Nation; but *France* produces nothing that is neceſſary, or even convenient, or but which we had better be without, except *Claret.*

VIII. If the Importation of Commodities of meer Luxury, to be conſumed amongſt us, be a ſenſible Diſadvantage, the *French* Trade, in this particular, might be highly pernicious to this Nation: For if the Duties on *French* Wines be lower'd to a conſiderable Degree, the leaſt we can ſuppoſe would be imported into *England* and *Scotland* is 18000 Tons a Year, which being moſt Clarets, at a moderate Computation, would coſt in *France* 450000 *l.*

IX. As to Brandy; ſince we have laid high Duties upon it, the diſtilling of Spirits from Malt and Molaſſes is much improved and encreaſed, by means of which a good Sum of Money is yearly ſaved to the Nation; for very little Brandy hath been imported either from *Italy*, *Portugal*, or *Spain*, by reaſon that our *Engliſh* Spirits are near as good as thoſe Countries Brandies: But as *French* Brandy is eſteem'd, and is indeed very good, if the extraordinary Duty on that Liquor be taken off, there's no Doubt but great Quantities will be imported. We'll ſuppoſe only 3000 Tons a Year, which will coſt *Great-Britain* about 70000 *l.* Tons a Year yearly, and prejudice beſides the Extracts of our own Malt Spirits.

X. Linnen

X. Linnen is an Article of more Conſequence than many People are aware of: *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and ſeveral Counties iu *England*, have made large Steps towards the Improvement of that uſeful Manufacture, both in Quantity and Quality; and with good Encouragement would doubtleſs, in a few Years, bring it to Perfection, and perhaps make ſufficient for our own Conſumption; which, beſides imploying great Numbers of People and improving many Acres of Land, would ſave us a good Sum of Money, which is yearly laid out abroad in that Commodity. As the Caſe ſtands at preſent it improves daily; but if the Duties on *French* Linnen be reduc'd, 'tis to be fear'd it will come over ſo cheap, that our Looms muſt be laid aſide, and 6 or 700000 *l.* a Year be ſent over to *France* for that Commodity.

XI. The Manufacture of Paper is very near a-kin to that of Linnen. Since the high Duties laid on foreign Paper, and that none hath been imported from *France*, where 'tis cheapeſt, the making of it is increaſed to ſuch a Degree in *England*, that we import none of the lower Sorts from abroad, and make them all ourſelves: But if the *French* Duties be taken off, undoubtedly moſt of the Mills which are imployed in the making of white Paper, muſt leave off their Work, and 30 to 40000 *l.* a Year be remitted over to *France* for that Commodity.

XII. The laſt Article concerns the Silk Manufacture. Since the late *French* Wars 'tis increaſed to a mighty Degree, *Spittlefields* alone manufactures to the Value of two Millions a Year, and were daily improving, till the late Fears about lowering the *French* Duties. What pity! That ſo noble a Manufacture, ſo extenſive and ſo beneficial to an infinite Number of People, ſhould run the Hazard of being ruined! 'Tis however to be feared, that if the *French* can import their wrought Silks upon eaſy Terms, they out-do us ſo much in Cheapneſs of Labour, as hath been already ſhewed, and they have *Italian* and *Levant* Raw-Silk upon ſo much eaſier Terms than we, beſides great Quantities of their own in *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and other Provinces, that in all Probability half the Looms in *Spittlefields* would be laid down, and our Ladies be again cloathed in *French* Silks; the Loſs that would accrue to the Nation by ſo great a Miſchief, cannot be valued at leſs than 500000 *l.* a Year.

To Sum up all; if we pay to *France* yearly,

	l.
For their Wines — — — — —	450000.
For their Brandies — — — — —	70000.
For their Linnen — — — — —	600000.
For their Paper — — — — —	30000.
For their Silks	500000.
	1650000.
And they take from us in Lead, Tin, Leather, Allum, Copperas, Coals, Horn Plates, *&c.* and Plantation-Goods, to the Value of	200000.
Great-Britain loſes by the Ballance of that Trade yearly	1450000.

Which

Which ſeems unavoidable, if we were ſo good-natured as to take off the high Duties; the only Fence we have left againſt an Inundation of *French* Commodities upon us.

If any Body thinks fit to object againſt theſe Papers, that there are many Commodities that uſed to be ſent to *France*, of which there's no Notice taken here; I deſire them to give a Liſt of thoſe Commodities not only by Nnme, but to put the Quantities which they judge are like to be exported, and their Valuation: And I promiſe them in return another Liſt of many Commodities I have omitted, which would certainly be imported from *France* upon lowering the Duties, with the probable Quantities of each Sort, and their Coſt on board there; and I dare anſwer, I ſhall be even with them upon that Score; having here for Brevity's Sake mentioned only ſuch Commodities as are moſt conſiderable. This perhaps by making accurate Eſtimates and Calculations of all Commodities that can be exported to *France*, or brought over from thence, ſhall we come to a right Underſtanding of the Matter; and what the Trade between *Great-Britain* and *France* is like to be in caſe the Duties be taken off.

All the Nations of *Europe* ſeem to ſtrive who ſhall out-wit one another in point of Trade, and they concur in this Maxim, That the leſs they conſume of foreign Commodities, the better it is for them.

The *Dutch* to obviate too great a Conſumption of foreign Goods amongſt them, make uſe of Exciſes, and they have for that Reaſon laid a very high Exciſe upon *French* Wines.

The *French* ſtudy to prevent it, by Duties of Importations, Duties or Conſumptions, Toll from one Provinces into another, by ſtrict Viſitations, Reſtraints and Prohibitions, and by the Example of the Court in wearing their own Manufactures.

We have of late Years ſaved a great deal of Money, by laying high Duties upon foreign Commodities, which hath not only hindered their too great Conſumption among us, but hath had this good Effect beſides; that it hath given Incouragement to the ſettling, improving and perfectionating many uſeful Manufactures in *Great-Britain*. So that we muſt be out of our Senſes if we permit the *French* to import their Manufactures to the Prejudice and Deſtruction of our own.

We are now, God be praiſed, in Peace and Friendſhip with the *French*; we have a free Correſpondence and Commerce with them: They do and will take from us what they want, and 'tis all we can expect or deſire of them.

We may freely import their good Claret, and have it upon reaſonable Terms, if we do not buy it in too great Quantities: And as for their Manufactures, 'tis undeniable, we had better be without them, ſince they muſt be purchaſed with our ready Money; for their Cloth and other Woollen Goods being cheaper than ours, they cannot take any from us if they would, in Compenſation for their Silks, Paper, and Linnen; and as they take nothing but what they want, they ought not in Reaſon to expect we ſhould take from them what we have no manner of Occaſion for.

As it is very requiſite that thoſe who are to deal with another Nation ſhould have a perfect Knowledge of ther Weights, Meaſures, Cuſtoms and Monies, and there having been a remarkable Alteration in the *French* Coins ſince we had

any Dealings with them, which is the thing of the utmoſt Moment in Commerce, I ſhall beg leave to ſubjoin here an Account of their Coin as it ſtands at preſent, and in all Probability is like to ſtand; that we may know what we are to pay for their Goods, and what they are to to pay for ours.

The *French* Crown-Piece is exactly now of the ſame Goodneſs and intrinſick Value as the *Engliſh* Crown-Piece. It goes in *France* for five Livres, and each Livre for two Sols, ſo that each Crown-Piece go there for one hundred Sols or Pence.

Our Crown-Piece goes for five Shillings, each Shilling for twelve Pence, ſo that our Crown-Piece goes here for ſixty Pence.

As there is five Livres in their Crown, and five Shilling in our Crown, and that they are both of equal Weight and Value, a Shilling is exactly worth a Livre, and a Livre a Shilling. I beg pardon for being thus exact to a Nicety in this particular, but I think the Fate of *Great-Britain*, in Point of Trade, doth in a great Meaſure depend upon it.

Before the War, if I bought any Commodity in *France* which coſt me a Livre, I paid eighteen Pence *Engliſh* for it, as is well known to every Body that had Dealings there; if I buy now the ſame thing in *France* for a Livre, I pay but one Shilling for it, by which means all their Manufactures are rendered ſo very cheap to us, that if there was but moderate Duties upon their Importation, we ſhould immediately be over whelmed with *French* Commodities. For as their Workmen receive no more Sols or Pence for their Days-wock or Wages than they did formerly, they ſell their Cloth, Paper, and Linnen for no more Sols than they uſed to do: Therefore if I bought heretofore an Ell of Linnen for a Livre, it coſt me then eighteen Pence, and now buying an Ell of the ſame Linnen for a Livre ſtill, it coſts me but one Shilling.

On the contrary, when the *French* bought any thing of us before the War, if it coſt them one Pound Sterling, they paid but thirteen Livres for it; and if they buy now the ſame thing for one Pound Sterling, they pay twenty Livres: Which renders every Commodity we have ſo very dear to them, that 'tis hardly poſſible they ſhould take any thing from us, but what they have an abſolute Neceſſity for.

For if they bought formerly a Yard of Cloth here for fifteen Shillings, they paid but nine Livres three Quarters for it; and if they buy now here a Yard of the ſame Cloth for fifteen Shillings, they muſt pay fifteen Livres: Which as I ſaid before, renders our Manufactures exceſſive dear to them, and their Manufactures exceeding cheap to us.

In ſhort, all Kinds of *French* Manufactures that were heretofore purchaſed in *France*, either by Natives or Strangers, for one Ounce and a half of Silver, the ſame Quantity and Goodneſs is there purchaſed now by Natives and by Strangers for one Ounce of Silver. And whatever the *French* uſed to purchaſe in foreign Parts with three Livres, they muſt now give four Livres and an half for it.

I have purpoſely neglected to take Notice of what Prejudice the *French* Trade may be to us in Relation to our Exports to *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Turkey* and *Hamburgh*; for that will afford ample Matter to be the Subject of another Diſcourſe.

The OLD ENGLISH CONSTITUTION, in Relation to the *Hereditary Succeſſion* of the CROWN, antecedent to the *Revolution* in 1688. Printed in the Year 1714.

NO Man hath a more profound Reſpect for the publick Sanctions of my Country than myſelf, I know well they contain the collective Wiſdom of the Nation, and are in a great Meaſure the Ramparts of the Common Property. But at the ſame Time it is to be remembred, that God, Nature, and the immutable Cuſtoms of the Realm have plac'd ſome things above their Influence and Coercion. And we know that the Judges of the Common-Law have in al Ages made bold ſometimes to weigh the Statute-Laws in the Ballance, and for certain Reaſons have now and then adjudged them null and void. Of which I ſhall in their proper Place produce ſome proper Inſtances.

I. But in the firſt Place I ſhall lay this down for a Ground: That the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* by the Laws of God and Nature is inſeparably annexed to Proximity of Blood; and that all Statute-Laws contrary to the Laws of God and Nature are *ipſo facto* null and void.

That the Succeſſion by the Laws of God is inſeparably annexed to Proximity of Blood, appears plainly by that Statute-Law pronounced *Num.* 27. by the Mouth of God, where he by immediate Direction orders the Deſcent of Honours and Poſſeſſions to be conferr'd by Birthright and Propinquity of Blood, and not by the Election or Diſcretion of the Supreme Magiſtrate, or the Community of the People, apart, or conjunctively.

The Prerogative of Primogeniture in Point of Dignity and Poſſeſſion is of the ſame Divine Inſtitution, as appears in ſeveral Places of the Holy Scripture, *Gen.* 4. 7. God ſaid to *Cain* of his younger Brother *Abel*, *His Deſires ſhall be ſubject to thee, thou ſhalt rule over him.* Again, *Deut.* 21. 17. where he forbids the Father to diſinherit the Firſt-born of his double Portion; becauſe by Right of Birth it was due to him. And laſtly, *Exod.* 13. 2. where he maketh Choice of the Firſt-born to be conſecrated to himſelf.

Agreeable to theſe are the Suffrages of the Fathers and Doctors of the Civil and Imperial Law. St. *Jerom* in *Epiſt. ad Onagr.* and in *Gen.* 49. ſaith "That "a Kingdom is due to the Firſt-born." St. *Chryſoſtom*, *Hom.* 5. *adverſ. Judæos*, "The Firſt-born is to be eſteemed more honourable than the reſt." *Bodin. de Repub. l.* 6. *c.* 5. tells us, "That it is not enough that a Kingdom go in Suc-"ceſſion, but that it deſcend alſo upon the eldeſt Iſſue *Male*, where he is next "of Blood: *Sic enim ordo Naturæ*, &c. For ſo, *ſaith he*, not only the Law of "God and Nature, but of all Nations doth require." And *Baldus* the famous Civilian ſaith, *Lex hæc D. de Juſt. & Jure; ſemper fuit, & ſemper erit*, &c. It ever hath been, and always ſhall be, that the Firſt-born and next of Blood ſucceed in the Kingdom. Wherein he is followed with the full Conſent of the moſt unexceptionable Interpreters of Civil and Canon Law, as *Panormitanus, in C. licet de voto. Corſetta Tract. de Pot. & Excell. Regia Alciat. in l. obvenire D. de verb. ſig.* and many others.

What hath been ſaid here of Primogeniture in Point of Succeſſion to the Crown, is likewiſe ſaid with equal Conſequence of Proximity of Blood. For by the Civil Law, if a King have five Sons, and the Firſt-born die before the Succeſſion fall; or if he being poſſeſs'd of the Kingdom die without Heirs of his Body, his Right of Primogeniture devolves to the next of Blood. In this *Albericus* is very expreſs, in *Proem. D. Sect. Diſcipuli, & in l. Donat. c. de Don. inter Vir, & Ux.* And *Baldus in L. 2. c. de Jure Emph.* ſaith, "That Succeſſion "hath Reference to the Time of Death, and reſpecteth the Priority that is then "extant."

Herein the Common Law of this Nation agrees with the Civil Law. And therefore the Second Son of the King of *England*, after the Death of the Firſt-born, is Eldeſt Son, according to the Statute of 25. *Ed.* 3. where it is enacted, "That it ſhall be High Treaſon to compaſs the Death of the King's Eldeſt Son "and Heir, *&c.*" So if the Firſt Son die in the Life-time of the King his Father, the Second Son forthwith becomes *Primogenitus*, or *Firſt-born*, within the Charter of King *Edward* 3. for the Dutchy of *Cornwall*, as it was reſolved in the Caſe of Prince *Charles*, upon the Death of his Elder Brother Prince *Henry*. By which it appears, that Proximity of Blood is ennobled with all the Prerogatives of Primogeniture.

But leaving this Point to the Church-men and Civilians, we will derive our Proofs from the Authority of the Common and Statute-Laws of *England*, from Records of Parliament, and our own Hiſtories, to make it clear that the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* is inſeparably annexed to Proximity of Blood.

Firſt, then it is plain, that all human Acts and Powers in the World cannot hinder the Deſcent of the Crown, upon the next Heir of the Blood; (tho' they may by Violence and Hoſtilities hinder Poſſeſſion) becauſe it is a Dowry which the King of Kings hath reſerved to his own immediate Donation, and hath plac'd above the reach of a mortal Arm: More of which afterwards. But as a Proof of this, by the Law of this Nation in the very moment of the Deſcent, the Perſon on whom it deſcends becomes compleat and abſolute King. And ſo it was expreſly reſolv'd by all the Judges of *England*, 1°. *Jacobi*, *Watſon* and *Clark*'s Caſe cited in *Coke*'s 7. *Rep.* 10. *v.* 11. *Calvin*'s Caſe. And the ſame Perſon being thus compleat and abſolute King by the ſame Deſcent; I farther add, that the Ligeance and Fidelity of the Subject is due to that Perſon by the immutable Law of Nature. And ſo it was ſolemnly adjudged by the Lord Chancellor, and all the Judges of *England*, in the Exchequer Chamber in the great Caſe of *Calvin*, 6 *Jacobi*, *Coke*'s 7. *Rep.* 12. *v.* 13. a. &c. with which concurs that great *Amanuenſis* of Nature, *Ariſtotle* in his *Ethic. ad Nicom.* "By the Law of Nature the "Father hath the Rule over his Children, and the King over his Subjects." And that great Philoſopher *Seneca*, *de Cement. l.* 1. *c.* 19. to the ſame Purpoſe ſays, "*Natura commenta eſt Regem.* Nature did firſt find out a King." And for this Reaſon, our Statute-Laws do ſo frequently ſtile the King, our Natural Liege Lord, and the People Natural Liege Subjects, and their Ligeance to the Crown, Natural Obedience. This more plainly appears in Indictments of Treaſon; as in that of the Lord *Dacre*, upon the Northern Rebellion, 26. *H.* 8. where it is ſaid, that the ſaid Lord *Dacre*, not regarding the Faith, which he did Naturally and of Right owe to the King, *&c.* And Cardinal *Pool* was indicted

dicted, 30. *H.* 8. for committing Treaſon agrinſt the Lord the King, his Supreme and Natural Lord. And the conſtant Forms of Indictments run the ſame.

Secondly, It is the very Footſtep of a Law founded in Nature, that a King diſplac'd is never in a State of Reſt, till it be reduc'd to its native Centre. For tho' human Laws may be worn out by Deſuetude or tacit Conſent, yet the Inſtitutions of Nature will never be aboliſhed by the longeſt Tracts of Time, but will retain their natural Inclination of returning; and of this kind is the Law of Succeſſion to the Crown by the Right Heir. For we find in the Stories of all Nations, that during Uſurpations, tho' countenanced by publick Eſtabliſhments, thoſe States where they have happened, have continued under Convulſion, like a magnetick Needle, which never ceaſes trembling, till it finds out its beloved North Pole. I ſhall extract ſome few Inſtances of this out of our own Memoirs; and for Brevity's Sake aſcend no higher than the *Norman* Conqueſt. And theſe ſhall be of Uſurpations upon the Crown, countenanc'd by the publick Sanctions of this State.

The Second *William*, and Firſt *Henry* uſurp'd the Crown, and this Realm remain'd under continual Inquietude and Commotion, till the Death of *Robert* their Elder Brother, and his Son *William* without Iſſue, by which the Right of the Crown centred in the ſaid *Henry*.

The Uſurpation of *Stephen* upon *Maud* the Empreſs, Daughter and Heir of the ſaid *Henry*, was attended with Tragical Convulſions of this Nation, which never ceaſed till the Reſtoration of the Right Heir *Henry* II. Son of *Maud*, in which *Henry*, the *Saxon* Blood was likewiſe reſtor'd, his Grandmother being next Heir of the Blood to *Edgar Atheling*.

Upon the the Diſinheriſon of the Houſe of *York* by that of *Lancaſter*, this State felt unparallel'd Shocks and Diſorders. There were fought in this Iſland during this Storm 17 pitch'd Battles, and no leſs than 8 Kings and Princes of the Blood, 40 Dukes, Marqueſſes and Earls, beſides Barons and Gentlemen, and 200,000 of the Common People deſtroy'd. And this Uſurpation continued 60 Years, yet the Body politick enjoyed little Eaſe, till it had purged out the Uſurpers.

The Uſurpation of King *Richard* III. determined in his Death, and the Introduction of the Right Heir ſome time after.

That of *Jane Grey* of the Houſe of *Suffolk* was but an Offer of Uſurpation, being a Quotidian Ague that laſted but 9 Days, and ended upon the Reſtitution of Queen *Mary*.

Laſtly, It is Matter of freſh and bleeding Experience, what Agonies the *Engliſh* Nation felt after that fatal and impious Stroke given to King *Charles* I. of ever Glorious Memory. Nature is wanting in adequate Metaphors, to expreſs ſo great a Calamity. This State was like the Demoniac in the Goſpel; and there was no Intermiſſion till the Evil Spirit was diſpoſſeſs'd, and K. *Charles* II. reſtor'd to that Crown, which God, Nature, and the immutable Cuſtoms of this Nation had given him.

From theſe Inſtances it evidently appears, that the Succeſſion of the Crown to the next of Blood is a Law Eternal, written by the immediate Hand of God and Nature. And tho' Nature may for ſome Time be repell'd by Human Vio-

lence

lence, yet it will ſooner or later return with greater Vigour. And where-ever this Rule of Nature hath been impeached and violated, that hath evermore been done by the immediate and moſt viſible Act and Finger of the Divinity itſelf, who is King of Kings, by whom they Reign, and that giveth the Kingdoms of Men to whom he will, as the Scripture tells us: And who being the Creator of Nature, can alone, when it pleaſeth him, controul her Methods and Operations, as appears by the Interruptions of the Succeſſions of *David*, *Solomon*, *Jehu*, &c. 1 *Sam.* 16. 1. and 2 *Kings*, 9. 4. But they, that from Inſtances of this kind, imagine that they may maintain the Lawfulneſs of impeaching the Succeſſion in the true Line, may as well infer, that they may lawfully rob and ſpoil their Neighbours, becauſe God commanded the *Iſraelites* to ſpoil the *Egyptians*, *Exod.* 11. 2. and 12. 35. In thoſe Caſes we are bound to the Law, but not to the Example.

I come now to the Records of Parliament, which ſhall be three in Number.

Firſt, That of the 39th of *Henry* VI. wherein the daring *Richard Plantaginet* Duke of *York*, by his Council exhibited to the Lords, in full Parliament, a Writing, containing his Right and Claim to the Crowns of *England* and *France*. Againſt which Claim it was objected on the King's Part, that the ſame Crowns had been entailed, by Act of Parliament, upon the King's Grandfather King *Henry* IV. and the Heirs of his Body, from whence the ſame King *Henry* VI. did lineally deſcend. *The which Act* (ſay the King's Friends there) *is of no Authoritee to defeat eny mannere Title made to eny Perſon*, (for ſo are the Words.) To which Objection the ſaid Duke of *York* anſwereth, (I ſhall cite the Words of the Record, as they are enter'd in the old *Engliſh*) "That if King *Henry* IV. "might have obteigned and rejoyſed the ſeyd Corones of *England* and *Fraunce* "by Title of Enheritaunce, Deſcent or Succeſſion, he neither needed nor would "have deſired, or made them to be granted to him, in ſuch wiſe as they be by "the ſeyd Act; the which taketh noo Place, neither is of any Force or Effect "againſt him, that is right Enheritor of the ſeyd Corones; as it accordeth with "God's Laws, and all natural Laws," (ſaith the Roll.) And this Anſwer to the King's Title, is afterwards by expreſs Act of the ſame Parliament declar'd and recogniz'd to be "good, true, juſt, lawful and ſuffiſaunt," as it is there worded. And at the ſame Time for preventing the Effuſion of Blood, an Accord by the ſaid Duke is eſtabliſh'd, That King *Henry* VI. ſhall during his Life enjoy the Crown, and that from thenceforth the Duke of *York* ſhall be reputed Heir Apparent to the Crown. *Rot. Parl.* 39. *H. VI. num.* 10. 13. 15. 27.

The next Record is that of 1 *Ed.* IV. in which that Parliament hath in a long Pedigree diſclos'd the Title of King *Edward* to the Crown, adding theſe Words; "Knowing alſo certainly without Doubt and Ambiguity, that by God's Law "and the Law of Nature, he (i. e. K. Ed. IV.) and none other, is and ought "to be true, rightwys, and natural Liege and Sovereign Lord. And that he "was in Right from the Death of the ſeyd noble and famous Prince his Father, "very juſt King of the ſaid Realm of *England*; *Rot. Parl.* 1 *Ed.* 4. *num.* 8. "&c. and 9. *Ed.* 4. 10. *a. Bagot's Aſſize.*

So that here it is expreſly declared by two Parliaments of different Complexion and Intereſt, that the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, is inſeparably annexed to Proximity of Blood, by the Laws of God and Nature.

The

The laſt Record is the Statute of Recognition, made in the 1ſt Year of King *James* I. by the whole Parliament, in which among other Things, " they do in " moſt humble manner beſeech his Majeſty, that as a Memorial to all Poſterity, " it might be publickly declared and enacted in the High Court of Parliament, " that they being bound thereunto by the Laws of God and Man, did with un- " ſpeakable Joy recognize and acknowledge, that immediately upon the De- " ceaſe of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Imperial Crown of *England*, &c. did by inhe- " rent Right, and lawful and undoubted Right of Succeſſion, deſcend and come " to his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, as being lineally, juſtly, and lawfully next " and ſole Heir of the Blood-Royal of this Realm. And that by the Goodneſs " of God Almighty, and lawful Right of Deſcent, his Majeſty was King of " *England*, &c. And to this Recognition we do *(ſay they)* moſt humbly and " faithfully ſubmit, and oblige ourſelves and Poſterities for ever, until the laſt " Drop of our Blood be ſpent.

And all the Judges of *England*, ſome time after in the great Caſe of *Calvin* in the Exchequer Chamber do reſolve, " That King *James*'s Title to the Crown " was founded upon the Law of Nature, *viz.* by inherent Birthright and De- " ſcent from the Blood-Royal of this Realm." So that this Parliament doth not pretend to give any Title to King *James* or his Poſterity, by their own Act and Eſtabliſhment, but on the contrary, doth expreſly recognize, that the ſame King's Right and Title to the Crown doth accrue to him by the Laws of God and Nature, as the ſaid Judges do declare. By all which it moſt manifeſtly appears, that in the Opinion of the three ſeveral Parliaments, the Succeſſion of the Crown is united to Proximity of Blood by the Laws Divine, Natural and Human; which triple Sanction is not eaſily broken; together with the Reſolution of all the Judges of *England* in the Point, which (as our Law Books tell us) in Matters of Law is the moſt ſacred Authority, next to the Court of Parliament.

The next Thing I come to prove is, that Statute Laws contrariant to the Laws of God and Nature, are *ipſo facto* null and void. And here firſt I ſhall obſerve, that by a profound Policy of our Law, the ſole Power of expounding Statute-Laws, relating either to Church or State, is intruſted and lodged in the Judges of the Common-Law, as King *Charles* I. hath noted in his Speech to both Houſes, upon paſſing the Bills 3° of his Reign. See *Poulton*'s *Statutes* 3 *Car.* 1. And as the Authorities of the Law are very clear, ſo the Judges have exerted their conſtructive Power in expounding Statute-Laws, ſometimes even null and void, for certain Reaſons to them appearing. See *Coke*'s 1. *Inſt.* 344. *a.*

As ſometimes for Repugnancy: And therefore where the Statute of *Carliſle* enacted, that the common Seal of the *Ciſtercian* and *Auguſtine* Monks ſhould be in the Cuſtody of the Abbot, and four others of the Convents; and that any Deed ſeal'd with the ſame Seal, not ſo kept, ſhould be of no Effect; this Statute was adjudg'd void for Repugnancy, becauſe the Seal being in the Cuſtody of the four, the Abbots could not ſeal with it; and when it was in the Hands of the Abbot, it was out of the Cuſtody of the four. And ſo by this Statute theſe two Orders could make no Deed valid in Law. See 27 *Hen.* VI. *Finch Title Annuity* 41.

Sometimes for Abſurdity, as where the Statute of *Ed.* VI. gives Chantries to the King, ſaving to the Donors and Founders all Services, *&c.* 1 *Ed.* VI. *c.* 14.

This

This Act was adjudged void as to the Services; for it is abſurd, and contrary to common Reaſon, (ſaith the Book) that the King ſhould hold of, or do Service to his Subjects, 14 *Eliz. Dyer.* 3. 13. *a. Mich.* 16. *&* 17 *Eliz.* &c. *B. Strowd*'s Caſe cited in *Coke*'s 8 *Rep.* 118. *v.*

Laſtly, The Judges have expounded Statute Laws void in themſelves, when they are contrary to God and Nature; and they are bound to adjudge them ſo, becauſe the Laws of God and Nature being eternal and immutable, they cannot be altered by any human Authority, but only by the God of Nature, who did ordain them. Therefore, if it ſhould be enacted, that no Man ſhould honour the King, love his Parents or Children, or give Alms to the Poor, theſe Acts are void *ipſo facto*, as contrary to the expreſs Divine Commands. *Dr. and Stud. l.* 1. *c.* 6. 21 *Hen.* VII. 2. *v.*

So where a Man was made Judge in his own Cauſe by Act of Parliament, this Act hath been adjudged; becauſe (ſay our Books) it is contrary to the Law of Nature, that one and the ſame Perſon ſhould be Judge and Party. *Coke*'s 8 *Rep. a. & v. Dr.* Bonham's *Caſe.* Hobart's *Rep.* 87. *day. v.* Savadge.

By the Statute of 25 *Ed.* III. *cap.* 22. a Man attainted in a *Præmunire* is out of the King's Protection; by which Words any one might ſlay him, (as it is holden 28 *Hen.* VIII. *Title* Crown *Br.* 197.) till the Statute 5 *Eliz.* 1. yet the King may protect and pardon him, becauſe the Protection of the Sovereign to the Subject is due by the Law of Nature. *Coke*'s 7 *Rep.* 14. *a. Calvin*'s Caſe.

The Statute 23 *Hen.* VI. *cap.* 8. and ſeveral others enact, that no Man ſhall be Sheriff of any County above one Year; and that any Patent of the King to any Perſon for a longer Term, tho' with an expreſs Clauſe of *non obſtante*, ſhall be abſolutely void, and the Patentee for ever diſabled to bear the Office. And yet it is reſolved by all the Judges of *England*, that theſe Acts of Parliament are void, becauſe ſuch Act of Parliament cannot bar the King of the Service of the Subject, which the immutable Law of Nature doth give unto him. See 2 *Hen.* VII. 6. *v. Calvin*'s Caſe, 14. *a.* in *Coke*'s 7 *Rep.*

II. The Succeſſion of the Crown to the next Heir of the Blood Royal, is a fundamental and primary Conſtitution of this Realm, and, indeed, the Baſis and Foundation of all our Laws. Sir *Ed. Coke*, in his Preface to his *fourth Report*, in the Beginning, ſays, *That the Kingdom of* England *is a Monarchy ſucceſſive by inherent Birthright, of all others the moſt abſolute and perfect Form of Government, excluding* Interregnums, *and with them infinite Inconveniencies.* The Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, in his Argument of the Caſe of the *Poſtnati*, pag. 36. tells us, *That in Caſe of the Crown, the Eldeſt, ſole* (*or alone*) *is to be preferred.* And this he reckons among the antient Cuſtoms of this Nation, *againſt which*, ſaith he, *there never hath been, nor ought to be any Diſpute.* And indeed, if Parliaments may alter ſo eſſential and fundamental a Conſtitution, the Monarchy of *England*, which hath been Hereditary by Law, will become Elective, and diſpoſable at the Arbitry and Will of the People. And by the ſame Rule that they may exclude the next Heir, they may the next to that, and ſo by Conſequence the whole Line. But tho' the Common Law of *England* doth allow the Parliament to repair and mend the Building, yet it doth not allow them to pull it down, and ſubvert the Foundation of it. And it may juſtly be ſuſpected, that ſuch Electors may in time believe, that they have a Power to unmake what they can

ſo

ſo eaſily make. And this was the Reaſon, that thoſe Kings of *England* who had ſubmitted their Necks to this Popular or Statute Kingſhip, were conſtrained to be always on their Guard, and to defend their wrongful Poſſeſſions by the Sword, as well againſt their Electors, as the right Heirs, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew. And this Alteration of the Monarchy, in ſo fundamental a Part thereof, from Inheritance to Election, may prove equally miſchievous alſo to a King in Poſſeſſion, tho' he claim too by inherent and undoubted Birthright: For the ſame Reaſon, which the People may think ſufficient to exclude the right Heir, may, when they pleaſe, be deemed valid enough alſo to depoſe and eject the Poſſeſſor of the Crown, be his Title lawful or not; which is a dangerous Conſequence, and for which the ſupreme Governor is not oblig'd to theſe new Scheme-mongers, who by limiting Obedience to Poſſeſſion only, firſt deſtroy all Notion of Right and Wrong, and, in the next Place, make the Enjoyment of a Crown ſo precarious and inſecure, that no Man in his Wits would venture to wear it.

III. The Succeſſion of the Crown to the next Heir of the Blood, is one of the higheſt, moſt eſſential, and undivided Rights of the Crown, and a Pearl of the moſt tranſparent Oriency and Magnitude in the Imperial Diadem of *England*. And the Kings of *England* themſelves, their Chancellors, Treaſurers, and all great Officers of State, their Privy Counſellors, and the Judges (who are only to expound all Statutes by which this Right of Succeſſion may be violated) are all, by Proviſion of the Law, ſolemnly ſworn, upon the holy Evangeliſts, to maintain and defend the Rights of the Crown, and that they ſuffer no Diſinheriſon or Damage to accrue thereto, 18 *Ed.* III. *The Oath of the Judges in* Poulton. And every Member of the Commons Houſe, by the 5th *Eliz. c.* 1. is obliged, before he enter, or have Voice in the ſaid Houſe, to ſwear that he will, to his Power, defend all Juriſdictions, Privileges, *&c.* annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and if he do not, he ſhall be no Member, and further puniſhed. And the Oath to be taken at Court Leets all over the Kingdom, by every Subject above twelve Years old, is, That he will be true and faithful to the Sovereign and his Heirs, *&c. Coke*'s 7th *Rep.* 6. *v.* Calvin's *Caſe*. And it is remarkable, that in the Parliament of 42 *Ed.* III. the Lords and Commons being demanded their Advice by the King, in a Matter relating to the Crown, did anſwer unanimouſly, that they would not aſſent to any Thing in Parliament that tended to the Diſinheriſon of the King and his Heirs, or the Crown, whereunto they were ſworn. *Rot. Parl.* 42. *Ed.* III. *num.* 7. And Sir *Ed. Coke*, commenting upon that Record, ſaith, *That it is a Law and Cuſtom of Parliament, that no King can alien the Crown from the right Heir, tho' by Conſent of the Lords and Commons*, 4 *Inſt.* 14 *in Margin*. And in another Place he ſaith, *That King* John's *Reſignation of the Crown to the Pope was utterly void, becauſe the Royal Dignity is an inſeparable Inherent to the Royal Blood of the King, deſcendable to the next of Blood of the King, and cannot be transferred to another*, 12 *Rep.* 28. And which is much more, in 1 *Jac. c.* 1. there is a Recognition of the Parliament, that the Crown of *England* is lawfully deſcended unto King *James*, his Progeny and Poſterity.

To leave no room for ſtarting new Principles, I ſhall anſwer ſome few Objections, and ſo conclude.

1. There are ſeveral Inſtances of Kings of this Nation, whoſe Titles to the Crown depended purely upon the Election of the People, and Acts of Parliament, and not upon Proximity of Blood, and inherent Birthright; as K. *John*, *Henry* IV. *Henry* VII. And *Henry* VIII. entailing the Crown upon himſelf and Children by Act of Parliament.

I anſwer, That theſe Titles were never look'd upon as good, or Bars againſt the right Heirs.

Firſt, As for K. *John*, it is plain he was King *de facto*, but not *de jure*; for he invaded the Crown againſt the Right of his Nephew *Arthur*, who was the Son of *Geoffry*, *John*'s eldeſt Brother, as all the Hiſtories of that Time do obſerve and lament. And therefore wanting that Title which God, Nature, and the immutable Cuſtoms of this Realm give to the right Heir, he was conſtrained to pray in Aid of the People, and to patch up a Title from them by Election. The Story is thus in *Matthew Paris*, a learned Monk, who lived in that Time, and who became afterwards Chronologer Royal to King *Henry* II. "*John*, "upon the Death of his Brother King *Richard* I. was advanced to the Throne "by the Favour of the great Miniſters of State; and at his Coronation, *Hubert* "Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor of *England*, (a Man of great Sub-"tilty) tells the Nobility, Clergy, and Populace, in a very fine Harangue, "that no Man whatſoever was to ſucceed in this Kingdom, unleſs he were elect-"ed by the Univerſality of the People, with Conſideration had of his Virtues, "after the Example of *Saul*'s Election: And then he added, that *John* was a "qualified Perſon in that kind, and therefore they ought to chuſe him for their "King. But Archbiſhop *Hubert* being afterwards demanded, how he durſt, "in ſuch an Aſſembly, affirm, that the Monarchy was elective, he replied, "that he had it by Revelation and Prophecy, that *John* would, ſome Time or "other, endanger the Realm; and that he might curb him, he did pronounce "him admitted to the Crown by Election, and not by hereditary Succeſſion." So that this was done only by way of Umbrage and Hypocriſy, to ſerve a Turn. And truly, the good People did accordingly, ſome Time after, check this unfortunate King, and bring him to a low Condition, chuſing the *French* King's Son their King. So that King *John*'s Tenure was good no longer than he could maintain it with his Sword, which is the Caſe of Thieves and Pyrates.

Secondly, For K. *Henry* IV. he was likewiſe a *de facto* King only; for he laid violent Hands upon the Crown, by the treaſonable and barbarous Depoſition and Murder of his natural Lord and Sovereign K. *Richard* II. after whoſe Death, without Iſſue, the Legal Title remain'd in the Houſe of *Clarence*, which was the Elder Line; and ſo K. *H.* IV. was forc'd to truckle under an Election of the People, and their Eſtabliſhment in Parliament, which Eſtabliſhment was *ipſo facto* void in Law againſt the Houſe of *York*, (which married after with the Houſe of *Clarence*) ſee *Rot. Parl.* 29. *H.* 6. *num.* 10. 13. 15. 27. And truly this King conſidering how much a Title to the Crown by Common Law and inherent Birthright exceeded a Title by Statute, and the People's Suffrage, made his ſolemn Claim to the Crown in Parliament by Deſcent from K. *Henry* III. which, tho' it was a notarious Figment, he looked upon to be a better Security than popular Eſtabliſhment. See *Rot. Parl.* 1 *H.* IV. *Memb.* 20.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, For King *Henry* VII. he was alſo King *de facto*, the Title abiding in *Elizabeth* the Eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV.

King *Henry* VII. laid Claim to the Crown, as deſcending in a right Line from *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, Eldeſt Son to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, by his Third Wife *Katharine Swinford*; by which *Katharine* the ſame *John* of *Gaunt* had Iſſue the ſaid D. of *Somerſet* and other Children before Marriage with her, and during his Marriage with his Second Wife the Lady *Conſtance*, Daughter and Heir to *Peter* King of *Caſtile*. So that theſe Children were Baſtards by our Law, and conſequently incapable of inheriting. After the Death of his Second Wife, *John* of *Gaunt*, for the paſſionate Affection he bore to his Children by *Katharine*, married her, and procured them to be legitimated by Act of Parliament, and made inheritable to all Preheminencies, Honours, Dignities, *&c.* excepting the Regal Dignity. *Rot. Parl.* 20. *R.* 2. *n.* 29. *Rot. Parl.* 20. *R.* 1. 2. *Pars ſecunda Memb.* 6. *Rot. Parl.* 8. *H.* 4. *Pars prima Memb.* 14. Beſides *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond* and *Derby*, the Mother of King *Henry* VII. and thro' whom he muſt neceſſarily derive whatever Title he can pretend to, died after him in 1 *H.* VIII. And therefore this Prince having ſo many Flaws in his Title, and knowing that the Laws divine, natural and human were againſt him, it's no wonder he ſo much courted the People, and was ſo ſollicitous for an Eſtabliſhment by them; for it is plain he laid no great Streſs upon his own Title: Nor did he rely much upon his Statute Title, as appears by two Acts of Parliament.

I. By that very Statute-Law by which the Crown was eſtabliſhed upon him; for as my Lord *Bacon*, *Hiſt.* 11. 12. hath obſerv'd, he did not deſire to have that Act penn'd by way of Declaration or Recognition of Right, or to have it by any new Law, but choſe rather a Sort of middle Way, by way of Eſtabliſhment, and that under covert and indifferent Words, *viz.* "That the Inheri-"tance of the Crown ſhould reſt, remain and abide in the King, *&c.*" Which Words might equally be applied, that the Crown would continue to him, but whether as having Right to it, (which was doubtful) or having it in then in Fact and Poſſeſſion, was left fair to Interpretation every way.

II. From the 11 *H.* VII. *c.* 1. which he procur'd to be made in the 11*th.* of his Reign, in which it was enacted, "That no Perſon that ſhall ſerve the King "for the Time being (for ſo are the very words) in his Wars ſhall be attainted "or impeach'd in his Perſon and Eſtate, what Fortune ſoever fall by Chance "of Battle, againſt the Mind and Will of the ſame King for the Time being."

The Lord Chancellor *Bacon* in his *Hiſt.* of *H.* VII. *fol.* 144. comments very handſomely upon this Act of Parliament: This Law, ſaith he, had in it Parts of prudent and deep Foreſight, for it took away occaſion for the People to buſy themſelves in prying into the King's Title to the Crown; for howſoever that fell out to be good or bad, the People's Safety was provided for. And the ſame Author in the Cloſe of this King's Life, *ibid. fol.* 233. & 217. reckons his opportune and ſeaſonable Death among his greateſt Felicities, which withdrew him from any future Blow of Fortune; and which (continued he) in regard of the Title of his Son, being then 18 Years of Age, and a forward Prince, had not been impoſſible to come upon him: Becauſe upon the Death of King *Henry*'s Queen in whom the true Title lodged, and who died ſome Years before, the Crown immediately by the Law of *England* deſcended upon Prince *Henry*; for

there can be no Tenancy by the Courteſy of the Crown. So that in the Opinion of this Lord Chancellor alſo, this King's Title by Statute was of ſmall Account, in Reſpect of that of his Son by Common Law. By all which it plainly appears, that this King had no legal or inherent Right of his own to the Crown, and therefore contrary to his own Inclination, he was conſtrain'd to ſtoop to an Eſtabliſhment of the People, which was notwithſtanding null in Law.

For King *Henry* VIII. tho' he was undoubtedly King *de jure*, yet there happened in this Prince's Caſe certain odd Circumſtances, which neceſſitated him, contrary to his better Knowledge, to allow his People a Share in ordering the Succeſſion to the Crown. And therefore by the Statute 25. *H.* 8. *c.* 22. he confirms his Divorce from *Katharine*, and baſtardizeth *Mary* her Daughter, and makes her inheritable to the Crown. The Legitimation or Baſtardy of theſe two Daughters depending much upon the Validity or Weakneſs of the Papal Diſpenſation in the firſt Marriage; and this being a perplex'd Queſtion in thoſe Days, he hoped to have cut this Gordian Knot with the Sword, and pretended Omnipotency of a Parliament. And then after he had done this, he forthwith marries *Jane Seymour*, and by Statute 28 *Henry* VIII. *c.* 7. attaints Wife *Ann* and baſtardizeth *Elizabeth* her Daughter; and breaking down the Boundaries of all Law and Common Reaſon, he procures it to be enacted, "That in Caſe he "had no Iſſue by *Jane*, he might diſpoſe of the Crown to whatſoever Perſon he "did in his own Diſcretion think fit." And the whole Nation was oblig'd by the Sanctimony of an Oath to the Defence of this Law. This he did that he might advance to the Throne his natural Son *Henry Fitz-Roy* Duke of *Richmond*, (who died ſoon after) whom he loved moſt paſſionately, and ſo to exclude for ever his Siſter *Margaret* of *Scotland*, and all her Deſcendants. See *Heylin's Eccleſia reſtaurata*, *fol.* 6. Then by the Statute of 35 *Henry* VIII. *c.* 1. he entails the Crown upon himſelf, Prince *Edward*, and the ſaid *Mary* and *Elizabeth*; and in caſe they happened to have no Iſſue, he was again impowet'd by the ſame Act of Parliament, to diſpoſe of the Crown to whatſoever Perſon or Perſons he pleaſed by his laſt Will and Teſtament: and the whole Nation was likewiſe ſworn to the Maintenance of this Law. And by virtue of his extravagant Power, in Caſe his Children died without Iſſue, as afterwards they did, he bequeathed the Crown to the Houſe of *Suffolk*, being the younger Houſe, and in defiance of all Laws Human and Brotherly Affection diſinherited and totally excluded the elder Houſe of *Scotland*. Theſe Niceties and Deſigns conſider'd, it's plain K. *Henry* was conſtrain'd to pray in Aid of the People to give ſome Colour to all theſe Contradiction and Inconſiſtencies. And therefore, I conceive, that no Man of common Reaſon will draw Arguments from the Statutes abovemention'd to prove that the Parliament of *England* could by them exclude the next Heir of the Blood.

By the whole Matter of this firſt Objection it appears, that the Princes, which ſubmitted to thoſe tumultuous and Statute-Kingſhips, did it, either becauſe they invaded and uſurped the Crown, contrary to the Laws Divine, Natural, and Human, or to give a Colour to their own private Deſigns. And yet after all theſe popular Eſtabliſhments, fenc'd with the Sanctions of Oaths, they could not transfer the Right from the next Heir of the Blood; that being God's immediate Donation. For tho' an Act of Parliament ſhall command me to ſay,

that

than an *Ethiopian* is white, and that, under the higheſt Oaths and Penalties; or that an Ape is a Man; yet notwithſtanding the *Ethiopian* can never in Truth change his Skin, or Complexion, nor the Ape his Species, and commence a Creature rational.

II. Some may, by way of Objection, aſk, why may not the Crown be tranſferred from the next Heir of the Blood by Parliament, as well as all other Inheritances, and Poſſeſſions in the Kingdom may from the Right Heir of the Subject?

In anſwer to this, I ſay there is no Similitude between the Caſes. For, firſt, Private Men derive their Inheritances from their Anceſtors; but the next Heir of the Blood Royal derives not the Crown from his Predeceſſors, nor from the People, but immediately from God; as I have prov'd already in the Beginning of this Argument. And no Perſon, or Community can give away or transfer a Thing, which they never had veſted in them, either in Poſſeſſion, or in Right.

Secondly, The Law of the Crown (which is a principal Part of the Common Law of *England*) differs from the Law of the Subject in Point of Deſcent; and therefore that may be Law in caſe of the Crown, which is not in caſe of the Subject; *Cok.* 1. *v.* & 344. *a* 1. of which I ſhall here give ſome Inſtances.

A Private Man being an *Alien* born cannot by our Law inherit Land here; but the Crown ſhall deſcend upon the next Heir of the Blood, though an *Alien*, as in the Caſe of *Henry* II. who was born an *Alien*, and begot by an *Alien*: As likewiſe in the Caſe of King *James* I.

If a King of *England* have three Daughters, and Dye, the Crown ſhall deſcend upon the Eldeſt alone; but in Caſe of a Subject the Inheritance ſhall go to all three Daughters. *Cok.* 1. *Inſt.* 165. *a.* 25. *H.* 8. c. 22.

If a Subject marry an Heireſs, and have Iſſue by her, a Son, and the Wife die, the Huſband ſhall enjoy the Wife's Lands during his Life; but if a Man marry a Queen Regnant of *England*, and hath by her a Son or a Daughter, and then ſhe dies, the Crown deſcends immediately upon the Iſſue, tho' the Father be alive. *Elleſmere's Poſtnati* 36. *Lord* Bacon's *H.* 7. *Fol.* 4. 121. 217. 231.

So the half Blood is no Impediment to the Deſcent of the Land of the Crown, as it happened in the Caſes of *Edward* VI. and the two Queens, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*; and yet in the Caſes of Subjects it is clearly otherwiſe. *Plowd. Com.* 245. *a. Co.* 7. *Rep.* 12. *v. Poſtnati. Co. Inſt.* 15. *v.*

So likewiſe if the right Heir of the Blood, or the Father or Mother of the right Heir from whom the Crown deſcends, are attainted of High Treaſon by Parliament, theſe Attainders are no Obſtructions to the Deſcent of the Crown, as it happened in the Caſes of our King *Edward* IV. and his Father, who were both attainted of High Treaſon, and Executed, and yet the Judges and Commiſſioners that gave Sentence upon her ſet forth a publick Declaration, that the Attainder of the Mother did not derogate from the Right of her Son to the Crown of *England*, *Cambd. vit. Eliſ. Reg.* 28. 1586. But all Men know 'tis otherwiſe in the Caſe of Subjects, whoſe Deſcents are obſtructed by the Attainders

ders of their Anceſtors. By theſe few Inſtances it appears, that though an Inheritance may thus be given away from a Subject, yet it doth not in any wiſe follow, that the Crown may be diſpoſed from the next Heir.

III. The third and laſt Objection is founded upon the Statute of 13° *Eliſ.* cap. 1. wherein it is enacted, *that if any Perſon ſhall affirm, that the Parliament of* England *hath not full Power to bind and govern the Crown in Point of Succeſſion and Deſcent, and ſuch Perſon (during the Queen's Life) ſhall be guilty of High Treaſon, and after her Death ſhall forfeit his Goods and Chattels*, &c.

In anſwer to this it is to be obſerv'd, Firſt, that this Law was made in the Time of a Queen, whoſe Title to the Crown depended upon Statute Law, as appears by the very Act recognizing her Title to the Crown; 1 *Eliſ. cha.* 3. And this Act 13° was made an Affirmance and Vindication of ſuch Title to the Crown by Statute, as is plain from the Body of the ſame Act; and therefore this Queen had little Reaſon to ſcruple the paſſing a Bill of this Nature. But I much doubt, whether a Common Law-Prince, who owes his Title only to God, Nature, and the immutable Cuſtoms of the Nation, unleſs under like Circumſtances with King *Henry* III. would have aſſented to an Act ſo derogatory to the Regalities, by reaſon of the manifeſt Inconveniencies that might enſue to himſelf and Poſterity by ſuch Aſſent and Condeſcention.

Secondly, Sir *Edward Coke*, 1. *Inſt.* 43. *a.* 4. *Inſt.* 52. admoniſhes us, that the true Scope and Deſign of our Statute Laws are oftentimes unintelligible, without the help of the Chronicles and Memoirs of the Age, wherein they were made: Of which there cannot be a more pregnant Inſtance than this here. And therefore I will in Charity believe, that the Contrivers of this Objection did never rightly inform themſelves of the Hiſtory and true Reaſon of making this Statute, which in Truth was this, according to *Cambden*'s *Vit. Eliſ.*

Some time before this Statute, *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, Dowager of *France* and Mother of our King *James* I. being defeated in Battle by her rebellious Subjects of *Scotland*, fled into the Boſom of her Kingſwoman *Elizabeth* of *England* for Protection; who inheriting her Father's Averſion to the Houſe of *Scotland*, contrary to the Royal Sympathies, which our Sovereign ought to have for another in Diſtreſs, and indeed againſt the Rules of Common Hoſpitality, commits *Mary* to a loathſome Priſon. The Pope with ſome of the Catholick Princes and others of her Friends endeavour to ſet her at Liberty, and to advance her to the Throne, that Age looking upon *Mary*'s Title to be much clearer than that of the Queen in Poſſeſſion, ſhe having been baſtardized, and was at beſt but a Statute Queen. But *Mary* derived by the common Law, and a direct true Line from *Margaret* the eldeſt Daughter of King *Henry* VII. and *Elizabeth* his Queen. Beſides, in the Year this Statute was made, there was a Marriage propoſed between Queen *Elizabeth* and *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, and no ſmall Care taken to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion upon the Iſſue proceeding from the ſame Marriage. And there is a remarkable Cauſe in the ſame Statute of 13. *viz. That every Perſon, of what Degree or Nation ſoever, who ſhall during the Queen's Life Declare or Publiſh, that they have any Right to enjoy the Crown of* England, *during the Queen's Life, ſhall be diſenabled to enjoy the Crown in Succeſſion after the Queen's Death.* Which Clauſe was moſt apparently contriv'd againſt the ſame *Mary* and her King *James*.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, This Act of 13. being a Law made in Diminution, or rather in open and hoſtile Defiance of the Title of *Scotland* to this Crown, it was by tacit and implied Conſent ofthe Law, and the whole Nation, utterly abrogated upon the firſt Moment of the Union of the Two Crowns in the Perſon of King *James* I. or at leaſt by the ſolemn and expreſs Repeal, 4. *Jac. cap.* 1. of all hoſtile and unkind Laws between *England* and *Scotland*, of which I am ſure this of 13. was none of the leaſt.

A Brief HISTORY of the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*. Wherein Facts, collected from the beſt Authorities, are oppos'd to the novel Aſſertors of indefeaſible Hereditary Right. By Lord SOMERS. Printed in the Year 1714.

The PREFACE.

THE great Noiſe that has of late been revived about the Hereditary Right which the next of Blood in the Royal Family has to the Crown of Great-Britain, *makes me believe the Re-printing the following Hiſtory at this time may be of Service, eſpecially to ſuch as have not Opportunity or Leiſure to peruſe our Hiſtories at large. It was Collected and firſt Publiſhed in King* Charles *the* IId's *time, when the Endeavour was made to ſet aſide the then Popiſh Heir, and afterwards Reprinted at the Time of the Revolution, to ſhew in a ſhort Compaſs what Notion our Anceſtors, as well Princes as People in all Times had of this Matter; by which I think it does ſufficiently appear, That even our Princes themſelves have all of them eſteemed that the beſt Title which came by Act of Settlement, and thoſe who received the Crown by Deſcent have ſeldom thought themſelves rightly fixed, untill they had obtain'd ſome Act of Recognition.*

The References in the Margin readily direct how to examine the Truth of the Facts; and the whole I hope may ſerve to make us more cautious than implicitly to follow thoſe Mens Opinions with relation to the Settlement of the Crown, on which the Welfare of whole Kingdoms depend, whoſe Advice we would not be determined by in the Settlement of an Eſtate of 50 l. per Annum, or *a Mortgage for* 100 l.

MEN

MEN generally at preſent buſy themſelves in diſcourſing about the Succeſſion, and therefore cannot but be pleaſed to have a ſhort Hiſtory of it ſet before them: For by ſeeing how the Crown has deſcended, and in what Manner, and upon what Grounds the natural Courſe of the Deſcent hath been changed, they will be enabled to judge what has been the Opinion of all Ages in this ſo controverted a Point, and thereby may ſafely direct their own. *(a)*

Nothing certain has come down to us of the Nature of the Government of this Iſland before the *Romans* came hither; only this we learn from *Cæſar*, and *Strabo*, and *Tacitus*, That the *Britains* were ſubject to many Princes and States, nor conſulting in common, but always ſuſpecting, and frequently warring with one another.

During the *Heptarchy*, whilſt every Kingdom was govern'd by different Laws, we cannot think they agree in one Rule of Succeſſion: But, if that does not, I am ſure, the reading the many Changes and Confuſions of thoſe Times muſt convince any Man, that their Rule was uncertain, or elſe that they had no Rule at all.

Thoſe ſeven Kingdoms were at laſt under *Egbert:* But yet our Hiſtorians who lived neareſt thoſe Times, expreſs themſelves ſo oddly in this Matter, and do ſo conſtantly mention the Election of almoſt every King before they tell us of his Coronation, that ſome learned Men have doubted, Whether before the Conqueſt the Government of this Iſland was ever grown up into a ſettled Hereditary Monarchy. Surely if it were ſo, yet all muſt agree, that *(b)* Then the Succeſſion was not guided by the ſame Rules, as ſome Men believe or pretend it ought now to be. *Egbert* himſelf, the firſt *Engliſh* Monarch, came to the Crown, not by Succeſſion but Election, being no way related to *Briſſicus*, the laſt of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings; and when he died, he gave the Kingdoms of *Kent* and *Eſſex* to his ſecond Son. *(c)* *Ethelwolf* divided the whole Iſland between his two Sons *Etheibald* and *Ethelbert*. *(d)* *Athelſtan* (though a Baſtard) ſucceeded his Father, and was preferr'd to his legitimate Brothers. *(e)* *Edred*, the younger Brother of *Edmond*, was advanced to the Throne, though the deceaſed Prince had two Sons, *Edwin* and *Edgar*, who did both of them Reign afterward ſucceſſively. *Edgar* left a Son at his Death; but yet there happened a mighty Conteſt about his Succeſſor, *(f)* ſome of the great Men contending for the Election of *Egelred* his Brother. But at laſt the Intereſt of *Edward* the Son prevail'd

(a) *Cæſ.* de Bell. Gall. lib. 5. *Tacitus* in vita *Jul.* Agricolæ. *Strab.* lib. 4.

(b) Pol. *Virg.* Hiſt. Ang. l. 4. in fid *Will. Malmeſ.* l. 1. *c.* 2. fol. 16. l. 2. c. 1. fol. 36.

(c) *Hen. Hunt.* l. 5. fol. 348. *Will. Malmeſ.* lib. 2. c. 3. fol. 41.

(d) *Will. Malmeſ.* l. 2. c. 6. fol. 48.

(e) *Will. Malmeſ.* l. 2. c. 7. fol. 55. *Rog. Hoved.* par. 1. fol. 421. *Hen. Hunt.* l. 5. fol. 355.

(f) De rege Eligendo magna inter Regni Primores oborta eſt diſſentio, *Simoen Dunelm.* an. 975. fol. 160. Edwardum *Elegerunt Electum conſecraverunt, & in Regem unxerunt.* Sim. *Dunelm. ubi ſupra.*

prevail'd, and he was in a full Aſſembly Elected, Conſecrated, and Anointed King. That which *Ailredus*, Abbot of *Rievallis*, in his Life of *Edward* the Confeſſor, gives an Account of, ſeems very remarkable to our Purpoſe. King *Ethelred* (*g*) (who was no tame and eaſy Prince) deſirous to eſtabliſh his Succeſſor in his Life-time, (*h*) ſummon'd a great Council expreſly for that Purpoſe, and propoſes the Thing to them, The Council were divided, ſome of them appearing for *Edmond* his Eldeſt Son, and ſome for *Alfred* his Second Son by Queen *Emma*. But at laſt, upon ſome ſuperſtitious Fancy, they agreed to paſs by both of them, and elected the Infant that was in the Queen's Womb. To which Election the King gave his (*i*) Royal Aſſent, and the whole Aſſembly ſwore Fealty to the Child whilſt yet unborn. Undoubtedly this Story makes it plain, that it was not enough at that time to entitle one to the Crown, that he was the King's eldeſt Son, for then *Ethelred* would never have ſuffered a Debate about the Election of a Succeſſor, nor ſummon'd a Parliament expreſly for that purpoſe, which you ſee he thought neceſſary to be done. And, notwithſtanding all his Care, it ſeems upon the Death of *Ethelred*, *Canutus* had ſo great an Intereſt, that by an unanimous Conſent in a full (*k*) Council he was Elected King, and all the Iſſue of the laſt Prince rejected. 'Tis true the *Londoners* ſtood firm to *Edmond Ironſide*, (the Approbation of that renowned City had *then* no little Influence on the Succeſſion) and there were divers Battles fought between them? but at laſt they came to an Agreement, and *Edmond* dying, the *Dane* ruled the whole Iſland peaceably whilſt he lived.

Immediately upon the Death of *Canutus*, there was aſſembled at *Oxford* (*l*) a great Council to determine who ought to ſucceeded; where, notwithſtanding all the Intereſt which *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and the *Weſt-Saxon* great Men could make on the behalf of *Hardiknute*, the legitimate Son of the dead King, they were over-voted, and *Herald Harefoot* (his Baſtard, begotten on *Ailena* or *Elgiva*) was elected. *Herald* dy'd in the 5th Year of his Reign, and (*m*) then the People were content to accept of *Hardiknute* for their King, and to that end ſent for him into *Flanders*; but he dying Iſſueleſs, it was ordain'd in a (*n*) General Council, that never any *Dane* ſhould for the future be admitted to reign in *England*. After which they proceeded to elect *Alfred*, the Son of *Ethelred*, and he being murder'd by the Treachery of Earl *Godwin*, they choſe his Brother *Edward*, call'd *Edward* the *Confeſſor*. Nor were theſe Elections of theirs made

(*g*) *Glorioſus Rex* Ethelridus Ailred *Rievalis*. fol. 372.

(*h*) *Fit magnus coram Rege Epiſcoporum Conventus* Rieval *ubi ſupra*.

(*i*) *Præbet Electioni Rex conſenſum*, Ailr. *Ab*. Rieval. *ubi ſupra*.

(*k*) *Epiſcopi Abbates Duces quique nobiliores* Angliæ *in unum congregati pari conſenſu Canutum in Dominium & Regem Eligere omnem progeniem Regis* Ethelredi *repudiantes* Sim. Dnnelm. *an*. 1016. *f*. 173. Brompt. f. 903. Rog. Hovedon 1 par. f. 434.

(*l*) Placitum magnum de Regni Succeſſione apud *Oxonium* factum eſt, *Brompt*. 932. Canuto mortuo facta eſt apud *Oxonium* magno alteratio de Regni Succeſſione *Hen. Knyth*. de event. *Angl. Hen. Hunt*. f. 6. fol. 364.

(*m*) *Poſt mortem* Haraldi Hardiknute *Electus Rex*. Hen. Hum. l. 6. fol. 365.

(*n*) Omnes *Anglorum* magnates ad invicem tractantes de communi Concilio & Juramento ſtatuerunt, quod nunquam temporibus futuris aliquis Dacus ſuper eos in Anglia regnaret.

with any reſpect to Nearneſs of Blood, more than thoſe whereof we have heard before; for *Edmond Ironſide*, their elder Brother, had a Son then alive, (*o*) whoſe Name was *Edward*, and who was Father to *Edgar Atheling*, living alſo at the ſame time. And though this *Edward* had an undoubted Title to the Crown, if Proximity of Blood could have given it, yet the *Confeſſor* was ſo far from ſuſpecting any Danger from ſuch a Title, as that he invited his Nephew into *England*, and welcom'd him when he came with the greateſt Expreſſions of Joy, and entertain'd him with the greateſt Confidence. Nor had the People any regard to this Royal Blood upon the Death of the *Confeſſor*, but elected *Herald*, the Son of Earl *Godwin*, who had no Pretence of Kindred to the *Saxon* Line.

Theſe few, among many other Inſtances which may be given, will ſhew plainly enough, how Men entituled themſelves to the Crown in thoſe Days, and that then it was no ſtrange Thing to hear of a Parliaments meddling with the Succeſſion. Therefore I ſuppoſe the Men who ſeem aſtoniſhed at the Boldneſs of a Parliament, in preſuming to ſpeak of it at this time, will ſay, that they ought not to be troubled with Precedents before the *Norman* Conqueſt; and that though the *Saxons* might be guilty of preferring a brave and deſerving *Baſtard*, before a *cruel* or a *ſilly legitimate* Prince, and of many other Irregularities, yet no ſuch Things are to be found in our Hiſtories ſince the Time of *William* the I. whoſe Reign is the great *Epoche*, from whence we do compute our Kings. Let us therefore go on more particularly to obſerve what has been done ſince that time, and we ſhall ſee whether they who wonder ſo much, have any Reaſon to do ſo.

William the *Conqueror* was himſelf illegitimate, and yet ſucceeded his Father in the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and therefore had no Reaſon to ſet any great Value upon that ſort of Title, which is deriv'd from a Right of Blood. And it ſeems he did not much regard it; for paſſing by *Robert* his eldeſt, he gave the Crown (*p*) by his laſt Will, to *William Rufus*, his younger Son, diſpoſing only with Regard to his own Inclinations, the Crown which himſelf had gain'd.

But his Son was too wiſe to rely upon this Diſpoſition as a ſufficient Title, and therefore had Recourſe to a more ſure one: (*q*) For, calling together the Nobles and wiſe Men of the Kingdom, he acquainted them, in a full Council, with his Father's Will, and deſir'd their Conſent to it; who, after a long Conſultation, did at laſt unanimouſly agree to make him their King, and thereupon he was crown'd by *Lanfranck*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. I cannot but obſerve one Thing farther, that tho' ſome Men make uſe of the abſolute Victory which the *Conqueror* had made, and affirm, that thereby the *Engliſh* were wholly broken, and all the old Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm ware deſtroy'd, yet it is plain, that at this Time the *Engliſh* Intereſt was ſo great, that it kept the Crown upon *William Rufus*'s Head, in ſpite of all that the *Normans* could do in Behalf of

(*o*) Brompt. 943.

(*p*) *A parte ultima valetudine decumbente in Succeſſorem adoptatus.* *Guil. Malmſb.* lib. 4. fol. 120. *Sim. Danel.* an. 1087. fol. 213. *Brompt.* f. 980.

(*q*) *Convocatis terræ magnatibus.* Brompt. 983. *Optimates frequentes ad* Weſtmonaſterium *in Concilium convenere, ubiloti poſt longam Conſultationem* Gulielmum Rufum *Regem fecere.* Mat. Paris, *Flores Hiſt. fol.* 231. *Volentibus omnium Provincialium animis in Regem acceptus.* Mat. Paris *in vit.* Guil. II. *fol.* 14. *anno* 1088.

of *Robert*, though they univerſally join'd with him. (*r*) For the King calling together the *Engliſh*, and opening to them the Treaſon of the *Normans*, and (*s*) promiſing them a compleat Reſtitution of their ancient Laws, they ſtood firm to him, and ſoon put an End to all the Attempts of his Brother, and his *Norman* Accomplices.

Upon the Death of *William Rufus*, *Robert* had a fair Pretence to renew his Claim to the Crown, (*t*) but that Prince had diſcover'd too much of the *Cruelty of his Diſpoſition, of his Averſion to the* Engliſh *Nation, and of his Proneneſs to Revenge*; ſo that by the full Conſent and Council of the whole Body of the Realm, aſſembled at *Wincheſter*, he was finally rejected, and they did concur to elect the *Conqueror*'s third Son *Henry* for their King (as *Mat. Weſtminſter* expreſſes it.) Nor did they do this but upon Terms; for both the Clergy and Laity ſaid, "That if he would reſtore them their antient Liberties, and con-"firm them by his Charter, and abrogate ſome ſevere Laws which his Father "had made, they would conſent to make him King." And this prudent and learned King was not aſhamed or unwilling to own this Title; for he does at large recite it in his Charter, whereby he confirms their Liberties, (*v*) *Sciatis me miſericordia Dei, & communi conſilio Baronum Regni Angliæ, ejuſdem Regni Regem Coronatum eſſe*, &c.

Henry I. you ſee had Reaſon to believe and own the Power of the Kingdom, in ſetting the Crown upon what Head they pleaſed, and therefore he deſired to ſecure it that way to his Poſterity. To that End, in the 13th Year of his Reign, (*x*) he ſummoned a Council, and procured all the great and powerful Men of the Kingdom to ſwear that his Son *William* ſhould ſucceed him. But afterwards this Son of his was unfortunately drowned, and the King died, leaving no other Iſſue but *Maud* his Daughter, who had been married to the Emperor, and afterward to *Geoffery Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*. No Diſpute can be made, but that ſhe had all the Right which Proximity of Blood could give; yet *Stephen*, Earl of *Boloign*, who was the Son of *Adela*, one of the *Conqueror*'s Daughters, and whoſe elder Brother *Theobald*, Earl of *Blois*, was then living, ſtept in before her, and by repreſenting to them the Inconvenience of a feminine Government, and promiſing them to conſent to ſuch good and gentle Laws as they ſhould deviſe, prevail'd (*y*) with the Eſtates of the Realm to elect him King. And

(*r*) *Rex fecit convocare Anglos.* Sim. Dunelm an. 1088. *Fol.* 214.

(*s*) *Angli eum fideliter juvabant*, &c. Sim. Dunelm. *ubi ſupra.*

(*t*) *Hic* Robertus *ſemper contrarius & adeo innaturalis extiterat Baronibus Regni Angliæ, quod plenario conſenſu & conſilio totius Communitatis Regni, ipſum refutaverunt & pro Regni, ipſum refutaverunt & pro Rege omnino recuſaverunt,* & Henricum *fratrem in Regem erexerunt.* H. de Knight, c. 8. 2374 *Poſt mortem* Willielmi Rufi *electus eſt* Henricus *frater ejus* M. Paris 55, *in vita* H. I. *an.* 1100. & 62. *anno* 1105. Mat. Weſt. 235. *Apud* Winton *in Regem electus eſt.* Brompt. 997.

(*v*) *Rich. Hagulſtad.* 310. *Brompt.* 10. 21. Mat. Paris 240.

(*x*) Coacto Concilio fecit omnes Principes & Potentes Anglicani Regni adjurare terram & Regnum *Willielmo* filio ſuo, *&c. Gervas Cron.* 1138.

(*y*) A primoribus Regni cum favore Cleri & populi Electus eſt à Wil. Cant. Archiepiſcopo in Regem Conſecratur. *R. Hagulſtad. an.* 1156. *fol.* 312. Conſentientibus in ejus promotionem *Willielmo Cantuarienſis* Archiepiſcopo & Clericorum & Laicorum Univerſitate

And in his Charter, which he made ſoon after, he owns this Title, begin ning it thus, *Ego* Stephanus *Dei gratia, aſſenſu Cleri & Populi, in Regem Angliæ Electus*, &c. And the *Pope*, in his Charter of Confirmation, ſent to him in the firſt Year of his Reign, tells him, that he was *Communi voto & unanimi aſſenſu tam Procerum quam etiam Populi in Regem electus*. And then he adds, " That " ſince ſo univerſal an Aſſent could not be directed but by the Divine Grace, " he therefore allows his Title, and confirms him in the Kingdom."

'Tis true that afterwards *Maud* the Empreſs, together with her Son *Henry*, having, after ſome Years, gain'd many to their Side, gave him great Diſturbance; till at laſt *Stephen* having loſt his Eldeſt Son *Euſtace* (in whom he plac'd his Hopes (z) and uſed all means, whilſt he liv'd, to have got him declar'd his Succeſſor, but without Succeſs) came to an Agreement with the Empreſs and her Son, and (*a*) the Parliament, (who alone could give a Sanction to ſuch Agreement,) was aſſembled at *Wincheſter* to confirm it; and then *Stephen* publickly adopts *Henry* for his Son, (his Mother *Maud* who had the Hereditary Right, was then alive;) and with their full Conſent declares him his Heir; and with the ſame Conſent *Henry* gives *Stephen* the Name of Father, and agrees that he ſhould continue to be King, during his Life, and they all ſwore, that if *Henry* ſurviv'd, he ſhould without Oppoſition obtainthe Crown, and *Stephen* by his Charter, which is ſet down at large in *Brompton* publiſhes this Agreement, *Brompt.* 1037.

In all this Tranſaction certainly there was no Conſideration had of any other Right, but that which Univerſal Conſent conferred; but if *Stephen*'s *Heir* had any Pretence, he had a Son then living, whoſe Name was *William*, and who by the ſame Agreement was to have all the Poſſeſſions which his Father enjoyed before he was made King. If the Heir of *Henry* I. had any Title that was veſted in *Maud* the Empreſs, who was then alſo living; ſo that neither of the Parties had any other Colour of Right to the Crown, than what the Conſent of the People gave them.

According to this Parliamentary Agreement and Limitation, *Stephen* enjoy'd the Crown peaceably during his Life, and after his Death *Henry* the *Second* came to it as peaceably; but he remembred by what Title, and therefore was very deſirous to ſecure it to his Son in the ſame Manner, that he took a very dangerous and unuſual Way to do it. (*b*) For ſummoning a Parliament to meet at *London*, he

apud *London*, *Jo. Hagulſtad* 250. Predictus *Stephanus* à cunctis in Regem Electus, *Grvas Chron.* f. 340. Congregatis *Londoniis* terræ magnatibus, *Mat. Paris* 74.

(z) *Hen. Hunt l.* 8. *f.* 395. *R. Hag. de geſtis. Steph.* 314.

(*a*) Facto *Wintoniæ* conventu publico, Rex *Stephanus* ipſum Ducem cunctis videntibus adoptavit in Filium, utque, interpoſito omnium Juramento, conceſſit & confirmarit ei totius *Angliæ* principatum, Dux autem ſuſcepit eum in locum genitoris, concedens ei omnibus diebus vitæ ſuæ nomen & rem Regii culminis obtinere, *Gervaſ.* f. 1375. In conventu Epiſcoporum & aliorum de Regno optum. *Mat. Weſtm. f.* 246. an. 1153. & 282. an. 1154. Conſenſerunt in hoc omnes principes Regni *Ja. Hagulſtad f.* 282. *Mat. Paris* 86. *Hen. Hunt. l.* 8. *f.* 398. *Ja. Hagulſtad* 282. an. 1154.

(*b*) Convenerunt interim die ſtatuto ex mandato Regis *Londoniam* totius *Angliæ* Epiſcopi Abbates, Comites, Barones, Vicecomites, Præpoſiti, Aldermanii cum fidejuſſoribus, *Gervas* H. 2. F. 1412.

he procures his Son *Henry* to be declared King together with himſelf, by their Conſent, and thereupon he was Crown'd by the Archbiſhop of *York*, and Fealty Sworn to him by all. This was the Occaſion of Civil Wars between them, for the Father meant hereby only to have ſecured the Succeſſion to him, and the Son was impatient of having only the bare Title of a King, all along pretending to an Equal Authority, as doth ſufficiently appear by what he writes to the Prior and Convent of *Canterbury*, where he takes notice that his Father did attempt ſome Invaſions upon them, which he ought not to have done without his Aſſent. *(c) Qui, ratione Regiæ unctionis, Regnum, & totius Regni curam ſuſcepiemus*, and therefore he appeal'd to the Pope in that Behalf. Nay the Father himſelf paid that Reſpect to his Son's Dignity, that when he had at laſt ſubdued him and his Rebellious Brothers, (*d*) he would not ſuffer him to do him Homage with his other Sons, (though he offer'd it.) But *Henry* the Son dying in the Life of his Father, *Richard* was then his Eldeſt Son ſurviving, and conſequently had all the Right which a next Heir could claim. But the wiſe and wary King had not Confidence enough to rely upon this (now ſo much talk'd of) ſacred Right, but tho' he had already ſuffered ſo much from diſobedient Sons, was glad to get the Succeſſion confirm'd to him in his Life-time. And the Truth is, there was Reaſon enough that he ſhould do ſo, for he had all his Sons by *Eleanor*, the Daughter of *William* Duke of *Guyen*, *(e)* who was before the Wife of *Lewis* the VIIth. King of *France*, who was ſtill living, and ſhe only divorced *cauſa Adulterii*, which being not a Divorce *a vinculo Matrimonii*, we could not, either by the Canon-Law, univerſally receiv'd, or the Laws of *England*, lawfully marry with any other Huſband.

After his Father's Death, *Richard* came to *London*, to which Place the Clergy and Laity were ſummoned, and *(f)* after he had been ſolemnly and duly Elected by the whole Clergy and Laity, (they are the very Words of the Hiſtorian) and taken the uſual Oaths, he was Crown'd. And when he undertook the Holy War, he (*g*) declared *Arthur* Son of his next Brother *Geoffery* the Duke of *Britain*, the next Heir to the Crown.

Richard dying without Iſſue, this *Arthur* ought to have ſucceeded, and his Siſter *Elianor* alſo had the Title before her Uncle. But *John* the younger Brother, without regarding this Divine Right of his Nephew, applies himſelf to the People for a more ſure though but a Humane Title; (*h*) who being ſummon'd together, Elected him King. And (*i*) *Hubert* the then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, did at his Coronation, preach a Doctrine, which would have ſounded very ſtrangely to the Convocation, in 1640. *(viz.)* No one could make any Title to the

(*c*) *Gervas* H. 2. F. 1425.
(*d*) *Brompt.* F. 1100.
(*e*) M. Paris 84.
(*f*) Poſt tam cleri quam populi ſolennem & debitam Electionem *Ridedieto.* fol. 647. R. H. par. 2. f. 6. 56.
(*g*) Fol. Hiſt. an. 1190.
(*h*) Prælatorum Comitum & aliorum Nobilium multitudo infinita. *Brompt.* 1281.
(*i*) *Mat. Paris*, 197. *An.* 1199. Si aliquis ex ſtirpe Regis Defuncti aliis præpolliret pronius & promptius in Electionem ejus eſſe conſentiendum.

the Crown, *niſi ab univerſitate Regni unaniminter Electus.* And that he who was moſt worthy ought to be preferred. But (as he goes on) if any one of the Race of the Deceaſed King, was more deſerving than others, as. *John* the Brother of he Deceaſed King was, the People ought more readily to Elect him, than a Stranger to the Royal Blood. This was all the Title King *John* pretended, and this was then ſufficient to put by his Nephew. And in his *(k)* Charters, he does more than once own, that he owed his Crown to the Election and Favour of his Subjects.

But when King *John* gave over to diſſemble his Nature, and went about to change his Religion *(l)* (for he made Offers of that Sort to the King of *Morocco*) when he diſcovered himſelf not to be that worthy Man which the People ſuppoſed him to have been; they remembred whence he derived his Title, and proceeded, upon the ſame Reaſon that they had choſen him, to make a new Election, *(m)* chuſing *Lewis* Son of *Philip* of *France*, who was next Heir to the Crown in the Right of *Blance* his Wife, Niece to King *John*, and Daughter to his Siſter *Elianor*, both the Children of *Geoffrey* Duke of *Britain*, being dead before that Time.

When King *Philip* heard of their Choice, he conſented to ſend his Son, being the rather induced thereto by this Reaſon, *(n)* that *John*'s Blood being corrupted by an Attainder of Treaſon, in the Life-time of his Brother *Richard*, he was uncapable of taking the Crown by Deſcent, and unworthy to take it by any other Way.

Lewis coming to *London* was there Elected and Conſtituted King, ſwearing to preſerve the People's Laws, and they ſwearing Allegiance to him: But he ſoon forgot his Coronation Oath, and attempted ſeveral ways to introduce an Arbitrary Government, before he was well Eſtabliſhed in the Throne, which the *Engliſh* as ſoon reſented; And King *John* happening to die very opportunely, The *Earl Marſhal* calling together the Great Men of the Kingdom, and placing *Henry* III. then an Infant, in the midſt of them, perſuaded them to make him King, who was altogether innocent of his Father's Faults: *(o)* The Earl of *Glouceſter* ſaid this was contrary to their Oath to *Lewis*, to which the Marſhal replied, that *Lewis* by breaking his Oath had abſolved them from theirs, and that he deſpiſed the *Engliſh* to ſet up the *French*, and that he would be the Deſtruction of the Realm. With whoſe Reaſons the whole Aſſembly being convinc'd, cry'd out unanimouſly, *Fiat Rex*; And accordingly they crown'd King *Henry* III. and ſoon after compelled *Lewis* to renounce all Pretenſions to the Crown.

Henry

(k) Charta Moderationis feodi Magni ſigilli, *an.* 1. *Jo.* ex vet. Reg. in Archivis Arch. *Cant. he ſays he came to the Crown*, Jure Hereditario & mediante tam Cleri quam populi unanimi Conſenſu & Favore.

(l) Necnon & Regem Chriſtianum. Quam vanum cenſuit relinquens Legi *Mahometis* fideliter adhærerit, *Mat. Paris* 243.

(m) Mat. Paris 279. Flo. Hiſt. an. 1216.

(n) Volens fratrem ſuum Regem *Ricardum* a Regno *Angliæ* injuſte private & inde de proditione accuſatus & Coram eo convictus, Damnatus fuit per judicium in Curia ipſius Regis, *Mat. Weſtm.* 275, *Mat. Paris.* 281.

(o) Mat. Weſtm. 275. Hen. de Knyght f. 2426. c. 15. l. 2.

Henry III. dying, after a long and troubleſome Reign, (*p*) his Son *Edward* I. a Prince of great Hopes, and whoſe Life anſwered the higheſt Expectations, ſucceeded; but whether he was the Eldeſt Son of his Father, remains a Doubt in Hiſtory: The Houſe of *Lancaſter*, who deriv'd themſelves from his Brother *Edmond*, (*q*) pretending always that *Edmond* was the Elder, and *Edward* the Younger Brother, and that *Edmond* was put by the Crown, by *Common Conſent* for his Deformity.

After the Death of *Edward* I. his Son *Edward* II. ſucceeded, (*r*) but he degenerating from ſo great a Father, the People grew weary of his irregular and Arbitrary Government. And a Parliament being by him ſummoned at *Weſtminſter*, as all our Writers ſay, or as *Polydor Virgil* words it, (*ſ*) *Principes Convocato Concilio pervenerunt* Londini (which I obſerve only that we may know what *Polydor* means when he makes Uſe of the Expreſſion of *Principes in Concilio Congregati*;) They (*t*) preſently entred into the Conſideration of the miſerable State of the Nation, and a Paper being publickly read, containing many Inſtances of the King's Miſgovernment, all which he had confeſs'd, they concluded he was unworthy to Reign any longer, and that he ought to be depos'd, and ſent to him to let him know their Reſolution, and to require him to renounce his Crown and Royal Dignity, otherwiſe they would proceed as they thought good. And they appointed Commiſſioners to go to him in their Names: The Biſhop of *Ely* for the Biſhops, the Earl of *Warren* for the Earls, Sir *Henry Piercy* for the Barons, and Sir *William Truſſel* for the Commons, to reſign their Homage up to him, which *Truſſel* pronounced in all their Names, and formally depriv'd him of all Royal Power, the Form of which is particularly mentioned by *Knyghton*: The King read this ſad Sentence with extraordinary Grief, and many Complaints of thoſe Evil Counſellors who had ſeduc'd him; but in the midſt of his Sorrow (*u*) he gave them Thanks that they Elected his Son to Reign after him. Thus was that glorious Prince *Edward* the Third, Elected King in his Father's Life-time, *& huic Electioni univerſus populus conſenſit*. *Walter*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who preach'd the Coronation Sermon, took this for his Text, (*x*) *Vox Populi, vox Dei*. By this we may ſee that all his Predeceſſors were not of Biſhop *Laud*'s Mind, but thought there was a Divine Right ſomewhere elſe than where he plac'd it. Upon the Death of *Edward the Black Prince*, there was ſome Diſpute whether *John of Gaunt*, the eldeſt ſurviving Son of *Edward* the Third, ſhould ſucceed *Jure propinquitatis*, or *Richard*, the Son of the *Black Prince*: Whereupon, *Edward* the Third procur'd the Parliament to confirm the Succeſſion to *Richard* the

(*p*) Hen. de Knyght f. 2472. c. 16. l. 2.

(*q*) The Deſcendants of *Edmond* who were Dukes of *Lancaſter* ended in a Daughter, *Blanch* who was married to *John a Gaunt* made therefore Duke of *Lancaſter*, and whoſe Iſſue claims a Right to the Crown by this *Blanch*.

(*r*) Tho. Walſingh. in Vit. Ed. 2. f. 126.

(*ſ*) Pol. Virg. l. 18. f. 352.

(*t*) Froiſſart 1. vol. c. 14. Fructus Temporum, pars 7. f. 107. Hen. de Knyght. l. 3. c. 15. f. 2549.

(*u*) Quod filium ſuum *Edwardum* poſt ſe Regnaturum Eligiſſent, Knyght 2550.

(*x*) Pol. Virg. 20. f. 295. Juri Hereditario ac etiam voto communi ſingulorum, H. Knyght l. 5. f. 2630.

the Second. And afterwards, when *Edward* the Third dy'd, (y) *Polidorus Virgil* ſays, *Principes Regni habito Concilio apud* Weſtm. (you know what *Polydor* means by *Principes*) *Richardum, Edwardi Principes Filium, Regem Dicunt*, by their common Suffrages.

In the 21ſt Year of *Richard*'s Reign, a Parliament being aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, they drew up, by their common Conſent, a Form whereby he did reſign the Crown, and the Name and Power of King, Diſcharging all his Subjects from all Oaths, which they had taken of Allegiance to him, confeſſing himſelf thereby inſufficient for the Government, and ſwearing never to make any Pretences to the ſame for the future. All which he Pronounced and Subſcribed, wiſhing, (if it were in his Power,) to have *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* for his Succeſſor, but ſince it was not, he deſir'd the Commiſſioners to ſignify his Deſires to the States of the Realm. The next Day all the States of the Realm accepted his Reſignation, and when that was done, they proceeded to read publickly his Coronation Oath, and all the Breaches of it, that ſo it might appear how juſtly he had deſerv'd to be Depos'd, and appoint Commiſſioners *Ad Deponendum eundem* Richardum *Regem ab omne Dignitate, Majeſtate & honore Regis, vice nomine & Authoritate omnium ſtatuum prædictorum, prout in Conſimilibus caſibus de antiqua conſuetudine dicti Regni fuit obſervatum*, which the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* did, in full Parliament, in their Names, and by their Directions. The ſame Commiſſioners were alſo to reſign up to him their Homage and Fealty, and intimate the Sentence of Depoſition, which they did accordingly, by the Mouth of Sir *William Thirning*, whoſe Words are entered upon Record. Then did the Parliament proceed to chuſe *Henry* IV. King; And upon this Title only did he rely, (though he mention'd ſome other trifling ones) as that he challenged it, being then void by Force, as deſcended to him from King *Henry* III. (z)

But this could give him no Title, for 'tis plain that whilſt any of the Iſſue of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, the *Third* Son of *Edward* III. were in being, no Right of Blood could deſcend to him, who derived his Pedigree only from *John* of *Gaunt*, who was but his Fourth Son. And he plainly ſhew'd what a good Opinion he had of a Parliamentary Title to the Crown, when in the *7th* Year of his Reign, he procured an Act of Parliament to paſs, whereby the Inheritance of the Crown and Realms of *England* and *France* were ſettled upon himſelf for Life, and the Remainder entail'd upon his Four Sons by Name, and the Iſſue of their Bodies begotten. He was contented that it ſhould be limited no farther, but that, after failure of his own Iſſue, it ſhould go according to the general Direction of the Law. And he made a Charter ſoon after, whereby he ſettled the Crown purſuant to this Act of Parliament: *Poſt ipſum ſucceſſive hæredibus ſuis de ipſius Corpore legitime procerandis*; which Charter was again confirm'd in Parliament, the 22d. of *December*, 8 *Hen.* IV. and the Original Charter is ſtill to be ſeen in the *Cotton* Library.

Immediately upon the Death of *Henry* the IV. a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*,

(y) *Rot. Parl.* 1 H. 4. *Pol. Virg. l.* 5.
(z) See ſupra. 6.
(a) 7 H. 4. cap. 2.
(b) Bucks Hiſt. R. 3. l. 2. f. 50.

and

and there, according to the Cuſtom of the Realm, it was debated who ſhould be King: But all Men had entertain'd ſo good Thoughts of Prince *Henry*, that without ſtaying till the whole Aſſembly had declared him King, divers of them began to ſwear Allegiance to him. A Thing ſtrange and without Precedent, as only occaſion'd by the extraordinary Opinion which was generally conceiv'd of him before.

And the certain Title veſted in him by an Act of Parliament.

Principes Henricus, *facto Patris ſui funere, Concilium Principum apud* Weſtmonaſterium *Convocandum Curat, in quo de Rege Creando, more Majorum, agitabatur. Continuò aliquot Principe altero in ejus Verba Jurare cæperunt, quod Benevolentiæ Officium Nulli, priuſquam Rex renunciatus eſſet, præſtitum conſtat. Ad eo* Henricus *ab ineunto ætate ſpem omnibus optimæ indolis fecit*, Pol. Virg. l. 22. Hiſt. Angl. in Vit. fl. 5.

Henry the Vth. dying, and leaving but one Son, who was an Infant of Eight Months old, *Titus Livius* ſays, there was ſome Doubt whether ſhe ſhould be accepted as King; but as ſoon as his Father's Funerals were ſolemnized, the Eſtates of the Realm of *England*, Aſſembling and Conſulting together, they declar'd *Henry* VI. to be their Sovereign. (*c*)

In the 35th Year of *Henry* VI. a new Limitation of the Crown was made by Parliament, for tho' the King had a Son then living, yet it was Enacted, that during his own Life only *Henry* VI. ſhould hold and enjoy the Crown, (*d*) and that during his Life *Richard* Duke of *York* ſhould be reputed and ſtil'd Heir Apparent to the Crown, and that it ſhould be Treaſon to compaſs his Death; and after the Death, Reſignation, *&c.* of *Henry*, the Crown was limited in Remainder to *Richard* and his Heirs, with a Proviſo, that if *Henry*, or any in his Behalf, ſhould endeavour to diſannul or fruſtrate this Act, that then *Richard* ſhould have the preſent Poſſeſſion of the Crown. And by Force of this Act of Parliament, the ſame Duke of *York*, taking Advantage of *Henry*'s Violation of it, did lay Claim to, and attempt the Recovery of the Kingdom, (*f*) as alſo did his Son *Edward* after him with better Succeſs; and *Edward* did openly inſiſt upon this Title in the Speech which he made at his Coronation.

It was alſo declar'd by *Edward*'s firſt Parliament, in the firſt Year of his Reign, that *Henry* VI. having broken the aforeſaid Concord in many Particulars, the Crown was duly devolved to *Edward* IV. by Virtue thereof.

Afterwards *Edward* IV. being driven out of the Kingdom, in the 10th Year of his Reign, did again entail the Crown on *Henry* VI. and the Heirs Male of his Body, without Remainder to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* IV. who was thereby alſo declared Heir to *Richard* Duke of *York*.

(*c*) Titus Liv. Mſ. in Bibl. Bod. Cott. Record, f. 666.
(*d*) Hubington's Hiſt. E. 4. f. 10.
(*e*) Cott. Rec. 670. Fructus Temp. part 7. f. 162.
(*f*) Hubingt. E. 4. f. 73.

'Tis worthy Obſervation, that both the Families of *York* and *Lancaſter* claimed a Title by Act of Parliament; and as long that Title continu'd; the Iſſue of *Henry* IV. had never any Diſturbance from the Pretences of the Houſe of *York*, who had undoubtedly the Right of Blood on their Side: But as ſoon as *Richard* Duke of *York* had a Title veſted in him, by the Statute made in the *30th* Year of *Henry* VI. then he thought it was worth contending for; nor did he and his Son deſiſt till they had driven out *Henry* VI. *(g)*

Edward IV. did recover the Kingdom again as ſuddenly as he loſt it, and prevail'd with his Parliament to Repeal that Law which was made during his Expulſion, and ſo left the Crown to that Young Unfortunate Prince *Edward* V. who held it not long enough to have it put on him with the uſual Solemnity; for though he was Proclaimed, he was never Crown'd King: For his Uncle *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter* having ſecured him and his Brother in the Tower, did cunningly inſinuate the Baſtardy of his Nephew, and that *Edward* IV. had another Wife living at the time of his Marriage to their Mother, and alſo at the time of their Birth.

The Report found Credit univerſally, in ſo much that the Duke of *Buckingham* coming to him at *Barnard*'s-Caſtle, with moſt of the great Lords and wiſe Men of the Kingdom, and the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, the Duke did in their Names acquaint him, that they had unanimouſly thought fit to Elect him King, as being Heir to the Royal Blood of *Richard* Duke of *York*, upon whom the Crown was Entail'd by the High Authority of Parliament.

'Tis very remarkable, That in the midſt of their higheſt Flatteries and Courtſhip to him, they tell him only of this great and ſure Title by Act of Parliament, although if he had been indeed (what was pretended) the Heir of the Houſe of *York*, the Right by Deſcent from *Edward* the III. was unqueſtionable.

Richard (after ſome feign'd Excuſes) (*h*) did at laſt accept of their Offer and Election; and the Parliament being ſoon after Aſſembled, they preſented a Bill to this Effect: *Pleaſe it your Grace to underſtand the Conſideration, Election and Petition under-written, of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons*, &c. And thereby they Declare the Children of *Edward* IV. (*i*) Illegitimate, and that his Brother *George* Duke of *Clarence* was attainted of High-Treaſon by Parliament, in the 7th Year of *Edward* the Fourth's Reign, *by reaſon whereof all the Iſſue of the ſaid* George *were, and are diſabled and barr'd of all Right and Claim, that in any Caſe they might have or challenge by Inheritance to the Crown and Dignity Royal of this Realm, by the ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of the ſame.* After which, conſidering that none of the uncorrupted Lineal Blood of *Richard* Duke of *York* could be found but in his Perſon, (ſay they) We have choſen and do chooſe you our King and Sovereign Lord. Then the Bill proceeds in reciting, that all the Learned in the Laws do approve his Title, and declaring him King as well by Right of Conſanguinity and Inheritance, as by lawful

(*g*) *Buck*'s Hiſt. *Rich.* 3. lib. 1. fol. 20.
(*h*) *Cott.* Rec. fol. 709.
(*i*) *Buck*'s *Rich.* 3. lib. 1. fol. 22.

ful Election, and Entails the Crown on him and the Heirs of his Body, and declares his Son Heir Apparent. To which the King gave his Royal Aſſent in theſe Words: *Et idem Dominus Rex, de Aſſenſu dictorum trium Statuum, Regni, & Authoritate prædicta, omnia & ſingula præmiſſa, in Billa prædicta contenta concedit, & ea pro vero & indubio pronunciat, decernit, & declarat.*

But the barbarous Murder of his Nephews did ſoon beget ſuch an univerſal Deteſtation of *Richard* in the Minds of the People, that they reſolved he ſhould no longer Reign over them; and ſo, taking hold of a Pretence which *Henry* Duke of *Richmond* ſet up, they join with him againſt *Richard*. Tho' *Henry*'s Title was indeed no more than a mere Pretence; for not only the Right of the Houſe of *York*, (as far as Blood could give Right) was before that of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, but alſo he had no manner of Intereſt in that Title which the *Lancanſtrian Line* had, ſince his Claim was under a (*k*) Baſtard, begotten in Adultery; and beſides his Mother, *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, as Heir to whom he pretended he claimed, was then living. Therefore *Comines*, the moſt judicious Writer of that Age, and who knew well what was the Senſe of *Europe* concerning his Title, ſays plainly, (though he wrote in the Time of *Henry* VII.) *Qu'il n' avoit Croix, ne Pile, ne nul Droit (come Jeo Croy) ala Courone d'Angleterre.*

Nevertheleſs *Henry* having ſlain *Richard* in *Boſworth-Field*, the Crown was there put on his Head by the Lord *Stanley*, with the general Acclamation of the People. But he was wiſe enough to think his Title to it was not very good, till it was made ſo by an Act of Parliament, and therefore in the firſt Year of his Reign he procured one to paſs in theſe Words:

For the Weath, Proſperity, and Surety of this Realm of England, *and for avoiding of all Ambiguities and Queſtions* (The wiſeſt of our Princes you ſee had no little Opinion of the Authority of a Parliament in this point.) *Be it ordained*, &c. *That the Inheritance of the Crown of the Realms of* England *and* France, *with all the Preheminences and Dignities Royal to the ſame appertaining, and the Ligeances to the King belonging, beyond the Seas*, &c. *ſhall be, reſt, remain and abide in the moſt Royal Perſon of our Sovereign Lord* Henry IV. *and in the Heirs of his Body lawfully coming perpetually, with the Grace of God, and ſo to endure, and no other* (*l*).

Thus did the wiſeſt of our Kings eſtabliſh himſelf, and the beſt of our Hiſtorians (*m*) mentioned it as one of the greateſt Inſtances of his Wiſdom, That he did not preſs to have this as a Declaration or Recognition of Ancient Right, but only as an Eſtabliſhment of the Poſſeſſion which he then had, nor to have the Remainder limited to any Perſon after the Determination of his

(*k*) And tho' Legitimated by Parliament, yet the Royal Dignity was excepted.
(*l*) *Bucks Rich.* 3. lib. 5. fol. 145.
(*m*) Lord *Bacon* H. f. 11, 12.

Eſtate, but was content with the Settlement upon himſelf, and the Iſſue of his own Body, leaving it to the Law, to decide what was to follow upon the Failure of ſuch Heirs.

Nor can any thing be more clear, than that *Henry* VII. depended entirely on this Parliamentary-Title, without extending any Pretences of his, or his Wife's, (who was Heir of the Houſe of *York*) beyond this Eſtabliſhment, in as much as the Oaths of Allegiance and other publick Teſts and Securities, which were required at that time of the Subjects, were not in general Terms, to the King, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, but only to the King, and the Heirs of his Body lawfully begotten. An Inſtance of this, (without going any further) may be ſeen amongſt the Records Printed at the End of the late Hiſtory of the Reformation, where Cardinal *Adrian*, when he was promoted by *Henry* VII. to the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, renounces all Clauſes in the Popes Bulls, which may be prejudicial, *Domino meo ſupremo, ad Hæredibus ſuis corpore ſuo legitime procreatis*, Anglicæ *Regibus*, and he does afterwards ſwear Allegiance to him in the very ſame Words, without taking any notice of Remoter Heirs.

Henry VIII. the Heir to this Entail, ſucceeded his Father, (*o*) though he attempted as much for Arbitrary Power, and uſed Parliaments with as little Reſpect as any of his Predeceſſors; yet even he, never doubted of their Power in ſettling the Succeſſion, but valued it much, and reſorted to it frequently.

In the 25*th* Year of his Reign an Act paſſed, wherein the Parliament ſay, That they were *bounden to provide for the perfect Surety of the Succeſſion*; (they did not certainly reckon themſelves bound to do a thing that was not in their Power.) And then they take notice of the great Miſchiefs and Effuſions of Blood which had happened by reaſon of the Doubtfulneſs of the true Title, and *for the avoiding of all future Queſtions*, do Enact, *That the Imperial Crown of this Realm, ſhall be to King* Henry VIII. *and the Heirs of the Bodies of ſuch ſeveral Sons reſpectively, according to the Courſe of Inheritance, and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, then the Sons of his Body in like manner, and upon failure of ſuch Iſſue, then to the Lady* Elizabeth, *and after her to any other Iſſue in Trial, and then the Remainder is limited to the right Heirs of* Henry VIII. By the ſame Statute every Subject at his full Age is obliged to take an Oath to defend the Contents of it, and the Refuſal is made Miſpriſon of Treaſon. And the next *Parliament*, which was held in the Year following, (*p*) does particularly Enact an Oath for that Purpoſe.

Some few Years after, theſe Acts were repealed, (*q*) and the *Parliament* entailed the *Crown* upon the King, and the Heirs of his Body by Queen *Jane*; and Power is given the King, for want of Iſſue of his Body, to diſpoſe of the Succeſſion by his Letters Patent, or his laſt Will.

It

(*n*) *Burnet*'s Hiſt. of the Reformation, Collect. ad lib. 2. fol. 3, 4.
(*o*) St. 25. H. 8. c. 22.
(*p*) 26 H. 8. c. 2.
(*q*) 28 H. 8, Raſt. Crown 4.

It is alſo made Treaſon, if any uſurp upon thoſe to whom it is ſo appointed. Here the *Parliament* do not only uſe their Power of changing the Succeſſion, but they *delegate it to another.*

And in the 35th Year of this King's Reign, the *Parliament*, by another Act, (*r*) take Notice of the great and high Truſt which the Subjects had in him, in putting into his Hands wholly the Order and Declaration of the Succeſſion; yet the King being then ready to go into *France*, they do enact, That after his Death, and the Death of Prince *Edward*, without Iſſue, the Crown ſhould be to the Lady *Mary*, and the Heirs of her Body, but both ſubject to ſuch Conditions as the King ſhould limit by his Letters Patent, or by his laſt Will, ſigned with his Hand: And if the Lady *Mary* performed not thoſe Conditions, that then the Crown ſhould go to the Lady *Elizabeth*, as if the *Lady* Mary *had been dead without Iſſue*; and if the Lady *Elizabeth* neglected to perform ſuch Conditions, then it ſhould go to ſuch other Perſon as the King ſhould appoint, in the ſame manner as before, as if the *Lady* Elizabeth *had been dead without Iſſue.* And Authority is given to him, by his Letters Patent, or his laſt Will, ſigned with his own Hand, to appoint the Crown to remain to ſuch Perſon or Perſons, and for ſuch Eſtate, and under ſuch Conditions, as he ſhould pleaſe.

An Oath alſo for obſerving this Statute is appointed, and it is made *Treaſon* to refuſe it, or to diſturb or interrupt any Perſon to whom it is limited by this Act, or ſhould be by the King purſuant to the Power given him thereby.

This is abundantly ſufficient to prove, That it was the *univerſal Opinion of that Age, That the Succeſſion was wholly under the Controul of Parliaments*, who not only limitted it as they pleaſed themſelves, but *ſubjected it to Conditions, and to the Appointments of others.* But the Thing was in its own Nature ſo evident, that they who had the greateſt Reaſon, and were moſt concern'd to do it, did never preſume to queſtion the Power of a Parliament in this Point.

Lethington, Secretary of *Scotland*, in a Letter of his, (*s*) written to Sir *William Cecill*, then Secretary of State here, wherein he argues, in Behalf of the Title of his Miſtreſs, *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, to ſucceed Queen *Elizabeth*, againſt a pretended Diſpoſition, made by the laſt Will of *Henry* VIII. to his Niece, the Lady *Frances*, Daughter to the *French* Queen, if his own Iſſue fail'd, ſays of of theſe Statutes, that gave the King Power to diſpoſe of the Crown, that they were againſt Equity, to diſinherit a Race of foreign Princes, and that they were made in an abrupt Time (as he terms it) but yet he confeſſes, that ſince the Thing was done, it was now valid and unavoidable, unleſs ſome Circumſtances did annihilate the Limitation made by King *Henry*'s Will.

And ſo he proceeds to prove, that the Power which was given to the King by theſe Statutes, was not purſued, which it ought to have been ſtrictly, and in a preciſe Form, for that the King never ſigned the Will, but that his Name, ſet to it, was forged: Nay, I will venture to ſay, that in all the Books which were written to ſupport the Claim of the *Scottiſh* Queen againſt King *Henry*'s Will, (though the whole Power and Wealth of the *Guiſes* were employ'd to ſet every Wit at work on that Deſign) there never was any Streſs laid upon it, or ſo much as a Pretence, that theſe Acts of Parliament were void or ineffectual in them-

(*r*) 35 H. 8. c. 1.
(*s*) *Burnet*'s Hiſt. Reform. Collect. 268.

themſelves. In that Diſcourſe (*t*) which was publiſhed by *Phillips*, and compoſed by Sir *Anthony Brown*, one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas, who was (in Judge *Dodderidge*'s Opinion) a Perſon of an incomparable Sharpneſs of Wit, there was all the Help that Learning, either in Divinity, Civil or Common Laws, could give; yet the Authority of the Parliament, in the Caſe, and the Validity of the Statutes, is all along admitted. Indeed, they endeavour to put ſome other Conſtruction upon the Statutes, but their great Argument is, That King *Henry*, as King, had no Power to diſpoſe of the Crown, and therefore theſe Laws only gave him an Authority, and made him only, as it were, a Commiſſioner, and therefore, as all other Authorities, (eſpecially being in Derogation of the Courſe of the Common Line) was to be ſtrictly follow'd. They allow, that he had ſufficient Power to deviſe, and that he might honourably have uſed that Power; but that he ever did exerciſe that Authority, is the Thing denied. But it is Time for us to go on.

Edward the VI. ſucceeded his Father, and took upon him a Power, which ſurely no King ever had, to diſpoſe of the Crown by Will. But that Diſpoſition ſerving to no other Purpoſe but to the Ruin of the Lady *Jane Gray*, his Siſter Queen *Mary* firſt, and after Queen *Elizabeth*, enjoy'd the Crown, according to the Limitation of the Statute 35 *Hen.* VIII. *c.* 1. and that one of them had no other Title, muſt be agreed by all: For Queen *Catherine* was alive at the Time when *Elizabeth* was born; ſo that if the firſt Marriage was unlawful, Queen *Mary*, and if the ſecond was unlawful, Queen *Elizabeth*, muſt neceſſarily have been illegitimate.

I cannot but obſerve one Paſſage to our preſent Purpoſe, which I meet with in the Time of Queen *Mary*. Sir *Edward Montague*, (*v*) firſt Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and afterwards of the King's Bench, (one who had the Reputation of the ableſt and wiſeſt Lawyer of his Age) being accuſed to have drawn the Will of *Edward* VI. whereby that Queen was to have been diſinherited; and being in great Danger upon that Account, drew up a State of his own Caſe, and therein ſets forth, That the great Reaſon (*x*) which prevailed with him to obey the King in that Particular, and upon which he did ſtill rely for his Indemnity, was, that if Queen *Mary* came to the Crown, ſhe took it by Force of the Act of Parliament which did limit it to her in Remainder; ſo that ſhe came in as a Purchaſer, and not in Privity of Eſtate to her Brother, and conſequently could not puniſh Treaſons or Offences committed in his Time.

I muſt needs alſo obſerve, That in the Articles (*y*) made upon the Marriage of Queen *Mary* with *Philip* of *Spain*, which were confirm'd by Act of Parliament, the ſeveral Crowns and Territories of *Philip* are diſtributed, part to *Charles* the Infant of *Spain*, part to the Iſſue of the intended Marriage: whereby it does appear not only what Opinion all *Europe* had of the Power of an *Engliſh* Parliament,

(*t*) Treatiſe of the Title of Q. *Mary* to the Succeſſion, p. 38, 39, *&c.* lib. 2. *Dodd.* Eng. Lawyer, p. 8.

(*v*) *More*'s Reports, 827. & 828.

(*x*) *Fuller*'s Church Hiſtory, lib. 8. fol. 5.

(*y*) 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 2.

ment, but alſo that by the Conſent of the Eſtates of other Realms, Crowns might be limited and diſpoſed out of the ordinary Courſe of Deſcent.

In the firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, (*z*) the Parliament recognize her Title to the Crown, with expreſs Relation to the Statute 35 *Hen.* VIII. which inveſts it in her and the Heirs of her Body, and do enact, (*a*) That the Limitation made by that Statute ſhall ſtand and remain as Law for ever, and all Sentences, Judgments, and Decrees to the contrary, are declared to be void, and appointed to be cancelled. And the ſeveral Offences which are made Treaſon by another Statute in the ſame Year, are all reſtrained to the Queen, and the Heirs of her Body only. The Parliament intending to extend that new Security no further than her Eſtate in the Crown (which ſhe took by that Parliamentary Limitation) did extend.

In Her Thirteenth Year it was Enacted, (*b*) That if any Perſon claim Title to the Crown for himſelf or any other, during Life, or ſhall not upon Demand acknowledge her Right, *He ſhall be diſabled during Life to have the Crown in Succeſſion, as if he were naturally Dead.* And to affirm Right of Succeſſion in ſuch Claimer or Uſurper, (after Proclamation made of ſuch Claim or Uſurpation,) is made Treaſon. Nor does the Statute ſtop there, but makes it Treaſon, during the Life of the Queen, and Forfeiture of all Goods and Chattels after her Deceaſe, to affirm that the Queen, with and by the Authority of Parliament, is not able to make Laws and Statutes of ſufficient Force and Validity to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the Deſcent, Limitation, Inheritance and Government thereof, or that this or any other Statute made by Parliament, with the Queen's Aſſent, is not, or ought not to be of ſufficient Force to bind or govern all Perſons, their Rights and Titles that may claim any *Intereſt* or *Poſſibility* in *or to the Crown in Poſſeſſion, Remainder, Inheritance, Succeſſion or otherwiſe.* It were well if ſome raſh Men, who preſume in their Diſcourſes to reſtrain the Power of Parliament, that is, the King, Lords and Commons, in the great Buſineſs of the Succeſſion, would be ſo wiſe as to remember this Act, which is ſtill in Force, and the Penalty to which they ſubject themſelves by ſuch ſaucy Talk. That incomparable States-man the Lord *Burleigh* had another kind of Opinion of the Security which an Act of Parliament could give his Royal Miſtreſs, by making the *Scotch* Queen *(the Popiſh Succeſſor of that Time)* unable and unable and unworthy of the Succeſſion; (*c*) as appears in a Letter which he wrote about this Time to Sir *Francis Walſingham*, then Ambaſſador in *France*.

In the 27th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, it was enacted, That if any Invaſion was made, or Rebellion or other Thing to the Hurt of her Perſon by, or for, or with the Privity of any one who ſhould or might pretend Title to the Crown, and the ſame ſhould be adjudged in ſuch manner as that Law appoints, then every Perſon againſt whom ſuch Judgment ſhould be given, ſhould be *excluded or diſabled for to have or claim the Crown*; And that the Subjects of this Realm lawfully might, by all poſſible Means, purſue all ſuch Offenders; And their Iſſues

(*z*) 1 Eliz. c. 3.
(*a*) 1 Eliz. c. 15.
(*b*) 13 Eliz. c. 1. *Raſt.* Treaſon. 27.
(*c*) Compleat Ambaſſad. fol. 219. 27 Eliz. c. 1.

Iſſues aſſenting or privy thereto, are in like manner diſabled, and to be purſued. And this Act was made in purſuance of an Aſſociation enter'd into by the People in the Vacancy of the Parliamen out of their great Zeal for the Preſervation of the Life of that Excellent Princeſs.

By Virtue of this Statute *(d) Mary* Queen of *Scotland* was afterwards Executed, as appears by the Commiſſion for her Tryal.

King *James* her Son who was a wiſer Prince, and not wholly *Govern'd by Prieſts as his Mother was*, though he had the ſame Pretences that ſhe had, yet never diſputed his Right, or ſet on Foot any Title during the Life of the ever Renowned Queen; *though ſhe would never ſuffer him to be declar'd her Succeſſor.* He was too Wiſe to incur the like Diſability as his Mother had done, and *to conteſt a Title eſtabliſh'd by Parliament.*

After Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death, The Act of Recognition made upon King *James* his coming to the Crown, doth particularly inſiſt upon that Title, which was raiſed by Act of Parliament to *Henry* VII. and the Heirs of his Body, and that immediately upon the Queen's Deceaſe the Crown deſcended and came to King *James*; ſo that you ſee the Title of Queen *Elizabeth* is again acknowledged by Parliament; And the Entail made by the Statute of 35 *Henry* VIII. being ſpent upon her Death without Iſſue, King *James* comes in as next Heir to the old Entail made the firſt Year of *Henry* VII.

Thus have I ſet down before you the whole Courſe of the *Engliſh* Succeſſion as plainly, as truly, and as briefly as is poſſible. I ſhall leave every Man to make his own Obſervations on this Hiſtorical Deduction: But this one Obſervation I believe all Men muſt make from it, That it hath been the conſtant Opinion of all Ages, That the Parliament of *England* had an unqueſtionable Power to Limit, Reſtrain, and Qualify the Succeſſion as they pleaſed, and that in all Ages they have put their Power in Practice; and that the Hiſtorian had Reaſon for ſaying, That ſeldom or never the third Heir, in a right Deſcent, enjoy'd the Crown of *England.* (*e*)

It were as eaſy to ſhew, That in all other Kingdoms the next of Blood hath been frequently excluded from the Succeſſion, but the Hiſtory of our own Country is our Buſineſs; yet I cannot forbear reciting the Speech which *Ambaſſadors* ſent from the States of *France*, made to *Charles* of *Lorrain*, when they had ſolemnly rejected him (though he was Brother to *Louis d' Outremes*, and next Heir to the Crown) and had elected *Hugh Capet* for their King. They told him, That every one knew that the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *France* belonged to him, *(f)* and not to *Hugh Capet.* But yet, (ſay they) the very ſame Laws which give you this Right of Succeſſion, do judge you alſo unworthy of the ſame; for thar you have not hitherto endeavoured to frame your Manners according to the Preſcript of thoſe Laws, nor according to the Uſages of your Country, but have rather ally'd yourſelf with the *German* Nation, our Enemies, and have loved their vile and baſe Manners. Wherefore ſeeing you have forſaken the ancient Virtue and Sweetneſs of your Country, we have alſo forſaken and

(*d*) *Strangway*'s Hiſt. of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, fol. 179.
(*e*) *Daniel*, fol. 5. in vita *H.* 1.
(*f*) Gerr. du Hall. lib. 6. an. 988.

and abandon'd *You*; and have choſen *Hugh Capet* for our King, and put you back, and this without any Scruple of Conſcience at all; eſteeming it better and more juſt to live under him, enjoying our ancient Laws, Cuſtoms, Privileges, and Liberties, than under you the Heir by Blood, in Oppreſſions, ſtrange Cuſtoms and Cruelty. For as thoſe who are to make a Voyage at Sea, do not much conſider whether the Pilot be Owner of the Ship, but whether he be ſkilful and wary; ſo our Care is to have a Prince to govern us gently and happily, (which is the End for which Princes were appointed) and for theſe Ends we judge this Man fitter to be our King.

Certainly it were a moſt dangerous Thing to have an Opinion prevail, That the King, in Concurrence with his Parliament, ſhould not have Power to change the direct Order of Succeſſion, though the Preſervation both of him and his People did depend upon it. For it does directly tend to Anarchy, and makes the Government to want Power to defend itſelf, by making ſuch Alterations as the Variety of Accidents in ſeveral Ages may make abſolutely neceſſary. There muſt be a ſupreme uncontroulable Power lodg'd ſomewhere. And the Men who talk at this Rate, can hardly find where it is lodged in *England*, if not in the King, Lords and Commons in Parliament.

But when a Man begins to aſk a Reaſon of this Doctrine of theirs, that Proximity of Blood does give a Title unchangeable by any Human Laws, the Teachers of it differ exceedingly; ſome of them tell us of a Divine Patriarchal Right, which Kings, as Natural Fathers of their People have derived down to them from *Adam*. And this Notion, though it be no older than the preſent Age, has been very frequent in Men's Mouths and Books, and has much pleaſed of late (as new Things uſe to do.) But they conſider not, that if this be true, there never can be but one Rightful Monarch in the Univerſe, That is he, who is the direct and lineal Heir of *Adam* then living. And thus theſe great Patrons of abſolute Power, inſtead of Supporting, do ſhake the Thrones of all the Princes in the World, ſince none of them at this Day can make out any ſuch Title.

There are others, who being deſirous to beſtow upon the Crown a Complement of the ſame Nature, which they were at the ſame Time obtaining from it, have declared in general, That Monarchy is of Divine Right, That Princes ſucceed by the Laws of God, That their Title is not ſubject to any Earthly Cognizance, nor owing to any Conſent of the People. But the Conſequences of this Opinion are not once conſider'd by theſe Men, that thereby the Property of all Subjects, and the Laws of all Countries are deſtroy'd together. For no human Laws can limit a Power divinely inſtituted. (Or if you like it better in the Words of a great Cardinal) (*g*) A Juriſdiction which is of Divine Right, is not alterable by the Will or Power of Man.

Beſides, all Communities which live under another Form of Government, muſt be guilty of this Divine Inſtitution. And perhaps there are few others beſides the Great *Turk*'s Dominions, which are governed as they ought to be.

In what a damnable Condition are the *Venetians* and the *Netherlands*, who ad-

(*g*) Card. Pallav. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. l. 18. cap. 15.

mit no Monarch at all? *Poland* and the Empire who Elect their Princes, and will not hear talk of this Divine Right of Succeſſion?

Arragon, where they do not Elect their King, but tell him plainly at his Coronation, that they will depoſe him if he obſerves not the Conditions which they require from him, and have a ſettled Officer call'd *El Juſtitia* for that Purpoſe? Nay, even *France* itſelf, which 'tis notoriouſly known, does exclude Women from this Divine Right?

That Government is of Nature, and derived from God, is manifeſt. Nothing is more natural in Man than the Deſire of Society, and without Government Society would be intolerable. But can it be proved from hence, That the Government cannot be moulded into ſeveral Forms agreeable to the Intereſt and Diſpoſitions of ſeveral Nations, and may not be varied from Time to Time as Occaſion requires, by the mutual Conſent of the Governors, and of thoſe who are Governed?

And after all Pretences of this kind, let any Place of Scripture be produced wherein God obliges a Man to this or that Form, till they have firſt obliged themſelves to it by ſome Act of their own?

I do agree, that if God by any extraordinary Revelation has ordain'd any Sort of Government, or by any immediate Denomination has conferr'd a Kingdom on any Family, and has directed in what Order the Crown ſhall deſcend, that all Men are bound to ſubmit to it and acquieſce in the Divine Will, as ſoon as it is clearly and evidently made out to them; but they muſt not be angry if Men expect ſuch an Evidence.

There is a third Sort of Men, who tell us, This Realm being entirely ſubdued by the Conqueror, and by him left to deſcend to his Heirs, none of theſe Heirs who derive a Title under him, can deprive thoſe who are to ſucceed of any Right, but muſt leave the Crown as free to them as they themſelves received it from their Anceſtors.

I will not here inſiſt upon the Danger any Prince runs into, who founds his Title in Force; becauſe it would be hard to prove, that ſuch a one does not leave as good a Title open for any Man who can make himſelf ſtrong enough. Nor need I trouble myſelf to ſhew, That all Conqueſt does not put the Conqueror into an Abſolute Right. Though it be moſt evident in the Caſe of *William* the Firſt, who did by his Sword proſecute a Claim of another Nature, and meant only to acquire that Right, and after Conqueſt reſted in it. He pretended to the Crown as the Gift of King *Edward*, and to vindicate that Title he enter'd with Arms. And though his Relation to the Crown was more remote than that of *Edgar Atheling*, (then a Child) yet his Title was better than *Harold*'s the preſent Uſurper, who could pretend no Kindred at all, and who had himſelf ſworn to ſupport the Grant to *William*. Nor did he claim a Power by Conqueſt, (tho' the Name of Conqueror was given him by after Times, ſays *Daniel*) but ſubmitted to the Orders of the Kingdom, deſirous rather to have his Teſtamentary Title, than his Sword to make good his Succeſſion. But I will admit, that he made an abſolute Conqueſt, and then theſe Men will grant, that he might himſelf diſpoſe of this conquer'd Kingdom. Therefore if he did not leave it to deſcend in ſuch a manner as they would have it go, nor did inſtitute any ſuch Sort of Succeſſion,

ceſſion, ſurely this Argument of theirs will fall to the Ground. Now 'tis plain, that he never deſign'd that the Crown ſhould deſcend, but gave it to his ſecond Son, and thereby gave an Example of *excluding and pretermitting the unworthy.*

Laſtly, Others object, That the Fundamental Laws of the Land againſt which no Act of Parliament can be in Force, have ſo eſtabliſh'd the Succeſſion, that the Courſe of it cannot be alter'd. This is ſurely a new Diſcovery unknown to our Fore-fathers, as the foregoing Hiſtory does abundantly prove. But let theſe Objectors be aſked, By what Authority theſe imaginary Laws were made? For if an Authority equal to that which made them be ſtill in being, that Authority may certainly repeal them whenever it pleaſes to exert itſelf. If the King alone made them, no doubt but that he may change them too. If they will ſay, they were made by the diffuſive Body of the People, they run before they are aware into the Guilt of worſhipping that Idol the Multitude, and make a great Step towards placing the Foundation of the Government upon Contract and Conſent. But then let them produce thoſe Laws or ſome Authentick Memorial of them, before it be exacted from us to believe there were any ſuch.

Yes, they will ſay, there is ſuch an ancient Law acknowledged by all the Judges, and known to every Man, That the Deſcent of the Crown purges all Defects whatſoever. This Maxim as it is uſually repeated in theſe Words, and this might be admitted, and yet could not be pertinently apply'd to a Caſe where the Deſcent itſelf prevented by a Law. But I will not take Advantage of their Words, but will conſider the Objection, as it ſtands in that Book where the firſt mention of it was made, and that is in the *Year-Book* of *Henry* the VII. it being ſaid there by the Judges, That the King was a Perſon Able and Diſcharged of any Attainder *eo facto*, that he took upon him the Government, and to be King.

Firſt, This was not only an extra-judicial Opinion, but was not pertinent to to the Queſtion referr'd to their Conſideration, *viz.* Whether thoſe who were choſen into the *Houſe of Commons*, and were at that Time attainted of Treaſon might ſit in Parliament, till their Attainders were Reverſed; and they all agree, that their Attainders ſhould firſt be annull'd. But then they proceeded to ſay, That there was no neceſſity that the King's Attainder ſhould be reverſed; for that he might enable himſelf, and needed not any Act of Reverſal. But ſurely they ſaid very wiſely in what they ſaid, for he who had won a Crown in the Field, had gone a great way towards enabling himſelf to wear it. Moſt ſure it is, that if an Act of Reverſal were neceſſary before he could ſit, that then it was impoſſible he ſhould ever ſit there, becauſe no ſuch Act could be made without the Royal Aſſent. *Henry* VII. was then King *de facto*, and in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, and it was ſomewhat of the lateſt to conſider whether he was qualified or not. Certainly it had been ſtrange Self-Denial in the Judges and a Neglect of themſelves (which is not uſual with them) to have alledg'd an incurable Diſability in the King, from whom they had their Patents and Authority.

(*h*) 1 *Hen.* 7. *f.* 4 *h.* Que le Roy fuiſt perſon able & diſcharge d'auſcun attainder eo facto qu'il priſt ſur lui le Reign & eſtre Roy.

In the next Place let us conſidet what Precedent the Judges cite to juſtify this Opinion of theirs, and how appoſite it is. *Henry* VI. being driven out of the Kingdom by *Edward* IV. the Conqueror call'd a Parliament, and got an Act to paſs, whereby he was diſabled to hold the Crown. About Ten Years after, *Henry* regains the Kingdom, and upon this Re-Acceſſion to the Throne, (as 'tis uſually call'd) This Act is never repeal'd. But does not every Child ſee the Reaſons of it? for if *Henry* was lawful King, (and before he was not to doubt that) The Act itſelf was void in as much as it wanttd the Royal Aſſent. So that for him to have procur'd an Act of Repeal had been to affirm a Title to the Crown in *Edward*. But without Doubt this Opinion of the Judges as it is apply'd by the Objectors, was new and unheard of before. We ſee the King of *France* was otherwiſe informed by the learned Men in the time of King *John*, (*i*) forthey thought his Blood corrupted, and him uncapable of taking the Crown by Deſcent, becauſe he was attainted of Treaſon, which prevail'd with that King to ſend over his Son *Lewis*, to put in his Claim in Right of his Wife, who was the next Heir. It alſo ought to be obſerved, that the true Reaſon why the Generality of the Nation did ſo long approve the Title of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, was becauſe all the Princes of the Houſe of *York* were attainted of Treaſon, and their Blood corrupted. But as ſoon as ever this Corruption was purged, and *Richard* Duke of *York* was declared Heir Apparent by Parliament, the People ſoon forſook the *Lancaſtrians*, and ſet the Houſe of *York* in the Throne.

Nay, the very learned Men of the ſame Age with theſe Judges, thought quite otherwiſe, as will appear beyond Contradiction in this famous Caſe which follows, *Richard* III. had two Elder Brothers, *Edward* and *George* Duke of *Clarence*. *Richard* deſigning to ſecure the Crown to himſelf, had procur'd the Children of *Edward* to be declar'd illegitimate, yet ſtill the Duke of *Clarence* had Iſſue living which might pretend. But obſerve what the Parliament ſay (as to this) in the firſt Year of *Edward* III. (*k*) "That in the Seventeenth Year "of *Edward* IV. *George* Duke of *Clarence* was Attainted of Treaſon, by "reaſon whereof all the Iſſue of the ſaid *George* was, and is Diſabled and "Barred of all Right and Claim, that in any Caſe he or his Iſſue might have "or challenge by Inheritance to the Crown and Dignity Royal of theſe Realms. "After that we conſider that you be the undoubted Heir, *&c.* And ſo they "proceed, affirming that all learned Men in the Laws do approve his Title." You ſee within leſs than Three Years before this Opinion of the Judges, the whole Parliament do not only give their Opinion, but aſſure you that all learned Men of that Time, held clearly that an Attainder did hinder the Deſcent of the Crown, and incapacitate the Perſon to take it. Nay, what goes yet further in this Matter, *Richard* himſelf, though he was as jealous to ſecure his Title as ever Tyrant was, and had as good Advice to diſcern the moſt diſtant Danger; though he was always reſtleſs in endeavouring to get the Earl of *Richmond* into his Hands, who was a very remote Pretender, and only deſcended from a Baſtard

(*i*) Mat. Weſtm. 275. *ubi ſupra.*
(*k*) Sup. & Cott. Rec. 709.

ſtard of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, yet he feared nothing on this ſide. He knew how he had wrong'd the Children of his Brother *Edward*, and could not be at eaſe till he had ſent them out of the World, but he let the Children of his Brother *Clarence* live, without apprehending any Danger from them becauſe their Blood was corrupted, and all Poſſibility of Deſcent taken from them by the Attainder of their Father. It was this only preſerved them alive, and not any Remorſe of Conſcience, or any Niceneſs in ſending another Nephew out of the World after thoſe whom he had diſpatch'd before. This notable Caſe attended with theſe Circumſtances, will convince every Man, either that the Judges intended no ſuch thing by their Opinion, as ſome Men fancy, or elſe at leaſt that extra-judicial Opinions were then as Apocryphal as they have been ſince.

Conſider Laſtly, The Unreaſonableneſs of the Doctrine which tends directly to ſubvert Government, and to put the Life of the King Regnant into the Hands of his Succeſſor. The next Heir may commit Rapes and Murders and Treaſons, Burn Cities or Betray Fleets, may conſpire againſt the Life of his Prince, and yet after all, if by *Flight* or *Force* he can ſave himſelf, till ſome of his Accomplices can get the King diſpatch'd, in ſpight of all Laws and Juſtice he muſt come to the Crown, and be innocent.

But when I reflect what ſort of Men I am arguing with, and how willingly they uſe to ſubmit to Authority, I think I ſhall convince them beſt by citing the Opinions of two great Men, the one a Cardinal, and the other a Lord Chancellor, both of them Martyrs for the Papal Supremacy, I mean *Fiſher* and Sir *Thomas Moor*. And if their Judgments approve the Power of Parliaments in the Buſineſs of the Succeſſion, it cannot but weigh very much on ſuch Occaſions as this. 'Tis well known how reſolutely even to Death they refuſed the Oath of Succeſſion which the Parliament had framed, (*l*) becauſe therein the King's Supremacy was avow'd, and therefore they cannot be ſuſpected to diſſemble, when at the very ſame they declared, That if that of Supremacy was left out, they would willingly ſwear an Oath to maintain the Succeſſion of the Crown to the Iſſue of the King's preſent Marriage, as it was then eſtabliſhed by Parliament, and gave this Reaſon for it, That this was in the Power of a Parliament to determine; but not who was Supreme Head of the Church. Sir *Thomas Moor* went further, and own'd a very ſtrange Opinion of their Power in this Point; but he ſays expreſly at the ſame time, That the Parliament had unqueſtionable Authority in the ordering of the Succeſſion, and that the People were bound to obey them therein.

After the Teſtimonies of theſe two great Papiſts, it will be little to add the Teſtimony of a Proteſtant; but yet I will mention what Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (who was no inconſiderable Man, though a Proteſtant) ſays in his incomparable Preface to the Hiſtory of the World: "Without doubt (ſays he) "Humane Reaſon would have judged no otherwiſe, but that *Henry* IV. had "rendered the Succeſſion as unqueſtionable by the Act of Parliament which he "had procured to entail it on his Iſſues, as by his own Act he had left his "Enemies powerleſs".

But

(*l*) *Burnet*'s Hiſt. Ref. lib. 2. fol. 256.

But ſinking Men catch hold of every thing, and when they cannot object to the Validity, they will tell us, That ſuch an Act of Parliament to diſinherit the next Heir is unjuſt and without a ſufficient Ground.

I will not at preſent enter into the Diſpute how far the Difference of Religion, which will alſo neceſſarily draw on a Change in the Government, does juſtify Men in ſeeking to preſerve the two deareſt things on Earth in an orderly and lawful Way. It will not (though I ſafely might) challenge theſe Men to tell me wherever any ſettled Nation which had Laws of their own, and were not under the immediate Force of a Conqueror, did ever admit of a King of another Religion than their own. I will not inſiſt on it that the Crown is not a bare Inheritance accompanying an Office of Truſt, and that if a Man's Defects render him uncapable of the Truſt, he has alſo forfeited the Inheritance. I need not ſay how far a Nation is to be excuſed for executing Juſtice ſummarily and without the tedious Formalities of Law, when the Neceſſity of things requires haſte, and the Party flies from Juſtice, and his Confederates are numerous and daring, and the Prince's Life in danger.

But this I will ſay, that if the Parliament have Power in this thing, which I need not prove, by ſhewing that the ordinary Courſe of Law allows Heirs to be diſinherited by Fines and Recoveries, and that the Parliament in all Ages has frequently done it by making Acts to alter the ſtrongeſt Settlements, where Equity has dictated it, though the Heirs were never in any wiſe criminal. There, according to Sir *Thomas Moor*'s Opinion, the People are bound in Conſcience to obey their Laws, and muſt not pretend to enquire whether they were made upon juſt grounds. For by the ſame Reaſon they may pretend that all other Laws were made without juſt Cauſe, and refuſe Obedience to any of them. And ſurely thoſe that ſhould do ſo, would be an excellent *Loyal Party*. God defend this Nation from ſuch Loyalty, as oppoſes itſelf to the King and the Laws; and God defend the King from the pretended Duty and Submiſſion of thoſe Men, who whilſt they talk of his Power ſo much, renounce it openly, and oppoſe what would be the greateſt Security of his Perſon, and in effect ſet up his Succeſſor above him, even in his Life-time.

The *Britiſh* Subjects ANSWER to the *Pretender*'s DECLARATION. By Sir RICHARD STEELE. Printed in the Year 1716.

DECLARATION.

1. *JAMES* VIII. *By the Grace of God, of* Scotland, England, France, *and* Ireland, *King, Defender of the Faith*, &c. To all our Loving Subjects, of what Degree or Quality ſoever, Greeting. As we are firmly reſolved never to omit any Opportunity of aſſerting Our undoubted Title to the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms, and of endeavouring to put Ourſelf into the Poſſeſſion of that Right,

Right, which is devolved upon Us by the Laws of God and Man; ſo muſt We, in Juſtice to the Sentiments of Our own Heart, declare, That nothing in this World can give Us ſo great Satisfaction, as to owe to the Endeavours of Our loyal Subjects, both Our and their Reſtoration to that happy Settlement, which can alone deliver this Church and Nation from the Calamities which they lie at preſent under, and from thoſe future Miſeries, which muſt be the Conſequences of the preſent Uſurpation. During the Life of Our dear Siſter, of glorious Memory, the Happineſs which Our People enjoyed, ſoftened in ſome Degree the Hardſhip of Our own Fate: And We muſt further confeſs, That when We reflected on the Goodneſs of Her Nature, and Her Inclinations to Juſtice, We could not but perſuade Ourſelf, That She intended to eſtabliſh and perpetuate the Peace, which She had given to theſe Kingdoms, by deſtroying for ever all Competition to the Succeſſion of the Crown, and by ſecuring to Us at laſt the Enjoyment of that Inheritance, out of which We had been ſo long kept; which Her Conſcience muſt inform Her was Our Due, and which Her Principles muſt lead Her to deſire that We might obtain.

2. But ſince the Time when it pleaſed Almighty God to put a Period to Her Life, and not to ſuffer Us to throw Ourſelf, as we then fully purpoſed to have done, upon Our People, We have not been able to look on the preſent Condition of Our Kingdoms, or to conſider their future Proſpect, without all the Horror and Indignation, which ought to fill the Breaſt of every *Scotſman*.

3. We have beheld a Foreign Family, Aliens to Our Country, diſtant in Blood, and Strangers even to Our Language, aſcend the Throne.

4. We have ſeen the Reins of Government put into the Hands of a Faction, and that Authority, which was deſigned for the Protection of all, exerciſed by a few of the worſt, to the Oppreſſion of the beſt and greateſt Number of Our Subjects: Our Siſter has not been left at Reſt in Her Grave; Her Name has been ſcurrilouſly abuſed; Her Glory, as far as in theſe People lay, inſolently defaced; and Her faithful Servants inhumanly perſecuted: A Parliament has been procured, by the moſt unwarrantable Influences, and by the groſſeſt Corruption, to ſerve the vileſt Ends; and they, who ought to be the Guardians of the Liberties of the People, are become the Inſtruments of Tyranny. Whilſt the principal Powers engaged in the late Wars, enjoy the Bleſſings of Peace, and are attentive to diſcharge their Debts, and eaſe their People, *Great Britain*, in the midſt of Peace, feels all the Load of a War; new Debts are contracted, new Armies are raiſed at Home, *Dutch* Forces are brought into theſe Kingdoms; and by taking Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Bremen*, in Violation of the publick Faith, a Door is opened by the Uſurper to let in an Inundation of Foreigners from Abroad, and to reduce theſe Nations to the State of a Province to one of the moſt inconſiderable Provinces of the Empire.

5. Theſe are ſome few of the many real Evils, into which theſe Kingdoms have been betrayed, under Pretence of being reſcued and ſecured from Dangers purely imaginary; and theſe are ſuch Conſequences of abandoning the old Conſtitution, as, We perſuade Ourſelves, very many of thoſe who promoted the preſent unjuſt and illegal Settlement, never intended.

6. We obſerve, with the utmoſt Satisfaction, that the Generality of Our Subjects are awakened with a juſt Senſe of their Danger, and that they ſhew them-

themſelves diſpoſed to take ſuch Meaſures as may effectually reſcue them from that Bondage, which has, by the Artifice of a few deſigning Men, and by the Concurrence of many unhappy Cauſes, been brought upon them.

7. We adore the Wiſdom of the Divine Providence, which has opened a Way to Our Reſtoration, by the Succeſs of thoſe very Meaſures that were laid to diſappoint Us for ever. And We moſt earneſtly conjure all Our loving Subjects, not to ſuffer that Spirit to faint or die away, which has been ſo miraculouſly raiſed in all Parts of the Kingdom; but to purſue, with all the Vigour and Hopes of Succeſs, which ſo juſt and righteous a Cauſe ought to inſpire, thoſe Methods which the Finger of God ſeems to point out to them.

8. We are come to take Our Part in all the Dangers and Difficulties to which any of Our Subjects, from the greateſt down to the meaneſt, may be expoſed on this important Occaſion, to relieve Our Subjects of *Scotland* from the Hardſhips they groan under, on Account of the late unhappy Union; and to reſtore the Kingdom to its Antient, Free, and Independent State.

9. We have before Our Eyes, the Example of Our Royal Grandfather, who fell a Sacrifice to Rebellion; and of Our Royal Uncle, who, by a Train of Miracles, eſcaped the Rage of the barbarous and blood-thirſty Rebels, and lived to exerciſe His Clemency towards thoſe who had waged War againſt his Father and Himſelf; who had driven him to ſeek Shelter in Foregin Lands, and who had even ſet a Price upon His Head.

10. We ſee the ſame Inſtances of Cruelty renewed againſt Us by Men of the ſame Principles, without any other Reaſon than the Conſciouſneſs of their own Guilt, and the implacable Malice of their own Hearts; for in the Account of theſe Men, it is Crime ſufficient to be born their King. But God forbid that We ſhould tread in theſe Steps, or that the Cauſe of a lawful Prince, and an injured People, ſhould be carried on like that of Uſurpation and Tyranny, and owe its Support to Aſſaſſins. We ſhall copy after the Patterns above-mentioned, and be ready, with the former of Our Royal Anceſtors, to ſeal the Cauſe of Our Country, if ſuch be the Will of Heaven, with Our Blood: But We hope for better Things: We hope, with the latter, to ſee Our juſt Rights, and thoſe of the Church and People of *Scotland*, once more ſettled, in a free independent *Scots* Parliament, on their antient Foundation: To ſuch a Parliament [which We will immediately call] ſhall We entirely refer both Our and their Intereſts; being ſenſible, that theſe Intereſts, rightly underſtood, are always the ſame: Let the Civil, as well as Religious Rights of all Our Subjects, receive their Confirmation in ſuch a Parliament; let Conſciences truly tender be indulged; let Property of every Kind be better than ever ſecured; let an Act of General Grace and Amneſty extinguiſh the Fears even of the moſt Guilty: If poſſible, let the very Remembrance of all which have preceeded this happy Moment be utterly blotted out, that Our Subjects may be united to Us, and to each other, in the ſtricteſt Bond of Affection, as well as Intereſt.

11. And that nothing may be omitted which is in Our Power to contribute to this deſirable End, We do, by theſe Preſents, abſolutely and effectually, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, Pardon, Remit, and Diſcharge all Crimes of High Treaſon, Miſpriſion of Treaſon, and all other Crimes and Offences whatſoever, done or committed againſt Us, or Our Royal Father, of bleſſed Memory, by

any

any of Our Subjects, of what Degree or Quality ſoever, who ſhall, at, or after Our Landing, and before they engage in any Action againſt Us, or Our Forces from that Time, lay hold of Mercy, and return to that Duty and Allegiance which they owe to Us, their only rightful and lawful Sovereign.

By the joint Endeavours of Us and of Our Parliament, urged by theſe Motives, and directed to theſe Views, We may hope to ſee the Peace and flouriſhing Eſtate of this Kingdom in a ſhort Time reſtored; and We ſhall be equally forward to concert with Our Parliament ſuch further Meaſures, as may be thought neceſſary for leaving the ſame to future Generations.

And We hereby Require all Sheriffs of Shires, Stewarts of Stewarties, or their Deputies, and Magiſtrates of Burghs, to publiſh this Our Declaration, immediately after it ſhall come to their Hands, in the uſual Places and Manner, under Pain of being proceeded againſt for Failure thereof, and forfeiting the Benefit of Our General Pardon. Given under Our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, at Our Court at *Commercy*, the 25th Day of *October*, and in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign.

ANSWER.

1. WHEREAS our Forefathers, for the many and intolerable Acts of Tyranny committed by the late King *James* II. againſt the Churches and States of *England* and *Scotland*, now united into the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, did, in full Parliament, after the Flight of his ſaid Majeſty, pronounced the ſaid King *James* to have Abdicated, and Forefaulted the Empire of the ſaid Kingdoms; and for the Safety of themſelves, and us their Poſterity, plac'd in the ſaid Thrones, *William* III. of Glorious Memory; which ſaid King *William* was ſucceeded by the late Queen *Anne* under the ſame Title. And whereas, the Pretender to theſe Dominions, has by an open Declaration ſet forth, That the ſaid Queen had been ſeduced from the maternal Care and Protection of her People, which ſhe had in the moſt ſolemn manner undertaken, as our Queen and Sovereign Lady, to enter into Meaſures for favouring his, the ſaid Pretender's Succeſſion to theſe Thrones. We, the Free Subjects of *Great-Britain*, do, with utter Abhorrence of ſuch a Deſign, aſcribed to a Princeſs who had Reign'd many Years over us in Juſtice, Mercy, and Glory, ſurpaſſing any of her Predeceſſors, declare, that we receiving with the utmoſt Horror the Imputation of ſo cruel, monſtrous, and unnatural Crime againſt a People, as Treaſon in the Throne of their Prince, Do, for the Honour of Human Nature itſelf, as well as Regard to our own Rights and Liberties, turn away from ſuch an Inſinuation, but call all the Aſſiſtances with which we are bleſſed by the Light of our Religion, the Juſtice of our Laws, and the Poſſeſſion of our Properties, to awaken a juſt Reſentment againſt all thoſe, who, by baſe Arts and Inſinuations into our late Sovereign's Favour and Councils, acted in direct Oppoſition to the Intereſts of Her their Queen, and us their Fellow Subjects, and gave Colour for this horrid Infamy caſt upon the *Britiſh* Name by theſe inſolent Invaders.

2. And ſince the ſaid Pretender, at this Time openly avowing, that in Concert with Perſons late in the Adminiſtration of this Kingdom (for we will not impute ought even to our Sovereign deceaſed) he was diſappointed of a favoura-

ble Conjuncture to throw himſelf upon his People; having hitherro ſtood in Suſpenſe, and therefore not till now called us to his Obedience; we do with the highest Diſdain, abjure, diſclaim, and contemn this groundleſs Allegation of Right: But in Conſideration of many who may have been miſled by wicked Favourers of the ſaid Pretender, by Perſons whoſe Character and Stations in Church and State require of them to inculcate nothing contrary to Juſtice and Truth, and who, by that Authority gradually inſinuated into the People, Principles which naturally tended to revive ſuch a Title as is now ſet up againſt all that is Sacred and Valuable amongſt us: In tender Regard to our weak Brethren ſo inſnared, we take the Patience to conſider the Aſſertions of the Pretender, and ſet over againſt them Facts and Arguments, by which we confirm our own Minds, and endeavour to recall thoſe of our wavering and miſtaken Fellow Subjects. The Aſſertion of an undoubted Title, without Arguments for it, is a Reaſon to believe that he is conſcious that 'tis doubtful, hid under the Diſgniſe of its being taken for granted; his Pretence is, that he is Son of King *James*; if he were ſuch, it does not follow that a Son is neceſſarily Heir to his Father. In many Nations the Eldeſt Son is not Heir to his Father's Eſtate, and no Man ever thought this a Breach of the Law of God; much leſs is it a Law of God to make a Man Succeſſor to his Father's Office; and, to be a King, is to bear the higheſt Office in Human Society. A Succeſſion from Father to Son has been preſerved for many Generations in no Country of the Univerſe. The Exigencies of reſpective Times and Places have not admitted it: Had ſuch a Succeſſion been unalterable, the Family of which the Pretender boaſts himſelf, had never aſcended Our Throne. It was the Law of this Kingdom before, as well as ſince the Revolution, that the Limitation of the Crown is in the Parliament. According then to the Laws of our Country, we have ſworn inviolable Allegiance to GEORGE, our Sovereign Lord and King, the next capable Heir to the Throne of theſe Kingdoms; who governs us with Juſtice and Equity, and ſupports us by Our Laws, and preſerves us in the Poſſeſſion of our Religion, againſt a Pretender who is bred a Stranger and an Enemy both to our Conſtitution and our Faith; even they who diſown the King's Government, enjoy the Protection of it free from Hardſhip.

3, 4. The Rents of Government are put in the Hands of Miniſters, who, by their Actions, Eloquence or Council, have ſtrenuouſly oppos'd the Abuſe of the late Authority of this Kingdom, exerciſed by wicked Men, who abuſed her late Majeſty's Power when living, as they do her Name now dead, to give Sanction to their Iniquities. The Chief Officers, Civil and Military, in that fatal Diſtribution of Power, are either fled, in Arms, or in Cuſtody for their Services to the Enemy of that Power and that Settlement to which they were ſworn Servants. Our Sovereign has obtained (ſince his Acceſſion) from his own Coffers, not by the Expence of our Blood, or that of the Subject of any other his Nations, new Dutchies, new Territories: We love, honour and obey him, not only as the moſt Gracious Sovereign, but alſo the moſt Powerful Ally of *Great Britain*. We ſee new Armies raiſing, new Debts contracting; but we ſee it with Pleaſure, ſince they both ſerve to ſupport our King, and oppoſe the *Pretender* to his Dominions.

5. *Theſe*

5. *These are some few of the many real Evils into which these Kingdoms were betray'd.* Such were the Dangers which our Forefathers did not think *imaginary*; Let us then recite the Reasons for which, according to the old Constitutions, they made a new Legal Settlement; which Evils, we suppose, many of our Fellow Subjects have forgotten, or they would not at this Day of Peril be indifferent to the said Legal Settlement, when they put King *William* and Queen *Mary* into the Throne, which they said in the Act of Parliament for that Purpose, He had abdicated, by exercising a Power of dispensing with, and suspending Laws; by Committing and Prosecuting divers Prelates for petitioning against the said Power; by issuing, and causing to be executed, a Commission, called, *A Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes*, by levying Money for the Use of the Crown in other manner than was granted by Parliament; by keeping a Standing Army in this Kingdom in Time of Peace without Consent of Parliament, and Quartering Soldiers contrary to Law; by causing Protestant Subjects to be disarm'd, while Papists were Armed and Employed contrary to Law; by violating the Freedom of Election of Members to serve in Parliament. We perswade Ourselves very many of those who promote the Repetition of the abovementioned Calamities, by their cool and indifferent Behaviour have forgot their Country was ever before exposed to them.

6. We observe, with the utmost Satisfaction, that the Generality of our Fellow Subjects are awaken'd with a just Sence of imminent Danger, which they have escaped, at a Conjuncture wherein, after the Death of our Queen, the late *French* King had meditated to depute and impose a *Popish Tyrant* upon these Protestant Nations; and we have seen our abandoned Countrymen engaged in the Design.

7, 8. We thank and adore the Wisdom of the Divine Providence, which by an Union of *England* and *Scotland*, makes the Protection and Care of the whole Island, at this Instant of Difficulty, less Subject to Delays and Distractions. We observe, with Joy, the Enemy calls it an *Unhappy-Union:* We slight the Rage which so terms it, without assigning an Instance wherein it is so; and rejoyce that he finds it, as he calls it, *Unhappy* to himself. We detest the Endeavours to dis-unite us, aud think any one unworthy the Blessing of being a Native of either Part of *Great-Britain*, who makes a Distinction in his good Will, from a Consideration of Birth in the *Northern* or *Southern* Parts of it. It is an Union of Protestants and Fellow-Subjects, fighting for their Civil and Religious Liberties: An Union that, we trust, will be ever hateful and terrible to the Friends of Slavery and Popery.

9. We remember, with Horrow, the Rebellion which ended in the Murder of our Sovereign Lord *Charles* I. who fell a Sacrifice against the known Rule, which makes Ministers answerable for the Male-Administration of the State, and renders Princes, in their own Persons, sacred and inviolable. We detest also the Memory of the Rebellion from the Sufferings and Exile of our Sovereign Lord *Charles* II.—*We remember in him the Restoration of the Royal Family, after an Usurpation; as we do in King* William *the Restoration of the Constitution after a Tyranny.*

10. Leſt we ſhould ſee the Returns of ſuch Tyrannies and Uſurpations, we are to conſider the Juſtice of our Cauſe. Law and Equity are to contend againſt Invaſion and Rapine; Honeſt and Faithful Subjects againſt Rebels and Aſſaſſins. Our Captains who have fought for the Cauſe of Liberty in foreign Nations, againſt Lawleſs Power, conduct our Armies in the Cauſe of Religion, againſt the Leaders of rude Multitudes, who have fled from our Altars and Sacraments, and in Violation of the Oaths there made, are endeavouring to cover their Native Country, with the Carnage and Bloodſhed of their Friends, Relations, Fellow-Citizens and Brethren. We promiſe ourſelves the Succeſs due to ſo glorious a Cauſe, and preſume upon the Iniquities more than the inferiour Force of our Enemies. We abhor the ambiguous Term of the Church of *Scotland*; if the *Roman Catholick* Religion is meant, it is Prevarication not to ſay ſo; if the Proteſtant Church, we know the *Pretender* bound in Conſcience to deſtroy it: And, if he ſhould do a prudential Act in her Favour, he would be oblig'd to reſcind it. As to the Confirmation of Civil Rights, we have, before our Eyes, the Example of King *James* II. who, in Two Acts of Parliament in *Ireland*, deſtroy'd the whole Proteſtant Settlement, ſubjecting Old Age and Childhood, without Regard to their neceſſary Importance to offend, to the Pains and Penalties inflicted by the Act of a Superſtitious *Tyrant*, and his Mercenary Slaves, under the Name of a *Free Parliament*.

11. In Defiance thereof of an Outlaw, devoted for paſt Treaſons with a Price on his Head, educated in Superſtitious Hatred to our Religion, and urg'd by Revenge againſt Our Perſons and Principles, and in Contempt of all his Abettors both publick and private, we will not ſuffer the *Britiſh* Spirit to faint and die away; but reſolve, in Defence of Our King and Our Country, in the joint Cauſe of Heaven and Earth, to avenge us of our Enemies like Miniſtring Angels, or fall by their Hands like an Army of Martyrs.

A *DECLARATION* of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops in and near *London*, Teſtifying their Abhorrence of the preſent Rebellion; with an Exhortation to the Clergy and People under their Care, to be Zealous in the Diſcharge of their Duties to His Majeſty King *GEORGE*. Printed in the Year 1715.

WHEREAS an Unnatural Rebellion has been Raiſed againſt our Lawful and Rightful Sovereign King *George* in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, and is ſtill Threatned in more, We have thought it Incumbent Us, out of Our Duty to God, to Our King, to Our Country, and to Our Holy Religion, in this Publick Manner to Declare Our Abhorrence of it, and

and to Warn both the Clergy and People under Our Charge, of the great Obligations they lie under, upon all theſe Accounts, to ſhew a hearty and an open Zeal for the Government in this Conjuncture.

The Providence of God has indeed ſo Wonderfully appeared hitherto, both in timely Diſcovering the Treaſon, and in Diſappointing Our Enemies of ſeveral Advantages they expected, that We have great Reaſon to truſt in Him, that the Event will be to the Confuſion of the Wicked Actors in this Rebellion; But however in a Matter of this High Nature, wherein Our Duty and Our deareſt Intereſts are ſo deeply Concerned, no Endeavours ought to be thought Superfluous, nor Zeal Unneceſſary.

We are the more Concerned, that both the Clergy and People of Our Communion ſhould ſhew themſelves hearty Friends to the Government upon this Occaſion, to Vindicate the Honour of the Church of *England*, becauſe the chief Hopes of Our Enemies ſeem to ariſe from Diſcontents artificially raiſed among Us, and becauſe ſome, who have Valued themſelves, and have been too much Valued by others, for a pretended Zeal for the Church, have Joyned with Papiſts in theſe Wicked Attempts; which as they muſt ruin the Church if they Succeed, ſo they cannot well end without great Reproach to it, if the reſt of Us do not Clearly and Heartily Declare Our Deteſtation of ſuch Practices.

We are not ſurprized, that the Papiſts ſhould riſe up againſt a Government which they would never yet own, and endeavour to ſet a Perſon upon the Throne, who will Eſtabliſh their Religion, and Ruin Ours: (tho' Rebellion is but an ill Return for the Quiet They have enjoy'd) But that profeſs'd Members of the Church of *England* ſhould Join with them in this, and out of Private Diſcontents, Attempt to ſet up a Perſon whom they have ſo often and ſo lately Abjured, is ſo vile and deteſtable a thing, as may juſtly make them Odious both to God and Man; But at the ſame time to pretend a Zeal for the Church, that is, to join with Papiſts, to ſet up a Popiſh Pretender, to Support the Church of *England*, in ſuch an Impoſition upon the common Senſe of Mankind, that nothing even in Popery itſelf can be more abſurd, and nothing but an Infatuation from God, juſtly inflicted for Our Sins, can ſuffer to paſs upon the Nation.

How much Blood this may coſt, or what Ruin it may bring on Our Country, God only knows; but we think proper to obſerve to you, that the more clearly and openly We Declare Ourſelves for the Government, the leſs it will probably be: And that all thoſe muſt have a Share in the Guilt of the Innocent Blood that ſhall be ſpilt, not only who actually Join in the Rebellion, but who do any way Promote it; or even by their Silence at this Juncture, ſhall give Hopes to the Pretender and his Friends, and juſt Cauſe of Jealouſy and Suſpicion to the Goverment.

And is this a Time to ſtand Neuters when all lies at Stake? Or is Popery become ſo Innocent of late, that it is Indifferent whether a Popiſh or a Proteſtant Prince be on the Throne? This We ſpeak to thoſe who have owned the King's Title, and have Sworn to Mantain it, and are ready to do it again, as occaſion offers; who, We have reaſon to believe, are ſo many, that if They are true to their Oaths, the Government (humanly ſpeaking) cannot be in any

Danger

Danger. And is it not fit for all ſuch Perſons to conſider ſeriouſly what thoſe Oaths are, with which they have bound their Souls? They have not only Abjured the Pretender, and his Title; but have Sworn to Defend King *George* to the utmoſt their Power, againſt all Traiterous Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt His Perſon, Crown, and Dignity; and to the utmoſt of their Power to Maintain and Defend the Succeſſion of the Crown againſt the ſaid Pretender, and all other Perſons whatſoever.

Theſe Words do not only import, that We will not Rebel againſt the King; But that We will be Active for Him according to Our ſeveral Stations, eſpecially in Times of Danger, when Rebellions are raiſed againſt Him: They who are called to be Soldiers, by Fighting Couragiouſly for Him: They who are Magiſtrates, by Uſing their Authority for His Support; They who are Miniſters, by their Prayers, by their Preaching, and by their Admoniſhing thoſe under their Care, of their Duty to Him; and all of Us, by a Cheerful Ready Declaration of Our Reſolution to Stand by Him.

Such a Conduct would Diſcourage the Rebels, and Animate the Government, would put an End to Our Troubles, and Support His Majeſty in the Juſt Poſſeſſion of the Crown, which was Settled upon his Family with Mature Conſideration, and for Juſt and Weighty Reaſons, as being the next Family of the Royal Blood that were Proteſtants; from whom only We could expect Protection in Our Religious and Civil Liberties, which are the Birthright of the People of *England*, and which no Man has a Right to Invade. This Settlement was eſtabliſhed by the whole Legiſlature, and Confirm'd by many Acts of Parliament, made in two different Reigns, and under the Prevalency of each of the Unhappy Diviſions of Parties among Us; ſeveral of them, in the laſt Years of Our late Gracious Queen, and has been, from time to time, Sworn to by almoſt all, of all Orders and Degrees of Men among Us.

As this Settlement was made for the Security and Benefit of theſe Kingdoms, ſo have We all the Reaſon in the World to think Ourſelves Happy in that Perſon, who, by all this Authority, at preſent Reigns over Us. Even His Enemies are forced to Confeſs, that He is a very Good and Gracious Prince: He lives in the Conſtant Communion of the Church of *England*, and has given Us both his Oath, and His repeated Royal Word to Protect it; and He has not, by any Thing He has done, given Us the leaſt Reaſon to Suſpect, but that it will Flouriſh at leaſt, as much under His Government, as under that of the Beſt of His Royal Predeceſſors.

But if the Pretender ſhould prevail, what can the Church of *England* expect, but Ruin and Deſtruction? A Popiſh Prince upon the Throne, Bigotted to his Religion, and Heated with what will then be called Ill Uſage, together with a long Train of Papiſts in the Succeſſion, can bode nothing, but Fatal and Irrecoverable Ruin to it. May not We in this Matter Appeal to the Experience of all Countries, whether a Succeſſion of Popiſh Princes have not Ruined the Proteſtant Religion wherever it has been Planted. They are obliged by the Laws of their Church, to Extirpate out of their Dominions what they call Hereſy, which their Canoniſts treat as a Crime more Heinous than either Murder or Rebellion. And theſe Laws They never fail to put in Execution when they have full Power to do it; as We may be Satisfied from what was done in

Flanders,

Flanders, where, according to the Account of Writers of that Communion, above Fifty Thouſand were put to the moſt miſerable Deaths.

To paſs over the Maſſacres and Horrible Perſecutions in *France*, *Savoy*, and other Foreign Countries, Let Us call to mind how much this Church and Nation ſuffered in the Bloody, tho' Short Reign of Queen *Mary*, contrary to Solemn Promiſes; when not only many were put to Death, as Hereticks Convict, but the Torture was Ordered for all whom They Suſpected, and who wou'd not Confeſs, according to the Barbarity of the Inquiſition; which Horrid Court or ſomething very like it, would Probably have been Set up in this Kingdom, had that Popiſh Reign laſted but a little longer: And We have reaſon to fear it wou'd Effectually be eſtabliſhed here, if ever God, for our Sins, ſhould ſuffer another Popiſh Prince to be Settled on this Throne.

The Progreſs that was made toward the Bringing this Yoke of Bondage upon Us, and the Miſeries with which we were Threatned under the late Unhappy King *James*, are too freſh in Our Thoughts to be forgotten: And what befel that Unfortunate Prince, will certainly be Remembred and Reſented by him who claims an Indefeaſable Right to his Kingdoms.

But beſides this, How muſt the Pretender look upon the Clergy of the Church of *England*, after all that They have been doing for near Thirty Years together? They were the Clergy, that in the time of King *James*, did juſtly alarm the Nation with the Dangers of Popery; from whence followed all that was done at the Revolution. And the Clergy have every Year ſince that, upon the Fifth of *November*, given God Thanks for what was then done, *for making all Oppoſition fall before Him* (the Prince of *Orange*) *till He became Our King*. They have not only taken all the Oaths Eſtabliſhed by Law, but have uſed the Daily Prayers, and thoſe of the ſeveral Faſts and Thankſgivings, for the Proſperity of the Government. They have frequently, from time to time, in their Addreſſes from the Convocation, and from their reſpective Dioceſes, promiſed to Stand by the Proteſtant Succeſſion. How muſt the Pretenter look upon Perſons, that have done all this? That have Prayed againſt Him, that have Addreſſed againſt Him, that have Sworn againſt Him, and Abjured Him for ſo many Years together.

What a Reproach will this Matter then be to the Church of *England*? Such of Us as ſtand true to Our Oaths, will then be called Rebels and Traitors; and ſuch as do not (if any ſhall be ſo wicked) will be called Atheiſts and Infidels for taking Abominable Oaths againſt their Conſciences. What Scandal will this give to Our People? and how will they be apt to turn Papiſts in great Numbers, when We, that ſhould direct and ſtand by them, ſhall fall under ſuch Reproaches? But We hope better, tho' We thus Speak; and that God will not ſuffer theſe ſore Judgments to come upon Us, and Our Country.

We do therefore, in the Name of God, call upon all thoſe who are under Our Care, in the firſt place to humble themſelves before God, for the great and crying Sins of the Nation; for that Spirit of Infidelity and Libertiniſm; of Unthankfulneſs for the Mercies of the Goſpel; of Formality and Hypocriſy; of Strife and Envy, of Hatred and Animoſity, which are ſo rife among Us:

And

And which are generally the Forerunners of the Deſtruction of any People Let Us all cry mightily to God, to avert theſe Judgments, which We have ſo juſtly deſerved; that He would *Save His People*, ſo often and ſo wonderfully preſerved by Him, *and not give His Heritage to Reproach*; that he would not ſuffer this Church to be over-run with Superſtition and Idolatry, or leave Us to the Mercies of them, *whoſe Mercies are cruel.* Let Us particularly Pray for the Preſervation of the Perſon and Government of Our moſt Gracious Sovereign King *GEORGE*, that God would Cover His Enemies with Shame; *but that upon Himſelf* and His Poſterity, *the Crown may ever Flouriſh.* We do alſo Charge both Clergy and People, as they will be Anſwerable for the Deſtruction, that may otherwiſe come, both upon the Church and Nation; that They endeavour to Strengthen the Hands of the Government in this Dangerous Conjuncture: The Clergy by plainly Admoniſhing their Flocks of their Duty, both to their King and Country; and the People by a Cheerful Declaration of their Readineſs to Stand by the Government. And let all of Us, forgetting all Differences, and Animoſities, make this the great Contention, who ſhall act with the trueſt Zeal againſt the Common Enemy.

And God grant, that We may All, in this Our Day, ſee the Things that belong to Our Peace, before they are hid from Our Eyes.

THO. CANTUAR'	*W. Lincoln.*
Joh. London.	*C. Norwich.*
Jonathan Wincheſter.	*W. Ely.*
Jo. Lichfield & Cov.	*Tho. Chicheſter.*
Ric. Peterborough	*Rich. Glouceſter.*
W. Sarum.	*John Aſaph.*
Jo. Bangor.	*Jo. Oxon.*

Biſhop

Biſhop *Atterbury*'s and Biſhop *Smalridge*'s REASONS for not Signing the DECLARATION, lately put forth by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other Biſhops. With Conſiderations of the Biſhop of *L---n*'s Letter to His Clergy, immediately after His Lordſhip's Signing the ſaid Declaration. Printed in the Year 1715.

WHEN we conſider how much theſe Reverend Fathers have deſerved of the *Church* by their diſtinguiſh'd Zeal, Learning and Piety, we can't but be concern'd at the Liberty ſome prejudic'd People take to cenſure their Conduct, though ſo juſt and irreproachable. Theſe Men do not weigh the Circumſtances and Reaſons of Perſons and Things, but are led away by Paſſion, and Arbitrarily condemn what deſerves rather to be approv'd of at leaſt, if not applauded. For my part I could not imagine, that two ſuch Renown'd Prelates could ſtand out againſt the Senſe of Fourteen of their Right Reverend Brethren, without having very ſubſtantial Reaſons for it. Such Reaſons as are indeed obvious to all thinking Men, but the World is ſo corrupted by Party, that few will give themſelves time to think, and thence proceed thoſe raſh Judgments that are made of the beſt of Men, and the beſt of Things. If it could be laid to the Charge of one of theſe Two excellent Biſhops, my Lord of *Rocheſter*, that he had once in the whole Courſe of his Life ſhewn the laſt Spirit of Contention, ſomething might be ſaid againſt his preſent Singularity, as if it aroſe from Reſentment and Diſguſt. But let us look into the whole Conduct of his Life, whether as Arch-Deacon of *Totneſs*, Dean of *Carliſle*, Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, or Biſhop of *Roffen*, we ſhall find it adorned with all the Purity and Meekneſs of Manners, which gave ſo much Credit and Authority to the Primitive Biſhops. I know it will be objected, that when he was Arch-Deacon only, he fell furiouſly on the whole Order of the *Britiſh* Biſhops, and would have depriv'd them of the juſt Superiority which they have always claim'd over their Clergy in *Convocation*, that he wrote againſt the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, with a moſt unchriſtian and indecent Aſperity, but this Objection is very eaſily anſwer'd, had it been a thouſand Times ſtronger than it is; and to do it, I ſhall only repeat what his Reverend Brother Dr. *Smallridge* ſaid of him with reſpect to this, in an Oration he made to the *Upper* Houſe of *Convocation*, when Dr. *Atterbury* was preſented to them as *Prolocutor* of the Lower. *Ea fuit rerum noſtrarum conditio, cum Synodi Anglicanæ jura, poteſtates ac privilegia in aperta Luce collocanda*, &c. *Such was the State of Affairs, when this very learn'd Perſon thought it proper to place the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of our* Engliſh *Convocation in an open and true Light*, &c. Can one ſuppoſe, that ſo diſcreet and ſo Orthodox a Divine would have told the Upper Houſe of *Convocation*, that Dr. *Atterbury* had fully anſwer'd all their Claim of

Right, if he had not done it, eſpecially Dr. *Wake*, but Dr. *Kennet*, and Mr. *Hoadly*, had come off ſo ſcurvily in that notable and important Controverſy.

If Dr. *Atterbury*, when he was Dean of *Carliſle*, had a Quarrel with the Biſhop, one ought to imagine he was not inſtigated to it by any hopes of Profit or View of Revenge, but was acted by the ſame Principle that inſpir'd him in the Vindication of the Inferior Clergy, that of Right: The ſame may be ſaid of his Brawls with the Canons of *Chriſt-Church* when he was Dean there, and of his Suit with the Pariſh of St. *Margaret's Weſtminſter*, and his Diſpute with the Prebends when he was Dean there too, it came doubtleſs all from the ſame Source, and wh ther it was from Pride and Avarice, or from Wiſdom and Piety, let the World judge. I will not injure ſo illuſtrious a Character ſo far as to ſuppoſe they can need any Determination of mine in a Caſe ſo very plain. I grant there may be ſome Infelicity attend a Man, who has been forced to quarrel with every Body he has had to do with, but if that Man's Character be adorn'd with Piety, Prudence, Humility, and Charity, I ſhall always impute it to him not as Guilt, but as Misfortune.

A greater Matter of Scandal urg'd againſt this Prelate by the *Enviers* of his Merit and Dignity, is a ridiculous Notion, that his Lordſhip had a Hand in Dr. *Sacheverel's* Speech at his Tryal. Now to have a Hand in a Friend's Vindication is without doubt very juſtifiable, but ſay they, the Doctor is made to declare ſolemnly, and call the *Omniſcient* to witneſs, that he never intended to reflect on the *Revolution*, the *Miniſtry*, or the *Toleration* in his Sermon. This they cry was a moſt cruel Impoſition on the Conſcience of that poor Man; to which I ſhall only anſwer, that I make no queſtion Dr. *Atterbury* knew the Inſide of Dr. *Sacheverel* better than any of his Cenſurers, and therefore could better judge of his Intention. From the whole of what I have ſaid, it appears, that my Lord of *Roſſen* muſt have weighty Reaſons for every thing he does, and his refuſing to ſign the Biſhops Declaration in favour of the Government, muſt be as well grounded as any other of his Actions, and be built on the ſame Foundation. 'Twas neceſſary to premiſe thus much, that when I inquire into thoſe weighty Reaſons of his, the Character of ſo Pious and Primitive a Prelate may help me and the Reader out in many places, where we might otherwiſe be at a loſs to find out what Principle he was guided by.

I am now to do the ſame Juſtice to my Lord of *Briſtol*, but as his Lordſhip has not done quite ſo many extraordinary Things as his Brother of *Rocheſter*, I ſhall take Notice of but one only, for in that will appear ſo much Integrity and Veracity, that one cannot doubt of his Lordſhip's Sincerity and Uprightneſs in all his Actions, thoſe eſpecially that have Relation to the Grandeur and Empire of our flouriſhing Church.

When her late Majeſty, who had an undoubted Right to place and diſplace Her Servants at pleaſure, as well as to make *Peace* and *War*, chang'd Her Miniſtry, and diſſolv'd Her Parliament in the Year 1710, the *Whigs* publiſh'd a Parcel of ſad Papers, to keep up the Spirits of the Ruin'd Party, and one among the reſt, Entitul'd, *A Teſt offer'd to the Conſideration of the Electors of* Great-Britain, upon which this good Biſhop and the Brewer of *Weſtminſter* put out an Anſwer to it, call'd, *A Detection of a Falſhood endeavour'd to be impos'd*

on the Publick; in the aforeſaid Paper, which anſwer was, ſigned in Print, *George Smalridge*, D. D. and *Thomas Groſſe*. The main Deſign of the *Teſt* was to ſhew, how the *Tories* in a Debate about the *Hanover* Succeſſion divided againſt it in the Beginning of Queen's *Anne*'s Reign, which this Reverend Doctor, and this Worſhipful Brewer endeavour to prove to be a *Falſhood*. But the late *Arthur Maynwaring*, Eſq; looking upon this *Detection* of theirs to be as he ſaid *Equivocating*, publiſhed a true Repreſentation of that Matter as follows.

" When the Houſe of *Commons* proceeded, (according to Order) to take in-
" to conſideration, *Three Amendments made by the Lords to a Bill*, intitul'd, *An*
" *Act for enlarging the Time for taking the Oath of Abjuration*, &c. the Debate
" was chiefly held upon the Subject-matter of the ſecond Amendment; and
" thoſe Gentlemen that were againſt giving that Security to the Houſe of
" *Hanover*, principally inſiſted on the Danger of multiplying Treaſons, the
" great Inconveniencies that might ariſe from making new Treaſons, and other
" Arguments to that Effect. But though hardly any Notice was taken of the
" Amendment, it was in Courſe to be firſt put. And now comes the great
" Art and Parliamentary Skill of thoſe Perſons that were againſt the ſecond A-
" mendment: They reſolv'd (according to the moſt uſual piece of Manage-
" ment in that Houſe) to try their Numbers, by dividing upon the firſt. But
" that was ſo little thought to be the Buſineſs of the Day, or indeed of the firſt
" Diviſion itſelf, that two or three ſtanch old Members went out juſt before the
" Diviſion, having ſome particular Views at that time, which made it incon-
" venient for them to declare againſt the Proteſtant Succeſſion. And thoſe of
" their Friends who ſtaid the Diviſion, and whoſe Names are ſet forth in *the*
" *printed Teſt*, under the Title, *No's againſt agreeing with the Lords*, may ſtrict-
" ly and properly be ſaid, in Parliamentary Language, to have divided againſt
" the *Amendments*; the rather, becauſe few Inſtances can be given that ever the
" weaker ſide, upon looſing ſuch a previous Queſtion, divided again upon any
" ſubſequent Clauſe, that had been mix'd in the ſame Debate.

" But I believe there's no Body alive that does not think, if they had thrown
" out the firſt Amendment, they would immediately have proceeded to throw
" out the ſecond: And there were two Circumſtances attending this Affair,
" which muſt needs put it out of all doubt, how it was underſtood both Abroad
" and within the Houſe. Mr. *Dyer*, the common News-Writer, expreſs'd
" himſelf thus in his Letter to *Cheſter* upon this Occaſion, *That the Prince of*
" Wales *had loſt it in the Houſe only by one Vote*; or, *that the Houſe of* Hanover
" *had carry'd it but by one Vote*: One of them I am ſure it was, for which he
" was puniſh'd by the Houſe, upon the Complaint of a Member for that City.
" And to ſhew what the Members themſelves thought of it, the only Gentle-
" man that gave a Negative to the firſt Bill for eſtabliſhing the Proteſtant Suc-
" ceſſion, who was then of that Houſe, though ſoon after call'd up to the
" other, ſaluted Sir *Ma—— Dud—y*, when this Diviſion was over, in theſe
" words, *How fare ye, Minheer D—y?* Upbraiding him by that Expreſſion for
" having voted for the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Hanover*, which the late King
" and the *Dutch* had eſpous'd: To which the other reply'd, *Fort bien, Mon-*

" *ſieur Gran—lle*, alluding by that to his Vote, which he took to be for the " *French* Name, which had been chang'd not many Years before from a " plain *Engliſh* one, as it is ſtill printed in the Hiſtory of the Earl of " *Clarendon.*

" If I ſhould ſay therefore, that theſe Gentlemen were not for throwing " out the ſecond Amendment, it would perhaps be a Logical Truth, becauſe " they did not juſt divide upon that Cauſe: But it would be a Mortal Lie, " and a Fallacy, that I ought to be aſham'd of, becauſe every ſtep they took " that Day was in order to throw it out; and they went the beſt way to work " that they could. So that after all the Clamour that has been rais'd againſt " the Teſt before-mentioned, ſince that Paper does not affirm that the Diviſion " was upon this Clauſe; but that *after Debate, the Queſtion being put for agree-* " *ing with the Lords in the* AMENDMENTS, the Houſe divided, as actually " they did: It is left to every impartial Perſon, who knows any thing of Par- " liament Proceedings, to determine whether the Charge which is ſet forth " againſt them in that Paper, ſtands good or not; and whether they ſhew'd " upon this Occaſion the ſame Abhorrence of the *Pretender*, and the ſame " Zeal for the Houſe of *Hanover*, which has flam'd out indeed in their late " Addreſſes; but which (if one may uſe the Expreſſion of a very great Mi- " niſter in another Nation) has rather *amaz'd* than *convinc'd* the World."

I am, *&c.*

By this one would think, that the Reverend Doctor printed his Paper to give Countenance to the Cauſe of the *Pretender*, but when one examines the Affair impartially, we find, that though the Diviſion ſeems to be againſt the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*; yet the Clauſe which the Doctor inſiſted upon, not to be divided againſt by the *Tories*, was not the Occaſion of the Diviſion, and the Teſtimony he bore, together with the Brewer of *Weſtminſter* was ſuch, as good Church men might ſtand by. This is ſufficient to ſatisfy one, that both this Prelate and the other Prelate muſt have very ſolid Reaſons for refuſing to ſign the *New Teſt* or *Declaration* of Loyalty to King *GEORGE*, which Fourteen Fathers of our Proteſtant Church ſet their Names to. Though I cannot be ſure what thoſe ſtrong Reaſons were, yet probably theſe may be ſome of them. As for Inſtance:

Biſhop *Atterbury* might imagine,
1. That it was *too Late.*
2. That it was Needleſs.
3. That it was Dangerous.
4. That it was Antimonarchical.

Firſt, That it was *too Late.* When all the Forces in the Three Kingdoms could not ſuppreſs the Rebellions in *Scotland*, and the North of *England*, what could a Declaration do? This Argument might be branch'd into ſeveral Parts; but that muſt be a very preſumptuous Man who will undertake to make Argu- ments for a Biſhop, that argu'd ſo very ſucceſſively with Mr. *Hoadly* and Others.

Secondly,

Secondly, It was *Needleſs*. After ſo many Addreſſes, after ſo many Oaths, after his Lordſhip had abjur'd the *Pretender*, and ſworn Allegiance to King *GEORGE*, what need of any other Declaration.

Thirdly, That it was *Dangerous*. The very Declaration itſelf ſhews the Danger of it, where 'tis ſaid, *How muſt the* Pretender *look upon Perſons that have done all this, that have pray'd againſt him, that have addreſt againſt him, that have ſworn againſt him, and abjur'd him for ſo many Years together? What a Reproach will this Matter then be to the Church of* England? *Such of us as ſtand true to our Oaths, will then be call'd Rebels and Traytors.*

Fourthly, That it is *Antimonarchical*. Is not the *Revolution* one of the greateſt Reproaches in the World to the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, Hereditary Right, *&c.* and does not the Declaration juſtify that Revolution, nay, does it not lay it on the very Clergy, *They were the Clergy, that in the time of King* James *did juſtly alarm the Nation with the Dangers of* Popery, *from whence follow'd all that was done at the Revolution. And the Clergy have every Year ſince upon the Fifth of* November, *given God Thanks for what was then done*, for making all Oppoſition fall before him, the *Prince of Orange*, 'till he became our King.

Such Reaſons as theſe muſt have great Biaſs in the Mind of a Prelate, who has been Preaching theſe Thirty Years for Hereditary Right and Non-Reſiſtance, Principles which are inconſiſtent with the Tenour of the Declaration: However, one cannot ſuppoſe, that ſo Orthodox and Pious a Biſhop thinks hard of thoſe of his Brethern, who acting according to their Conſcience, declar'd it to be their Duty to keep their Oaths, and confeſs their Religion, though his own Conſcience may be ſo ſcrupulous as not to think itſelf bound up by Oaths, when the Divine Right of a *Popiſh* Prince is in Queſtion, and not to prefer the Intereſts of the Proteſtant Religion to the direct Line of King *Fergus*; ſure he cannot but pay a great deal of Difference to the Senſe of the Fathers of our Church, who do believe that there is no Reſerve in a poſitive ſolemn Oath, and that they ought to *withſtand* to the utmoſt a *Pretender* whom they have *abjur'd*, who are of Opinion, that to ſwear to a King, and ſerve his Enemy, to pray for a Government, and act againſt it, is a Prevarication with God Almighty, who is the Searcher of Hearts, and will not be mock'd. And it will be in vain at the great Day of Account for any Political *double Dealer* to ſay, that when he took the *Body* and *Blood* of the Lord as a *Teſt* of his *Allegiance* to King *GEORGE*, he meant the *Hereditary Prince*, and reſerv'd his Allegiance for him. All the falſe Prayers of ſuch a Man ſhall ſtare him in the Face, and the moſt invincible Impudence ſhall then be abaſh'd with Confuſion, which is not to be utter'd, at a Charge of diſſembling with the *Omniſcient*. Will it not be ſaid, how often didſt thou call upon me for this Man in my Temple, and haſt thou Betray'd and Renounc'd him?

The Reverend Dean of *Chriſt-Church* could not want much ſtronger Reaſons than thoſe already given for the Dean of *Weſtminſter*, for refuſing to ſign the Loyal Declaration. I can immediately think of Four for him alſo, which could not fail of having their due Influence on a Perſon of ſo much Penetration and Sincerity. As,

1. That

1. That it had too much of *Party* in it.
2. That it would give Offence to the Univerſity of *Oxford.*
3. That Biſhop *Atterbury* would not ſign it.
4. That it was not of his Lordſhip's own Compoſition.

Firſt, That it had too much of Party in it. I doubt not if ever his Lordſhip declar'd any ſuch thing, it was occaſion'd by this Parapraph. *We are the more concern'd, that both the Clergy and People of our Communion ſhould ſhew themſelves hearty Friends to the Government upon this Occaſion, to vindicate the Honour of the Church of* England, *becauſe the chief Hopes of our Enemies ſeems to ariſe from Diſcontents artificially rais'd among us, and becauſe ſome who have valu'd themſelves, and have been too much valu'd by others for a pretended Zeal for the Church, have join'd with* Papiſts *in theſe wicked Attempts, which as they muſt ruin the Church if they ſucceed, ſo they cannot well end without great Reproach to it, if the reſt of us do not clearly and heartily declare our Deteſtation of ſuch Practices.* When General *Forſter*, that Arch-Rebel, proclaim'd the *Impoſtor* King at *Penrith*, he made as good a Speech as he could to the Rabble, and told them, he took Arms for Defence of the *True High Church of* England. When the Mob lately endeavour'd to pull down an honeſt Man's Houſe in *Cheapſide*, and to Maſſacree him and his Family for their Loyalty to His Majeſty, their Cry was *High Church*, and the *Church of* Rome, I heard it. There was a Cry for our Proteſtant Streets, but to *deter ſuch Practices*, ſmells however of Party; ſo it does, ſo it ought to do in the Opinion of ſome Men, becauſe that Party is the *King's Party*, the *Country's Party*, the *Proteſtant's Party* and their Oppoſers, the *Party of* Popery *and* Rebellion. Many Men have valu'd themſelves too much on being of this latter Party, *Sacheverel*, *Welton*, *Smith*, *Milbourn*, *Higgins*, *Swift*, *Trapp*, and a long Etcetera of ſuch Chriſtian Heroes have valu'd themſelves, and been too much valu'd for a *pretended Zeal for the Church*; but while they are valu'd, while the Populace crowd about them, and they keep up an Intereſt, no matter what it is. It is not inconſiſtent with *Humane Diſcretion* to be well with Numbers, and to avoid, if poſſible, the *ſmelling of Party*. But to *declare an Abhorrence of Rebellion, to warn the People of their Obligations to the Government, to ſhew a hearty Zeal for it.* If that which is the Intention of the Declaration be Party, as wiſe, as cautious, and as Religious a Man as Dr. *Smalridge*, as abundance of ſober intelligent Men will ſay, might very well have run the riſk of being thought a Party-Man upon this Occaſion. The Declaration itſelf lets us into a very good Light of the Cauſes of the late Rebellion, that neither the Church of *England*, nor even the *Pretender* are ſo much intended by it as Intereſt and Revenge. Thoſe who four or five Years ago got ſome into Place, ſome into Sees by the Prevalence of Faction, ſeeing their Protectors not only in Diſgrace, but in Danger for the Abuſe of their ill got Power are *picqu'd*, and the *Church* is ever the Word when the publick Peace is to be diſturb'd. There is a ſort of *Gratitude* in being true to a Cauſe by which one has got well, and to Perſons that have done one Kindneſſes, and for ſuch Reaſons as theſe, *private Diſcontents* may have ill Effects in *publick Events*. To be for calling Lord *Oxford*, and the reſt of them to Account, is Party, 'tis true, but then 'tis the *Party of Juſtice*. What, if it is, had that Lord given me a *Mitre*, ſhould I not deem

every

every Man that was againſt him a *Party-Man*. *Lilly* taught us at the *Grammar-School*, Donec eris felix, &c. *The proſperous Man a crowd of Friends will find.* To dance Attendance, on a great Man when he has a *White Staff*, and by his Favour can make *Deans* and *Biſhops* is not uncommon, but to follow a Friend to the *Tower*, to hang about with a charge of High Treaſon at his Back, there muſt be ſomething generous in that. A Man cannot keep Company with a *Chimney Sweeper*, but he will have ſome of his Soot about him, nor with an infected Perſon, but it is a hundred to one that he ſhares in the Infection. Neither can an innocent Man attach himſelf to a guilty One, without rendring himſelf ſuſpected; when, therefore, a Man of Virtue and Piety ſticks cloſe to a wicked Wretch, how great muſt be ſuch Love? How powerful ſuch Friendſhip, that even the Love of one's King and one's Country cannot prevail over it.

A ſecond Reaſon my Lord of *Briſtol* may have for refuſing to ſet his Hand to the Declaration may be, that it would *give Offence to the Univerſity of* Oxford, where he has a good dignified Benefice, that Univerſity has unhappily acquired the Characteriſtick of *Jacobitiſm*. The Impoſtor has been proclaim'd there, his Majeſty's Title diſowned, and his Friends abus'd and inſulted. The *Sophs* have dared the Lenity of the Government, and liv'd in open Defiance to it. They have harbour'd *Owen*, *Dorrel*, and other ſuch execrable Traytors and Villains, who were plotting to drown theſe Nations with a Deluge of Proteſtant Blood. They have made no Addreſs to His Majeſty ſince the Diſcovery of the *Damnable Plot* to bring in the *Pretender*, and they would never forgive a Man who ſhould ſay to them in the Words of the Declaration; "Is it not fit for all of "you to conſider ſeriouſly what thoſe Oaths are, with which you have bound "your Souls; you have not only abjur'd the *Pretender* and his Title, but have "Sworn to Defend King *GEORGE* to the utmoſt of your Power againſt all "Traiterous Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made "againſt his Perſon, Crown, or Dignity, and to the utmoſt of your Power to Main-"tain and Defend the Succeſſion of the Crown againſt the ſaid *Pretender*, and "all other Perſons whatſoever. Theſe Words do not only import, that you "will not Rebel againſt the King, but that you will be active for him accord-"ing to your ſeveral Stations, eſpecially in Times of Danger, when Rebellions "are raiſed againſt him." Would the Reverend Doctors like to have this Picture ſet before them? "At the ſame time to pretend a Zeal for the Church, "and join with *Papiſts* to ſet up a *Popiſh Pretender* to ſupport the Church of "*England*, is ſuch an Impoſition upon the common Senſe of Mankind, that "nothing, even in *Popery* itſelf, can be more abſurd, and nothing but an In-"fatuation from God, juſtly inflicted for our Sins, can ſuffer to paſs upon the "Nation." Would any wary Perſon ſign ſuch Things as theſe, when he is to lead his Life with Men who abhor them more than *Popery* and *Slavery*. People will conſider what is convenient as well as neceſſary; and if one can regain the Love of ſuch a Community as the Univerſity of *Oxford*, by a little ſeaſonable Perverſeneſs, ſure 'tis worth venturing a few Cenſures for it; nay, if one ſhould loſe a Place for it, may one not hope to get a better by the Prayers and Affections of ſo Religious, Humane, and Powerful a Body as that Univerſity, where one ſuck'd in all thoſe precious Tenets that has been ſo ſerviceable to one in

in making one's Fortune. Some may object, that the Right Reverend Biſhop of the Dioceſe of *Oxon* did ſign the Declaration, ſo did the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and twelve very learned and pious Biſhops more. But the old Saying, *So many Men*, &c. is as good an Anſwer to that Objection as can be expected, and the third Reaſon why the Dean of *Chriſt-Church* did not ſign the Declaration, knocks down all ſuch Arguments at once.

Thirdly, *That Biſhop* Atterbury *would not ſign it.* Whoever has read this Reverend Prelate's Panegyrick on that Reverend Brother of his, will readily believe, that he who preferred his Judgment, when only a Member of the *Lower Houſe* of *Convocation*, to that of the whole *Upper Houſe*, in the Diſpute about the *Prerogative of the Biſhops*, and the *Rights of the Prieſts*, which he did as good as tell them to their Faces; ſuch a one, I ſay, would certainly not matter the Sentiments of fourteen or fifteen Fathers of our Church, as long as he had the Senſe of ſo primitive and pious a Biſhop on his Side, as my Lord of *Roſſen.* He told the Biſhop, "That Dr. *Atterbury*'s Merits ſufficiently recommended him to "their Eſteem, and the Eſteem of all GOOD MEN. That he had Talents "which deſerved all manner of Praiſe, and was ſo high in Fame as to need "none. That he had a Store of exquiſite Learning, was acquainted with all "Parts of Literature, and was perfect in thoſe Sciences which admit of the "greateſt Perfection. That he could expreſs, by his ſingle Tongue, the Sen-"timents of many eloquent Men. That he was a Man of good Will, a Man "of Authority; nay, that he was a Man of ſo gentle a Diſpoſition, ſuch a "Sweetneſs of Temper, as to allure all Mankind by it to the Study of Peace "and Unity." Now, becauſe Mention has been made of certain Quarrels and Wranglings at *Carliſle*, at *Chriſt-Church*, and at *Weſtminſter*, by this Reverend Perſon of ſo ſweet a Temper, ſo gentle a Diſpoſition, by this Pattern of Peace and Unity; and ſome People may thence conclude, that Dr. *Smalridge* did not ſay this of Dr. *Atterbury*, or that I wrong him in the Quotation or Tranſlation, I will repeat his very Words. *Quem potius optemus rerum inter nos diſquirendarum arbitrum, quam virum placidiſſimis moribus ita popularem, ut omnes bonos atque humanos indolis ſuæ ſuavitate ad pacis & concordiæ ſtudium facile ſperet allicere*, &c. He adds, That Dr. *Atterbury* was a Man, *the Dignity of whoſe Looks would immediately ſuppreſs Commotions.* And then Dr. *Smalridge* put thoſe Reverend Fathers in mind, how he exploded all their ſtale Pretences to Superiority in Synods. "By Divine Incitement, *ſays he, He* ſtrenuouſly endeavoured, by Di-"vine Favour happily effected this, that Synods in this Nation are not altoge-"ther loſt and dead, nor entirely ſpeechleſs: *'Twas he* who placed the Rights, "Powers, and Privileges of our *Engliſh* Convocation in an open and true Light: "*'Twas he* who ventur'd to walk in a dark Way without a Guide." But I muſt confeſs, 3 or 4 Lines before, we are told, he had a Guide, and an infallible one, if we believe the true High Church; for he had the *Regiſters of Popes, Pontificum Faſta.* He adds, That in his Writings, which, by the way, attack'd the Prerogative and Authority of his Primate, and the *Upper Houſe* of *Convocation*, he drew *the very Picture of the Church*, and *revived the Matron, as it were, from the Dead*; that he ſhould wrong ſo dear a Friend, if he did not take his Word for it, when he ſaid, he wrote *not out of private Reſentment, or View of Intereſt*; that it was his Duty to endeavour to make Every-body think as well of him as he did. But

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as gentle a Diſpoſition as he had, and as ſweet a Temper, the good Doctor cannot help owning, at laſt, That that Temper of his was of itſelf too warm, *Ingenium ſuaptè naturâ aliquantulum præfervidum*; and was it likely, that ſuch a Genius ſhould do what the Orator propheſied of him, exert all his Powers of Art to *promote and confirm the Peace of the Church*. I cannot, without Injuſtice, omit that Part of this admirable Panegyrick, where the Doctor remembers us, how Queen *Mary*, now *gathered to the Saints above*, was charmed with his Eloquence. How much more powerful had been his Charms, had ſhe lived to have heard him crying aloud, and ſparing not the Indulgence ſhe gave to Diſſenters, and the Right of her Father at St. *Germains*, which was the only *Hereditary Right* that has been heard of ſince the *Revolution*.

At the Cloſe of this Oration, we are inform'd of the *Zeal of the Miniſtry*, moſt of whom are now under Impeachments and Attainders of High Treaſon, and the Agreement between the Queen and the Parliament who were for the *Utrecht* Peace, and the *Convocation:* The Houſe of *Commons*, and the Houſe of *Convocation*, when Mr. *William Bromley* was Speaker, were *like Siſters*; and the Doctor tells us, they would be more like than ever Siſters were, and more nearly related now Mr. *Bromley* is Speaker of one Houſe, and Dr. *Atterbury* Prolocutor of the other, both of *fix'd Fidelity to their Prince and Country*. Does not the Declaration bear its Teſtimony to this, *who both make us hope great Things, but will do greater than we hope?* The one aſſerts the Government, the other the Church, *&c.* and if the *Aſſertor of the Church* refuſes to ſet his Name to a Thing, moſt certainly his dear Friend could not help following his Example. What is a little odd in this Eulogy is, conſidering 'tis made on a Chriſtian, on a Proteſtant Divine; that we do not hear a Word of his *Piety*, his *Humility*, his *Meekneſs*, his *Charity*. Are they not *Chriſtian Virtues?* How comes it that a Divine of our Proteſtant Church, who took ſuch Delight in praiſing a Brother of his, ſhould not ſo much as give one Hint of thoſe Graces, which are the *Characteriſticks* of a good Chriſtian. Is it enough to have them "bred under Dr. *Fell* at *Chriſt-*" *Church*, at the ſame time, with Mr. *Bromley*, to write warmly for the Rights "of the Prieſthood, to have bought up ſcatter'd and looſe Manuſcripts almoſt "obliterated by Time, to have read much, and to ſpeak handſomely." Is this, I ſay, enough to purchaſe a Preacher of the Goſpel. *A high Reputation!* Do not Purity of Manners, Innocence of Life, and unaffected Good-will to Men, deſerve a Place in the *Encomium* of a Doctor of Divinity? I cannot but wonder how ſuch *Topicks* as thoſe, ſo natural to ſuch a Subject, could be forgotten, and the Orator be ſo full of the Merit of it, as to ſeem to take Pleaſure in dwelling on all thoſe Parts of it that he took to be ſhining. But, I think, the Imitation of a Man's Actions is the beſt Proof of approving them, and the Panegyriſt, by doing what the Quondam Prolocutor has lately done, or rather, by not doing what he would not do, has ſhewn what a Value he ſet on ſo valuable a Man, and that he will continue, whether *Preſbyter* or *Prelate*, to be his Brother in all Things, eſpecially thoſe wherein the Power of the Church, and the Divine Right of the Prince are concern'd. This Reaſon is ſufficient to ſtop the Mouths of all Gainſayers, and if one might compare ſerious Things with gay, as well as great with ſmall, I could not think of a more apt *Image* to repreſent theſe

two loving Deans, than that of King *Phiz* and King *Uſh*, in the *Rehearſal*, fondly ſmelling to one Noſegay.

The fourth *Reaſon* why the Dean of *Chriſt-Church* refus'd to ſign the *Declaration* might be, becauſe *it was not of his own Compoſition.* No Man is ſo good a Judge of another's Sentiments as himſelf, nor ſo capable of expreſſing them. Had the Biſhop of *Briſtol* been the Penman of the *Declaration*, no Doubt all the exceptionable Parts of it would have been left out, and it would have been ſo drawn up, that even *Sacheverel* himſelf might have ſet his Hand to it. It would then have been ſo Florid, and ſo full of Temper, that whatever Turn Affairs took, a Man needed not be in any Pain for his appearing in it. Beſides, Care would have been taken to let no Expreſſions drop, which might give Offence to thoſe of the Clergy, who have been crying aloud for *Paſſive Obedience* and *Hereditary Right* almoſt ever ſince the *Revolution.* The late *Miniſters* would have had nothing to complain of, nor the preſent to be pleas'd with. There has been a ſtrange Affectation of Coolneſs and Myſtery in ſome People's Loyalty. They were ſo uſed to complement Queen *Anne* on her *Hereditary Right*, tho' in flat Contradiction to Fact and Common Senſe, that they know not how to join heartily in Addreſſes to, and *Declarations* for a Prince who has only a *Parliamentary One*, but what Sort of Parliamentary Right is it? The Fathers of our Church tell us, "'tis a Settlement that was Eſtabliſh'd by the whole Legiſla-
"ture, and confirm'd by many Acts of Parliament made in two different Reigns,
"and under the Prevalency of each of the unhappy Diviſions of Parties among
"us, ſeveral of them in the laſt Years of our late Gracious Queen, and has
"been from time to time ſworn to by all of all Orders and Degrees of Men
"among us." Why then all this Coolneſs, this Caution, but to countenance a *Party*, that looks upon Acts of Parliament as tender *Twigs*, and on *Right* of *Birth* as a tough *Bough* that will not bend to them, that have the ſame Senſe of both that *Leſley* has, and though they *ſwear* and *abjure* have a Reſerve ſtill for their *Divine Right.* I do however believe, that this Reſerve is not for Conſcience ſake, I have no Notion of Conſcience, were there is ſuch Double-dealing and Diſſembling with God and Man. Beſides a pure Conſcience will ſhine out not in one Thing only, but in all things, in every Action of the upright Man, whether Divine, Moral, or Political; and it is obſervable, that the Men of the moſt tender Conſciences in Politicks, ſuch as *Welton*, *Sacheverel*, *Higgins*, *Sutton*, and the reſt of them, have nothing like Squeamiſhneſs in their Manners, it is very well if they carry themſelves ſo evenly, as to defend themſelves from Scandal. This Obſervation is ſo general, that 'tis very evident that Religion is not at the Bottom of the Buſineſs. Indeed 'twould be very extraordinary if theſe Men could have any true Zeal for our Proteſtant Church, who are for ſetting up a *Popiſh Pretender* to ſupport it. As they affect to expreſs on all Occaſions the higheſt Veneration for the Memory of Queen *Anne*, one would think they ſhould take more care not to injure it by their wicked Practices againſt a Succeſſion which ſhe always declared ſhe had *neareſt her Heart.* She did not from the Beginning to the End of her Reign omit any Opportunity of expreſſing her Affection to the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, and her Reſolution to ſupport their Title to this Crown. Is not the Piety of that Princeſs ſufficient to convince them

of

of the Juſtice of that Title, and determine their Obedience to it? there want no Arguments in that Caſe. There is not a Clergyman in *Great-Britain* but ſins againſt Conviction, in betraying by his Indifferency or Diſaffection, the Government, to ſupport which he has taken ſo many ſolemn Oaths: Nevertheleſs, there may be here and there a Man to be met with, who will not explain his Loyalty in any Terms but his own, and who thinks he can ſpeak ſo well for himſelf, that Eloquence itſelf cannot do him Juſtice from any other Man: It is not Numbers that ſway with Perſons of Penetration. If it had, there had not been a *Jacobite* now in *Great-Britain*, not one in Fifty of all the *Britiſh* Clergy refus'd the Oaths to King *William* and Queen *Mary*; yet the *Non-Jurors* were extoll'd as the only Men of Principle in the World, and truly they are much more ſo than thoſe who having ſworn to the Government, do act contrary to its Intereſt, and do not thoſe act contrary to its Intereſts who refuſe to warn the *Clergy* and *People* under their Charge of the great Obligations they lie under, to ſhew a hearty and open Zeal for it.

Having thus inquir'd into the *Reaſons* of theſe two excellent *Prelates* for refuſing to do as their Brethren did, I who am heartily an Enemy to the *Pretender*, muſt, tho' a *Layman*, warn all good *Britons* not to be led away by theſe or any other *Reaſons*, to grow lukewarm in the Cauſe of our *King* and *Country*: For whatever Airs theſe Men aſſume, whatever dignify'd Denominations they go by, whatever Applauſes are given them by Party, they ſtill are but Men, and liable to the ſame Failings, as *Welton*, *Milbourn*, *Smith*, *Higgins*, or any other of the undignify'd *Prieſthood*. The Dean of *Chriſt-Church* has taken a Step, which has a Face of *Ingratitude*, as well as *Indiſcretion* in it. 'Twas expected by ſome hot Men, that his Majeſty would not have employ'd a *Prelate* as his *Almoner*, whoſe *Mitre* had been given him in the worſt of Times, and by the Intereſt of *Miniſters*, that are now declar'd *Traytors* to their Country: But our Sovereign is a Prince of ſo much Wiſdom, and ſuch exemplary Moderation, that he reſolv'd to make uſe of thoſe Men whom his Enemies had plac'd about him, to make a Trial of their Profeſſions of Loyalty, and by giving them a Share of his Royal Favour, win them over to his and their Country's Intereſts. Such Treatment one would think ſhould have had a good Effect on Chriſtian Minds, and that there was no Need of a *Sentiment* of *Religion*, to engage Subjects to make a dutiful Return to ſo Gracious a King, where a *Sentiment of Generoſity* and *Gratitude* was more than ſufficient.

I have often thought that ſome *Divines* who ſignalize their Zeal for *High Church*, are no more in Pain about Her than the *Papiſts* themſelves. Can I imagine, that Perſons who breath nothing but *Fury* and *Fire*, are in any concern for Virtue and Religion? Is not the Spirit of *God* a Spirit of Meekneſs and Charity, and are not Cruelty and Rage the Spirit of the *Devil*? Zeal is highly commendable, when it is guided by Wiſdom, but no wiſe Zeal ever animated Chriſtians to deſtroy their Brethren. And as I never knew a *Perſecutor* a good or an honeſt Man, ſo I ſhall always diſtinguiſh a *Zealot* and a *Churchman*: For the Differences in Religious Matters among *Britons*, are not of ſufficient Importance to warrant the committing Outrages againſt one another on that Score, and indeed, I'm ſatisfy'd, that if *High-Church* was not to get a Penny by oppoſing it, ſhe would not care how faſt Sects multiply'd. 'Tis not the *Salvation* of

the Souls of Men, that the *High flying Zealots* have at Heart, they will damn a Man, that is excommunicate him, and ſhut him out of the *Communion of the Saints*, for a Groat. But Profit is always made of Power, and therefore it is that they are ſo jealous of parting with it by Acts of *Indulgence*. This is what Common Senſe has taught every one to believe, with Reſpect to the *Zeal of our High-Church Clergy*, and their Politicks are of the ſame Make. Whatever Prince will grant them an *Independency* of the State, his Title will they always preach up, and Conſcience has had nothing to do in this Controverſy theſe Twenty Years.

I cannot forbear mentioning a *Paſtoral* Letter of one of the Biſhops, who ſign'd the *Declaration*, to his Clergy, wherein great Pains is taken to excuſe the cold indifferent manner of *Praying* for His Majeſty before *Sermon*, as, to uſe the Reverend Dr. *Moſs*'s Phraiſe, *Pray we*, or we are *commanded to Pray*. Grant that neither *Canon* or *Edict* enjoin'd ſuch a *Prayer*, inſtead of countenancing a known Prevarication in this Caſe, ſhould not the Reverend Biſhop have admoniſh'd them to act openly in a Time of Rebellion, and His Majeſty's Own Cauſe as often as Occaſion requires? Does his Lordſhip think thoſe *Prieſts* avoid praying for the King, becauſe the *Canon* does not oblige them to do it? Is it not rather a ſign of their Tenderneſs to His Majeſty's Enemies, whoſe Ears they would not ſhock with the Sound of His Name, and whoſe Party they would not offend with *Prayers*, for one they are plotting to deſtroy.

Is not this the beſt Gloſs we can put upon their Silence? Is there one of thoſe Clergymen who do heartily wiſh well to His Majeſty's Government, that will avoid any Opportunity of expreſſing it? What ſignify *Canons*, when *Popery* and *Tyranny* are arm'd againſt us? Thoſe that do not pray for King *GEORGE* before Sermon, would be glad to be diſcharg'd of praying for him in the *Liturgy*; and I recommend to all ſuch as have read this the Biſhop of *L*——'s Letter to his Clergy, to read alſo the Declaration which his Lordſhip ſign'd and patticularly the laſt Paragraph of it.

" Let us pray for the Preſervantion of the Perſon and Government of Our " moſt Gracious Sovereign *King GEORGE*, that God would cover His " Enemies with Shame; *but that upon Himſelf* and His Poſterity, *the Crown* " *may ever Flouriſh*. We do alſo Charge both Clergy and People, as they will " be Anſwerable for the Deſtruction, that may otherwiſe come, both upon the " Church and Nation; that they endeavour to Strengthen the Hands of the " Government in this Dangerous Conjuncture: The Clergy by plainly Ad- " moniſhing their Flocks of their Duty, both to their King and Country; " and the People by a cheerful Declaration of their Readineſs to ſtand by the " Government. And let all of Us, forgetting all Differences and Anti- " moſities, make this the great Contention, who ſhall act with the trueſt Zeal " againſt the Common Enemy."

A LETTER from Mr. LESLIE to a Member of Parliament in *London.* Printed in the Year 1714.

SIR,

YOU are desirous to know the State of Affairs here, and what Observations I have made since my coming; I will give you as particular Account as I can.

And first, for the Person of the Chevalier, which you desire to know: He is Tall, Strait, and Clean Limbed, Slender, yet his Bones pretty large; he has a very graceful Mein, walks fast, and his Gate has great Resemblance of his Uncle King *Charles* II. and the Lines of his Face grow daily more and more like him. He uses Exercise more for Health than Diversion; he walks Abroad, shoots or hunts every Day, but is not what they call a keen Sportsman. Being asked what he most delighted in? He said, it would be to hear wise Men discourse upon useful Subjects. He is always chearful, but seldom merry, thoughtful, but not dejected, and bears his Misfortunes with a Magnanimity of Spirit. He frequents the publick Devotions, but there is no sort of Bigottry about him. He has a great Application to Business, spends much Time in his Closet, and writes much, which no Man does better, and more succinctly. I have often admired his Criticalness in the Choice of Words. He apprehends readily, and gives the direct Answer.

He is very affable, and has something strangely engaging in his Voice and Deportment, that none who ever conversed with him but are charmed with his good Sense and Sweetness of Temper. Nor can any take it ill, even when he grants not their Request, for he always gives such a Reason as must satisfy. Yet he can shew Displeasure, but without Anger. He expressed no Resentment at the cruel Proceedings of the Parliament, to leave him no Place to flee unto, but to drive him, like the Scape-Goat, unto a Land not inhabited, with all the Sins of the Nation upon his Head, to perish in the most miserable manner, *Unpitied, Unrelieved.* Other Men were astonished, and said, For what all this Rage? What has he done? Was it a Crime to him to be Born? If his Birth was suppositious, it was a good Reason indeed to bar his Accession to the Throne, but none to persecute him, or put a Price upon his Head, as was proposed in Parliament by a rich and powerful Party, to encourage the Assassination of him.

But since so much depends upon his Birth, why is it not enquired into? The Prince of *Orange* promised it in his first Declaration, and referred it to be examined in Parliament; but this has not been done either by Parliament, Court of Judicature, or any other Authority whatsoever; and this affords a Demonstration which is infallible, of the Truth of his Birth, if the Law of God and the whole Earth be infallible, by which every Child that is owned by both Parents is to be received as such, unless evident Proof be made to the contrary. This renders needless the Depositions (still standing upon Record in your Courts)

Courts) given upon Oath by Perſons of the firſt Quality in *Britain*, as well *Proteſtants* as *Papiſts*, who were preſent at the Birth, and atteſted to it. But this was done *ex abundante*, becauſe of the Rumours ſpread abroad about it. The Managers at Dr. *Sacheverell*'s Tryal pleaded this Birth (in Bar of the Queen's Hereditary Right) upon this Reaſon, that no legal Proof had been made againſt it. And no Man ever ſet his Name to the ſcandalous Allegations of Impoſture in it, except *Fuller* who was voted an *Incorrigible Rogue* by the Houſe of Commons, and ſent to *Bridewell*, and one *Steel* whom you have ſpew'd out of your Houſe.

Why former Parliaments, and in a former Reign, wou'd not enter into the Examination of this Birth is obvious, becauſe they knew the Truth of it, and that no Proof could be made againſt it, but the falſe Rumours and Suppoſitions that were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad concerning it to make way for the the Prince of *Orange* more eaſily to aſcend the Throne, having ſerv'd that turn were laid aſide like Scaffolding when the Houſe is built. I hope it is reſerved for this Parliament to make a full Examination, and to ſet the Nation at reſt upon this moſt material Point. If not, the Birth of the Prince is confirmed infallibly, that is, as I have ſaid, by the Laws of God and Man.

And there is no Danger herein to his Siſter who now Reigns, for none can doubt but he will be very well pleaſed to make ſuch a Com-promiſe with her, that ſhe may hold the Crown during her Life, provided his Succeſſion after her be ſettled, and give all Securities for this that can be deſired, even to put his Perſon into her Hands if ſhe thought fit. This wou'd unite both their Intereſts, and render her Reign more ſecure and comfortable to her than it is, or can be otherwiſe. Therefore if you would do Juſtice to both, examine into his Birth, in which if you can plainly and openly detect any Impoſture, of how much Perplexity wou'd you deliver the Queen and Nation? And you wou'd ſtrip the Pretender at once of all his Friends and Followers, and of the Protection of Foreign Courts. The Duke of *Lorrain* would not countenance, or ſhelter, a falſe Pretender to the Royal Blood, to which his own Family has the Honour to be nearly related: And if he fail'd in the Reſpects due to it, you wou'd have a more juſt Cauſe of Complaint againſt him: For however he comes to be excluded from the Throne, yet he is not from being a Prince, and the firſt Prince of the Blood of *England*. This has never yet been declared by King, Queen, or Parliament. How would you have Foreign Princes to underſtand it? But if you can make out the Impoſture of his Birth, you have done the Buſineſs all at once. Truth and Juſtice require this of you, if there be any ſuch things in the World, or a God who regardeth? Will it be a Credit to your Cauſe that it was founded in a Lye, promoted and carried on by the ſame means? Can any go into this, who either fear God or regard Man? *Shall the Throne of Iniquity have any Fellowſhip with God, which frameth Miſchief by a Law? They gather themſelves together againſt the Soul of the Righteous and condemn the Innocent Blood*, Pſal. 94. 20. Such will the Acts of Succeſſion and Attainder be eſteemed in the Eyes of God and all good Men, if you make not out the Impoſture of his *Birth*, for you have no perſonal Fault or Miſgovernment to charge upon this Prince. The unjuſt Judge (*Luke* 18.) who feared neither

God

God nor Man, was at laſt overcome by the Importunity of a diſtreſſed Widow. That much injur'd Widow now cries unto you, ſhe importunes you either to clear her Innocence in this matter, or to tranſmit her Infamous to Poſterity, if you can prove her guilty of this Impoſture laid to her Charge. The late King *James* ſoon after his Baniſhment, wrote a Letter to the Convention to enquire into it, purſuant to the Promiſes in the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration, and all the after Parliaments have been reminded and ſollicited to the ſame purpoſe in many Papers wrote upon the Subject, but had no other Anſwer than hunting the Authors. All theſe and this with them will riſe up in the Judgment and condemn you, if you follow the Hardneſs of their Hearts, and will not enquire into this, which yet your not doing will confirm beyond all the other Proofs cou'd be brought in the World, and render this Birth as I have ſaid, Infallible, and after this Parliament, unqueſtionable to the End of the World. And ſo long may your Poſterities ſuffer for this neglect (to call it by no harder Name) if it pleaſe God for the Sins of the Nation to ſuffer this Innocent and moſt Valuable Prince to die in Exile, or fall into the Hands of theſe harden'd Jews, who ſaid, *This is the Heir, let us kill Him.* For after Him and the preſent Queen, conſider what new Pretenders you will have to deal with, who are before the Houſe of *Hanover* in the Line of Succeſſion; The known Mr. *Steel* gives it thus in his *Criſis*, p. 35.

" We ſhould conſider over and over again, that ſhould the Claim of the " Proteſtant Succeſſion be once broken in upon, though the Pretender ſhould " be laid aſide (he means taken out of the way) the next of Blood Royal is the " Dutcheſs of *Savoy*; after her, her two Sons; after them the preſent *Dauphin* " of *France*; the next in Succeſſion to him the Queen of *Spain* and her Heirs; " in Default of them the Duke of *Orleans* and his Heirs, and moſt of the other " Princes of the Blood of *France*.

And *Page* 32. and 33. He gives this Account of the firſt of theſe Pretenders.

" But to bring the ſeveral Facts and Circumſtances home, we muſt obſerve, " that the Perſon who ſeems to be the moſt favour'd by the *French* King in the " late Treaties is the Duke of *Savoy*, who is made King of *Sicily*, and conſi- " dering alſo the Enlargement of his Territories on the Continent by Ceſſion " from the Emperor, is become the moſt Powerful Prince in *Italy*. This Prince " put in his Claim to the Crown of *England* in the Right of his Wife, a Daugh- " ter of the late Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, Siſter to our late King *Charles* II. at the " time of ſettling the Crown of *England* on the Houſe of *Hanover*. This " Prince, a Man of as great Addreſs and Capacity as any now living, is ſup- " poſed to have entred into a ſecret and ſtrict Alliance with the Houſe of " *Bourbon*, and may therefore very well add to our Fears of a Popiſh Suc- " ceſſor.

But if we are afraid of a Popiſh Succeſſor, why did we make the next Succeſſor a Papiſt? For it was they did it, who baniſh'd him when an Infant into a Popiſh Country, and paſs'd an Act of Attainder againſt him if he ſhould return to be inſtructed in our Religion, and have ſent to all the Proteſtant Courts in *Europe* not to admit him, or to drive him thence if he ſhould come, and have excluded

excluded him from the Crown, without any Reſerve from him tho' he ſhould become a Proteſtant: Yet they cry, why will he not be a Proteſtant? And at the ſame time declare openly that they would not believe him if he ſhould profeſs it! Theſe things are ſo irrational that they have no tolerable Foundation left to ſtand upon but to queſtion his Birth, which will be fore-cloſed for ever, if this Parliament enter not into the Examination of it. Yet they ſay his Birth ſignifies nothing if it were true, becauſe they have excluded him by Laws of their own making. Why then are they angry with thoſe who believe his Birth, againſt which no Proof has ever yet been made? Why are they now hunting the Author of ſome Queries concerning his Birth? Why did they themſelves who firſt blew about the Suſpicions of his Birth, afterwards own it publickly before the Queen and both Houſes of Parliament at the late Tryal before-mentioned? They had no other way to get rid of Hereditary Right ſo much inſiſted upon in the Addreſſes. This was a remarkable Inſtance of Providence to render them ſelf-condemn'd, and ſhew to all the World where the Impoſture lay. *They ſhall make their own tongues to fall upon themſelves, all that ſee them ſhall flee away, or laugh them to ſcorn*, Pſal. 64. 8.

But, Gentlemen, are you afraid of a Popiſh Succeſſor who may cruſh you, and has a Power with the help of your Diviſions at home, in time to introduce *Popery* and *Slavery?* Then this is not the Man whom you purſue. He has no Foreign Force nor Alliances. And if he were upon the Throne he muſt be perfectly in your Hands. The Papiſts in *Britain* are not one to a Thouſand. How ridiculous then are the Declarations now made of Queen *Mary*'s time, when the Papiſts were a Thouſand to one againſt us? They may as well fright us with the *Danes*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, or Old *Romans*, becauſe they once conquer'd us! There is no Security like its not being in one's Power to hurt us.

We have been fighting for the Ballance of Power, let us then examine the Power of the Pretender, and compare it with the Power of the After-pretenders. His is none at all but what we give him, and all the Papiſts amongſt us are perfectly at our Mercy, with Sanguinary Laws over their Heads, to be executed at Diſcretion. And they in no Condition to make Reſiſtance, unleſs they have the Promiſe, *Deut.* 32. 30. *That one of them ſhall chaſe a Thouſand, and Two put Ten Thouſand to flight.* I believe many wiſh the Expedient had been accepted, which *Charles* II. offer'd of limiting a Popiſh Succeſſor inſtead of the Bill of *Excluſion.* To break in upon the *Hereditary* Line, which has coſt more Blood and Treaſure than was Expended by all the Kings of *England*, all their Wars, ſince the Conqueror put together, and is not like to have an End while the powerful Pretenders of *France*, *Spain*, and *Savoy* (now *Sicily*) remain, or have Heirs. The laſt of which (being the firſt in Succeſſion after the preſent Pretender and his Siſter) has already enter'd his Claim; and *being a Man of as great a Capacity as any now living*, we need not doubt he will aſſert it to the utmoſt, and with the united Forces of *France* and *Spain*, which Mr. *Steel* tell us he has already engaged by a *ſecret and ſtrict Alliance* for that purpoſe; and as *Britain* is now divided, he will be ſure of the weaker ſide, at leaſt ſuch a Party as will be ſufficient to make a *Civil War*, which may laſt till *Britain* be no more. And the Hiſtory of *England* tells us, that She has had very bad Luck in being invaded, which ſeldom or ever happen'd without her being conquer'd or

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cheated into Submiſſion, witneſs the Old *Roman*, the *Danes*, *Saxons* and *Normans*, &c.

But whatever ſide prevails in the Conteſt we are now ſpeaking of concerning the Succeſſion, the Church of *England*, as now by Law Eſtabliſhed, will be ſure to meet her Ruin. She knows who has printed Memorials againſt her, and how She has been pelted theſe many Years paſt under the Name of *High-Church*, a Term invented by her Enemies to throw out all their Venom againſt her more ſecurely under that Name; and what Rods and Teſts were prepared for her, if they had ſucceeded in the Tryal of Dr. *Sacheverell*, with which they had contriv'd to open the Scene in order to make her ſwallow her own Dung (as they call'd it) and abjure her Old Doctrines, which her new Biſhops voted to the Flames, and was Executed with Solemnity before the *Royal Exchange*.

Theſe were the *Clergy of the Church of England*, to whom Mr. *Steel* dedicates his *Criſis* with much Reſpect, and calls them *the true Church of England*, and leaſt he ſhould be miſtaken, he, like an honeſt Man, has taken care to explain himſelf in a New Edition of the *Criſis*, with Additions of which I will quote one that comes in after the firſt Paragraph of *Page* 34, and begins *Page* 21, of the New Edition in theſe Words.

"I cannot but wonder why ſo much Streſs is laid on the Pretender's turning "Proteſtant; will that make him ever the leſs an Impoſtor or Pretender? Will "that be an Antidote againſt the Poiſon he has ſuck'd in by his *French* Educa- "tion? Will his diſſembling with God in the matter of Religion make "him not diſſemble with us in matter of Government? Let him turn "*High-Church Man*, and what will the People of *England* be the better for "that, if they would be ſo mad as to take him? Is to turn *High-Church Man* "to turn *Proteſtant*? It is no turn at all; Prince *Eugene* is a *Papiſt*, and yet I "would ſooner truſt him with the Cauſe of Liberty than any *High-Church* "Champion in *England*. If he does not turn *High-Church Man*, but does "really turn *Proteſtant*, the *High-Church* will have nothing to do with him. "*Proteſtant* and *High-Church* are Two contrary Parties, and Papiſts are not "worſe. The *Impoſtor* knows what he has to do, he knows *High-Church* likes "him never the worſt for being a *Papiſt*, and that tho' he ſhould turn *Hugonot*, "the true Church of *England* will not truſt him, &c.

This has been ſufficiently anſwer'd by your having turn'd ſuch a ſcandalous Member out of your Houſe with Diſgrace. But ſhews what the Church of *England* may expect from that Party who ſet him upon this Work, have ſo highly rewarded him, and now affect to take him into their Protection more openly ſince his Cenſure by the Houſe of Commons than before. Hereby the Church of *England* may ſee her Doom, if they ſucceed for whom theſe Men ſtruggle.

And this likewiſe gives the *Pretender* ſufficient warning how to carry himſelf as to the Point of *Religion*, he ſees the Guns already charged to thunder out Inſincerity againſt him if he ſhould declare in favour of the *Church of England*; which as far as worldly Policy ought to be conſider'd, as none who pretend to wiſh him well, and knew his Circumſtances as I do, would adviſe him to declare here, however perſwaded; ſo on the other Hand he is very ſenſible of the Conſequences if he ſhould give any juſt Handle to ſuſpect his *Sincerity* in this Matter, it would diſſolve all future Confidence betwixt himſelf and his People, and they

would have Cauſe not to truſt his Promiſes in any other thing. And ſuch a Reign muſt be miſerable and a Crown of Thorns. He is likewiſe well-appriz'd that it would be an equal Prejudice to him if he ſhould be thought obſtinate and bigotted in the Way wherein he has been Educated, ſo as to condemn the *Church of England*, without giving her the Liberty to make her own Defence, nor will he give that Scandal to the Religion he profeſſes, as if it fear'd the Light; for whoſoever knows not the Grounds and Reaſons of his Religion has no more for it than that he has been told ſo; he has therefore promis'd and ſent it into *England* under his own Hand, that he will be willing to hear what is to be ſaid on the Subject of Religion; and no more can be aſked from or by an honeſt Man, at leaſt with any Decency from a King. When *Henry* IV. of *France* was preſſed on the Point of *Religion*, his Subjects (how zealous ſoever for Popery) worded it in the reſpectful Terms of ſuffering himſelf to be inſtructed *in the Catholick Faith*. No doubt they meant his Converſion, that is, they were ſo ſure of the Truth on their Side, that having to do with a Man of Senſe, they were aſſur'd of his Converſion. And we having a Prince not inferior to him, or any in good Senſe, I hope we are as much aſſur'd, that if he will but hear we cannot doubt of his being perſwaded. And if to hear implies Converſion, then he has promis'd to be converted; but not by putting a Peremptory upon him either to change his *Religion* or loſe his *Crown*; He has a Soul above ſuch Arguments, and deſpiſes them, and would loſe his Life as well as his Crown, rather than ſtain his Honour or depart from his Integrity. He promiſed in the Letter I quoted above, and which you have ſeen dated *May* 2, 1711. "That he would never diſſemble in Matters of Religion, or tempt others to do it." And he will not be tempted himſelf, no not by all the Crowns in the World. He has promiſed to hear when proper, and with a Man of his Underſtanding, and the Clearneſs of our Cauſe I can have no Doubt of Succeſs. And this Comfort we have, that if ever he declares we may depend upon his *Sincerity*, of which he has given the ſtrongeſt Proof in the World, by riſking every thing rather than ſeem to prevaricate in any thing. I never ſaw a Man ſo ſcrupulouſly nice leſt his Meaning ſhould be miſtaken, and more expected than he intends.

He has promiſed to hear——— but becauſe every Man who is in earneſt with Religion muſt think that to be Truth which he profeſſes, and while he ſo thinks cannot ſuppoſe he will change his Opinion, therefore the Pretender has made Proviſion, that whatever be the Iſſue of his *Hearing*, as to his own private Judgment, the Church of *England* may be no leſs ſecure: For it was always his fix'd Perſuaſion, that the Security of the *Crown* and *Church* of *England* was next under God in their mutual Support of each other, and the Church of *England* has found it true by Experience that, as he well expreſſes it, in his Letter "The Crown "was never ſtruck at but She always felt the Blow." And becauſe the greateſt Hurt any King of *England* can do to the Church of *England* is putting bad *Biſhops* upon her, this being a corrupting the Fountain; therefore to avoid all Jealouſies he is willing during his Reign ſo far to wave his Prerogative in the Nomination of *Biſhops*, *Deans*, and all other *Eccleſiaſtical* Preferments in the Gift of the Crown, Five Biſhops ſhould be appointed, of which Number the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for the Time being to be always one, who upon each Vacancy may name three Perſons to him, of whom he will choſe one. And that the

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Church of England, as by Law Eſtabliſh'd, ſhall be ſecur'd in the ſole Poſſeſſion not only of all the Churches, but of the Univerſities and even Schools. And as a farther Mark of his Favour, he remitted during his Time the *Tenths* and *Firſt Fruits* payable by the Biſhops and Clergy to the Crown: This has been ſince done by his Siſter, to whom it will be no Reflection that it was done by him before ſhe came to the Crown: For all this he gave under his Hand and Seal in his Inſtructions bearing Date *March* 3, 1702. and promiſes to make good again in his Letter of *May*, 1711. And if the Parliament will have it paſs'd into an *Act*, he will give the Royal Aſſent to it, or to any other or further Security they can deviſe, for the Safety of the *Church of England*, and of the *Conſtitution* in *Church and State*, their Laws, Liberty, and Property. This is all he can do, or can be demanded of him. But the greateſt of all Securities is, that, as I ſaid, it will not be in his Power, to do otherwiſe, which cannot be ſaid of any of the other Pretenders, who may come after him or get before him, as I ſhall ſhew you preſently, and that his Life which you purſue is the only viſible Barrier to ſtave off the Evils, which after the Demiſe of his Siſter, will be unavoidable; and is the greateſt Security under Heaven for the Preſervation of our Conſtitution both in Church and State, which as it is his Intereſt to maintain inviolable, ſo it is no ways in his Power to invade if he were ſo inclined; and ſtill the leſs, if he ſhould perſevere in the Religion he now profeſſes.

He has inform'd himſelf of paſt Miſcarriages, and knows well the Difference betwixt the Office of a *King* and a *Miſſionary*. He will concern himſelf with no Man's Religion, but is reſolved to defend that which is legally eſtabliſhed, and whoſe Principles are true to Monarchy, and ſafe for Government, for whoſe Satisfaction, and for his own Reſtoration, he thinks himſelf obliged to do every Thing that is conſiſtent with Conſcience and Honour. This has been confirmed to me by ſeveral Steps to which I am Witneſs. In the Year 1701, about ſix Months after the King his Father's Death, he granted what I have told before for the Security of the Church of *England*. He likewiſe, at that Time, endeavoured to ſecure for his Proteſtant Servants the free Exerciſe of their Religion. And to do Juſtice to the Queen his Mother, ſhe not only concurred in this, but did herſelf ſollicit it, to my Knowledge. But the Maxims of that Court would not admit it. Ten Years after this, in the Year 1711, he being then of Age, did attempt it again himſelf, but could not prevail. But as ſoon as he came to this Country, he obtain'd from the Generoſity of the Duke of *Lorrain*, tho' the like was never done here before, where there are no Diſſenters of any ſort, and the People rather more zealous than in *France*. I was then ſent for to officiate to the Proteſtants in the Family; I was very graciouſly received upon my Arrival, and the Chevalier admitted me even to Freedom with him, which ſtill continues and increaſes. I never yet was refuſed Acceſs to him when I deſired it, and he of himſelf often ſends for me, and gives me ſpecial Marks of his Favour. I would not have ſaid ſo much, were it not to do him Juſtice, and expoſe the vile Clamours of his Enemies, that he has no Regard to Proteſtants, which is known to be notoriouſly falſe to all who have the Honour to attend him. He has given all the Demonſtrations poſſible to the contrary, except parting with his Conſcience and Honour, which ſome would have him do, that

they might object it againſt him, and repreſent him as unworthy to reign for ſo doing; but he will not gratify them in this.

He has cauſed a Room to be fitted up in his own Houſe for a Chappel for us, and which is appropriated to that only Uſe, and has taken out of our Congregation his preſent Secretary of State and Chief Miniſter, who conſtantly communicates with us.

He will preſs no Man's Conſcience, and he may reaſonably expect that his own ſhould not be preſs'd. He has promiſed to hear what you have to ſay on the Point of Religion in due Time and Place, you cannot then accuſe him of Obſtinacy, till you have afforded him the Time, and that Place where he may with Safety and Honour do it. If the Whigs will turn all this (as what will not Malice do) into a meer Policy to get upon his Throne, with the greater Honour and Reputation, they cannot then deny but he is at leaſt a Man of *Honour*. If they think him a Man of *Religion* too, then they ought to believe his *Promiſes*, and that they are made in Sincerity: But if they think him a *Politician* without much *Conſcience* or *Religion*, then they may be ſure, if he were once poſſeſs'd of his *Crown*, he would not hazard it again out of Zeal to any *Church* or *Religion*. Both ways they are ſecure, they know they are ſecure, and they fear nothing from him but what they will not own, they dare not yet, ſince that late daring which fail'd them upon Dr. *Sacheverell*'s Tryal; but they are rallying again by the Indulgence of the Government, and have let the Church know their Love to her! And they fear the Pretender would be as good as his Word, and protect her, as the only Security he has under Heaven, it is viſible he has no other, and preſerving the Church and the Monarchy is what the Whigs are afraid of. They hate it with their whole Hearts, and the Pretender for no other Reaſon, becauſe if he comes, he not only will but muſt ſupport the Church of *England*, he has no other Ground to ſtand upon, nor has ſhe any viſible Support but in him after the Queen. The *Whigs* and *Diſſenters* battle her now on her own Dunghil, while ſhe is Eſtabliſh'd by Law, and Preſbytery ſays, ſhe is as much eſtabliſh'd in *Scotland*, and was once in Poſſeſſion of *England* too, when ſhe was not near ſo formidable as now, and has her ſtill under the indiſſolvable *Oath* of the *Covenant* for the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy, and *Scotland* under the ſame *Oath* for themſelves and their Poſterities, to enforce it again upon *England*, whenever it ſhall be in their Power, which they think is not far off, with the Aſſiſtance of their Friends and Allies the Whigs, Atheiſts and Deiſts, who boaſt their Superiority in the *Fleet*, *Army*, and Inclinations of the People, which may be played againſt the Church of *England* by the ſame Arts, as againſt the Church of *Scotland* at the Beginning of the Revolution; if they had but a Majority in *Parliament* which they have had, and are ſtruggling for it again, not without a Proſpect of Succeſs, and would think themſelves ſure of it if they had onee a Prince upon the Throne not overmuch attach'd to Epiſcopacy by the Prejudice of Education, and who had a great Country of his own, without one *Biſhop* amongſt them, and Alliance with others who are all *Preſbyterians*, and in cloſe Conjunction with them of *Britain*, and this Prince to have the naming of all the Biſhops in *England*, might he not put in ſuch that would not burn for Epiſcopacy, and might adviſe the Clergy in *Scotland* to conform to Preſbytery, becauſe eſtabliſhed by Law? I ap-

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peal to the Biſhop of *Sarum*, whether it has not been done already, and whether it is not a good Principle? And how long the Church of *England* would have ſtood under ſuch Biſhops? And that Plan of *Epiſcopacy*, *Liturgy*, *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, which was preparing for us, as told us in the Wolf ſtripp'd? And how long will ſhe ſubſiſt under the like Circumſtances again? She has had a little Reſpite in this *Queen*'s Reign, but the *Relapſe* will prove worſe than the *Diſeaſe*. Let her name her Confederates or Allies in whom She can confide at Home or Abroad, as ſoon as the Queen ſhall be taken from us? Where will She find any to comfort, I had almoſt ſaid pity her? The Law will deny her Chriſtian Burial, who was thus apparently *Felo de ſe*, who wrought and took Pains to bring this Deſtruction upon herſelf! At leaſt lay dozing till ſhe ſaw it done. She fell with King *Charles* I. and roſe with King *Charles* II. Why? Becauſe her Enemies were equal Enemies to both thoſe *Princes*, they ſuffer'd for her and ſhe for them; but would the Caſe have been the ſame, if the Friends and Intimates of either of theſe *Princes* had been her avow'd Enemies? If the *Prince* had ow'd his *Crown* to them only, and truſted no other? If he had declared openly and printed *Memorials* againſt her, and own'd the *Whigs* as the honeſteſt and beſt Men in the Nation, and fit only to be truſted in the Miniſtry and all Places of Power? If this had been the Caſe of King *Charles* II. the Church had not been reſtored with him, but cruſh'd to Death without Hopes of Reſurrection.

Now, Sir, upon the whole let me reaſon a little freely with you, what ſort of Compliment have you put upon the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover?* Do you think they have no Conſcience or Religion, or any Honour? Do they not believe that Faith which they profeſs, and wherein they have been educated? Is not *Conſubſtantiation* their avow'd Doctrine? And is not that as *Erroneous*, as contrary to the Doctrine of the *Church of England*, as *Tranſubſtantiation?* Yet you have tied them up, that when they come thither, they muſt be of the Communion of the *Church of England*. We know that Prince *George* of *Denmark* did not communicate with us, and when he did it but once to qualify himſelf for the Office of Lord High Admiral, his Chaplain refuſed to communicate with him any longer, which made a Jeſt about the Town, that the Prince's Chaplain had turn'd him off. It is ſuch an *Occaſional Conformity* only for once or ſo, that you require for the Crown? Then *the Coronation Office* may do, and no Pretender will refuſe that. Tho' if it be a Sin it ought not to be done once, unleſs a Crown be a Price for once ſinning.

But you have not required this of the Houſe of *Hanover*, till they come to the Crown; they are not obliged to declare before-hand. There is the ſame reaſon for the *Pretender*. Do you think then the one is ready at the Sight of the *Crown* to quit his *Faith*, without any other reaſon to be given him? And that the other requires ſome Satisfaction to his Conſcience, without which a Crown will be no Temptation to him. Which of theſe Characters is the beſt? And to whoſe Sincerity and Honour would you truſt?

Or is *Conſubſtantiation* a *Proteſtant*, becauſe not a *Papiſt?* Then the *Turks* are *Proteſtants* too! I will maintain it that they hold more of Chriſtianity than the *Quakers*, who believe in no Chriſt but their *Light within*. Suppoſe the *Pretender* ſhould turn *Quaker?* The Whigs would then have but one Objection againſt

gainſt him, which is *Hereditary Right*, that being againſt their unalterable Maxim, *the worſe Title, the better King.*

The Fate of *Britain* (humanly ſpeaking) depends upon the Life of this *Prince*, whom you are hunting like a Patridge upon the Mountains, and the Cry is, as of the *Jews*, againſt *Chriſt*, *venient Romani*, the Romans will come and take away our Place and Nation, to prevent which they put him to Death, and it was that which, in a juſt Judgment brought the *Romans* upon them, who did take away both their Place and Nation. And the Death of this Prince who cannot hurt you, will open a Flood Gate of *Romans* upon us, Great and Powerful, who will be capable to deſtroy both our Church and Nation. Then ſhall we read our Sin in our Puniſhment, when we ſee the Cry of *French* and *Popery*, which we make the Pretence for all our Wickedneſs, in tranſgreſſing the Laws of God and Man, have, by a juſt Judgment, brought both in upon us: Nay the Plague is already begun, for the *Scandal* of the *Revolution*, and departing from our *Principles*, has occaſion'd a much greater Run to *Popery* in *England*, than in all King *James*'s Reign, in which the more he ſtruggled, the more was the Deſign ſeen, and the greater Averſion aroſe in the People againſt *Popery*, of which there had likely been an utter End in *England*, if we had had that Chriſtian Courage to have ſerved God in his own way, and have truſted to his Providence in the Obſervance, rather than the Breach of his Commandments, and have ſtuck cloſe to the Characteriſtick Doctrine of the *Church of England*, whatever had come upon us during the Life of that King; which I am convinc'd had been nothing ſo terrible as was apprehended; but the more grievous it had been, it would have proved more to the Ruin of *Popery*, and the Eſtabliſhment of the *Church of England*; for the whole World would have then excuſed the ſtricteſt Laws, we could have made againſt *Popery* for the future. And to ſum up the greateſt of worldly Happineſs in a word, we had ſav'd the *Revolution*, and all the Blood and Treaſure it had coſt us, and the diſmal Proſpect ſtill before us, Men's Hearts failing them for Fear, and for looking after thoſe things which are coming upon us. Inſtead of which our *Church* and *Monarchy* had now been ſafe upon their Old Foundation, and every Man living ſafe under his own Vine, and his Fig-tree, and our *Church* more glorious than ever, ſhining far and near to the end of the World, for practiſing as well as preaching her Chriſtian Doctrine of Submiſſion to Kings for the Lord's ſake, and ſuffering for well doing, when they had ſo vaſt a Superiority in Power to have reſiſted and reveng'd themſelves upon their Perſecutors.

The *Proteſtants* in Queen *Mary*'s Time had not this Temptation, yet they own'd the Doctrine at the Stake; and what a lamentable Proſpect had they? All the Laws for their Eſtabliſhment were repealed, and Popery ſet up by Act of Parliament; but one Princeſs of the Royal Line, who was a *Proteſtant*, and ſhe declared *Illegitimate* by Act of Parliament, and more effectually to bar her Succeſſion, ſhe was committed to the Tower, and as *Speed* tells us, a Warrant was once ſign'd for her Execution: The Queen was married to the King of *Spain*, the moſt bigotted of all Popiſh Princes, and no viſible Help for theſe poor Proteſtants in the whole World. Thus the *Reformation* in *England* ſeem'd ſtrangled in its Birth, and was juſt expiring, when the mighty Hand of God appear'd wondrouſly

wondrously in its Preſervation. The *Queen* had no Iſſue, and died when the Reformation could have liv'd no longer. And the condemned Princeſs was taken from Priſon to the Throne, where God preſerved her 44 Years till the Reformation reviv'd, was fully ſettled and eſtabliſhed. Thus God rewarded thoſe that truſted in him, and durſt not go out of his way for their own Preſervation. But when Men think to ſave themſelves by breaking his Commandments, they put themſelves out of his Protection, and he often lets them taſte their Folly, and convinces them that he is Governor over all the Earth. May we practice accordingly as we profeſs to believe it. And if we would put a ſtop to the Growth of *Popery* in *England*, at preſent and our future Fears, let us remove the Cauſe; for while that remains the Effects muſt follow. *Let us repent and return from whence we are fallen, and do the firſt Works leſt Chriſt come quickly, and remove our Candleſtick out of its place, except we repent.*

I know you expect plain Language, and will excuſe it from your old Friend and humble Servant,

Charles Leſlie.

Bar le Duc, Apr. 23. 1714.

The CHURCH of *ENGLAND*'s Advice to her Children, and to all Kings, Princes, and Potentates. By Mr. LESLIE. Printed in the Year 1715.

My Moſt Dear Children,

IT is now Twenty ſeven Years that *I have been ſeeking you whom my Soul loves, I ſought you, but I found you not*; and to which way ſoever I turned myſelf, I ſaw nothing but Deſolation, *I ſee the Hand of the Adverſary upon all my Pleaſant things, and the Heathen within the Walls of my Sanctuary.*

Behold, O Lord! for I am in Diſtreſs, and my Heart is turned within me; my Enemies have heard of it and are glad; for theſe things I weep Day and Night, and my Eyes run down with Rivers of Water.

Every Day, my Dear Children, adds to theſe Calamities, and your next Care ſhould be how to extricate yourſelves from the preſent Difficulties, and to ward off thoſe that are Roleing towards you with every Tide of Time.

To this End, receive the Inſtructions of your Unfortunate Mother, for I ſpeak not to your Reproach, but to the Furtherance of your Temporal and Eternal Happineſs.

A little Reflection will bring to your Remembrance the many Leſſons of Obedience which I have taught you to the Anointed of the Lord, upon which you may perceive what a want of Duty has attended you, towards God, your

King

King, and your Afflicted Mother, which may move you to compound with an Incens'd God, and your Desolate Mother, by a Repentance that may intercept his Judgments, and heal the Wounds that I have received at your Hands: For the Arms of the Almighty are Open to you, and it is still in your Election, whether you will Involve yourselves in a Ruin past all Recovery, or not.

You cannot forget that I always told you, *That you should render unto* Cæsar *the things that were* Cæsar's: And that I exhorted you to such a Dependance upon the Providence of God, as should carry you through all the Temporal Inconveniencies that could attend you, in the Practice of this Branch of your Duty to the Supreme Being, who is Represented in the Person of *Cæsar*; and this Injunction, without any reserve for the Body, was first laid upon you, by the Son of God, who best knew what would be required of you by his Father, and the Doctrines of your Redeemer is my Warrant in the Eyes of Heaven and Earth; therefore in Obeying me, you had Obeyed God, but in Resisting me, you have Resisted him.

You know that I told you, with St. *Paul* the Apostle, *That you should obey for the Lord's sake*, and the Reason of such Obedience is clear. For

First, Order comes out of it, in which the Good of all is comprehended both as to Soul and Body.

Secondly, In this State of Probation it gives a Discipline to the Soul, which proves an extraordinary Virtue, when Temporal Conveniencies shall contend against your Duty towards God, and it shall appear your Choice to Suffer in his Service, rather than to possess them in the Tents of Wickedness.

Thirdly, It is an Honour to *Jesus* Christ, that his Disciples should Resign their Bodies to Pain, in Confidence of a Deliverance by Him, when those that have depended upon the Arm of Flesh, have shewn a Diffidence in the Providence of God, that has call'd his Power and the Veracity of his Promises in question. And then,

Fourthly, God has commanded it, and Obedience therefore is your indispensible Obligation.

When I told you with St. *Paul*, *That you should obey for the Lord's sake*, I also assured you with him, *That you should receive to yourselves Damnation.* Yet as if it were in Contempt to the Injunctions, the Promises and Threats of the Son of God, of his great Apostle, and of me your most Affectionate Mother, the Sacred Person of *Cæsar* was torn from his Throne, by your Unfortunate Hands, driven by you out of his own House, and left without Mercy, to the Charity of those that knew him not: And after these Indignities, many Untruths were invented to destroy his Credit, which of all things was the most dear to him, as it is to most Men that live.

What must it be to him, whose Thoughts was turned to the making you a Rich and Happy People, to see you engaged in a Resistance that must unavoidably draw a Contempt upon you from all Nations, and in its Consequences, effect the Ruin of your Properties, of your Posterity, and Extinguish the Glory of one of the Bravest and most Flourishing Nations in World?

How

How muſt it wound him who was the moſt Affectionate Father to his Children, to hear himſelf Traduced, with the crying Injuſtice of Impoſing a Child of another Man's Begetting, to deprive the Off-ſpring of his own Bowels of their Right in Succeeding to the Crown?

What muſt it be to him to hear himſelf charged with all the Evils that Fleſh and Blood could be concerned in, and that by the Mouths of many, whoſe Lives, whoſe Fortunes and Preferments were owing to an Exceſs of Clemency in him?

How muſt it ſtrike his Afflicted Soul, to hear that the Prince his Son ſhould be reputed an Impoſtor, by the Clergy and Laity of all Degrees, after the ſtrongeſt Proof that ever was made of any Birth before his, and after you had all Acknowledged it, Thanked God for it, in your Printed Addreſſes, and Invoked Heaven in the moſt ſolemn Acts of Worſhip, that he might live to ſucceed his Father in the Throne?

Therefore, beſides the Grief which the Crying Injuſtice done to him and his Poſterity muſt give him, his Afflictions could not but be multiplied, upon the Thought of theſe Diſſimulations, being offered to the Lord and his Anointed, by you, to whom he was Deputed, by the King of Kings, the Nurſing Father; for his Affections were Irreverſibly Devolved upon you, and it was a ſevere Puniſhment to him, to ſee you in the very Abyſs of Iniquity, forfeiting Religion and Morality, that Loyalty and Integrity which has been Imputed to the *Engliſh* Nation by all the World.

Then how muſt it Torment him, to ſee you Perſuading the Off-ſpring of his own Bowels, for whoſe Souls and Bodies he muſt have more than an Ordinary Regard, to an Unnatural and an Irreligious Diſobedience, to a moſt Indulgent Father, and their Lawful King; when their Compliance with you might hazard their Salvation, and would Infallibly be a Renunciation of the Honour that had been the common Inheritance of that Blood with which their Veins were filled.

Beſides the Calumny of that Time laid his Perſon (tho' Sacred) open to the Outrage of the Meaneſt of the People, as appear'd in the Blackſmith at *Feverſham*, who ſtruck at his Head with a *Bar* of *Iron*, and had beaten out his Brains, if the Arm of Captain *Platt* had not Received the Blow.

After all theſe unprecedented Severities, you turned Him out of His own Kingdoms, barred the Gates againſt him, and Exiled Him to a Life of Miſery: Which made His a ſeverer Caſe, than that of the Royal Martyr's, whoſe Pains met a ſpeedier End, than the Courſe of Nature might have given 'em: And He had Comfort of eating his own Bread to the Day of His Death; but His Son, of whom I ſpeak, you made a Receiver of Alms, for Twelve Years, before He ſurrendered His Soul.

Theſe Things are recorded in Heaven againſt you; and muſt be Accounted for, either in this, or in your future State. Therefore, inſtead of an Act of perpetual Forgetfulneſs, which you may deſire ſhould paſs upon it, it is my Advice to you, that you recal the whole Hiſtory of ſome Years paſt, and refuſe not to ſee it, even in it's darkeſt Circumſtances; for it may yroduce a Repentance, that may obtain your Pardon.

In ſuch a View, you will find, that you were ſo far from giving unto *Ceſar* the Things that were *Ceſar*'s, as that you have taken from him all that was his, and purſued him afterwards with Sword and Slander, refuſing to ſpare him either Life or Reputation, and could condemn the Perſons that conſented to the Decolation of his Father, at the very Time that you ſent Men with Arms and Ammunition, to take away the Life of him, who was no leſs your King, than his Father was the King of thoſe that put him to Death.

Indeed the Artifice of thoſe that were under the Direction of *Republican* and *Latitudinarian* Principles, wrought you up to the unhappy Temper, by which all this was done, and made you believe, that what they did was to preſerve me, whom they always hated, and to ſave that State, which they then ſought the Deſtruction of.

Thus they plunged you into a ſeeming Neceſſity of multiplying your Iniquities; that thoſe which came after might defend you from the Puniſhments that were due to thoſe that preceeded them: But the Cauſe being bad in the Beginning, needed perpetual patching; and the Evil that was preſcribed, as a Cure to the preſent Fraction, ſtill proved greater than thoſe that went before it: And whenever the Scheme was failing, it portended the greater Danger to its Managers, who made it their Care to ward off the impending Calamy, with the more deſperate Remedy; and to guard a few Offenders, at the Coſt of your Religion, your Blood, and your Treaſure.

Under the Pretext of ſaving your Religion, you were drawn in to make a tacit Renunciation of the *Goſpel*; you may object, "That tho' you renounced "that one Point of Chriſtian Doctrine, which relates to the Obedience that you "are to pay unto *Ceſar*, yet all other Points have been duly regarded by you." But it cannot be unknown to you, that your Redeemer has declared, *That the Breaker of any one of his Commandments, incurs the Guilt of breaking all his Commandments*; and the Reaſon is clear, for the Commandments of God are equally propoſed to you: Therefore every particular Commandment is from that very Authority that recommends the whole Body of the Divine Laws; ſo that in rejecting any one of the Commandments, you reject that Authority which propoſes them all to you, and are as great Offenders againſt that Authority, as you can be in renouncing all its Injunctions together. Therefore in renouncing this one Point of Chriſtian Doctrine, our Lord cannot impute any Thing leſs to you than a tacit Renunciation of all that he has taught, and of his Name too; for to what End is his Name retained, if you defy his Authority, unleſs it be to ſtrengthen the Affront that you have already offered him?

Would Any-body believe, that it was the *Chriſtian Religion* which you intended to ſave, ſince the Means which you uſed to that End, was a Renunciation of the Doctrines of *Jeſus Chriſt*; and if you meant not the *Chriſtian Religion*, what a Diſſimulation was it, to give out, that your Intention was to ſave, even the pureſt Part of it?

When your Enemies had thus betray'd you into their Service, they imploy'd your Hands againſt me, and made your Tongues bring upon me the Reproach of all Nations; for you had learned of them to ſay, That it was the Honour and Glory of God, and my Preſervation, that was intended in all the Indignities that were offered to God and your King. "But all that paſſed by, clapp'd

"their

" their Hands, hiſs'd and wagg'd their Heads at the Daughter of *Jeruſalem*, " and ſaid, Is this the City that Men call'd the Perfection of Beauty, the Joy " of the whole Earth: She, who has bound her Kings in Chains, and her No- " bles in Fetters of Iron:" She, who pretended to ſerve the Lord, in the Deſtruction of his Anointed: She, whoſe Children pretended to defend her, in the Death of their Nurſing Father?

Conſider, my dear Children, what a Scandal you have been to Religion in general, under theſe Inconſiſtencies, and to me in particular, in declaring yourſelves my Children, under theſe Abominations: But I call Heaven and Earth to witneſs, that I never taught you thus, and do hereby declare to all the World, that I commanded you, at all Times, to *give unto* Ceſar *the Things that were* Ceſar's; and did aſſure you, that nothing leſs than Damnation would be inflicted upon thoſe that reſiſted him.

You ſtill ſpeak affectionately of me, but who can believe that your Heart and Lips correſpond, unleſs you reſtore the good Name you have taken from me, in a Return to your Duty; for except you bear the Fruits of Repentance, who will believe that you do repent?

I know that the Enemy did craftily inſinuate, that, without this Expedient, *Popery* would have prevailed, to my Deſtruction; but if the *Alchoran* had prevailed, your State, as to Salvation, had been no worſe than your Reſiſtance has made it; for the bare retaining the Name of *Jeſus*, under a Renunciation of what he has taught, makes not your Caſe any Thing better than theirs, who, at this Day, worſhip the Sun at his Up-riſing.

Your refuſing Credit to the Providence of God, and making your whole Dependance upon the Arm of Fleſh, may raiſe a Belief, in thoſe that are not of me, of my inculcating the modiſh Principle, that will not allow his Providence any Concern in the Affairs of this World.

But the Goodneſs of God has preſerved ſome, that have firmly adhered to their Principles, who bear Witneſs, that I ever told you, that if Paſſive Obedience were due from the *Primitive Chriſtians* to *Nero*, as appears by an Epiſtle of St. *Paul*'s to the *Romans*, it could not but be a Debt from you to your *Chriſtian* King, tho' he happened not to be in Communion with you: For they cannot be of a Religion worth any Man's coveting, who would deſtroy the Property of another, becauſe he cannot think as they would have him.

You have frequently impriſoned your perſevering Brethren, oppreſs'd them with double Taxes, endeavovr'd to force their Conſciences with Oaths, contrary to thoſe which they had taken before, and perſecuted them with all the Evils of the Tongue, for no other Reaſon, than that of their retaining thoſe Principles of Loyalty which they had learnt of me, and at the Time that you were perſecuting Men for their being my Diſciples, you inconſiſtently ſpoke of your Duty towards me as if you were then in the full Exerciſe of it.

The Craft of your Adverſaries, brought you to believe that theſe impious Expedients were abſolutely neceſſary, to the Preſervation of your Liberties and Properties, as if the God that gave them, could not be prevailed with to continue them to you, without your making a Breach upon his Commandments: But the Juſtice of God render'd them as ineffectual, as the *Jewiſh* Deſign of putting their Redeemer to Death; for that was done under the Pretext of ſaving

their City and Nation from a *Romiſh* Conqueſt, and their Mean, the Juſtice of God turn'd to the Deſtruction of their City, their Nation and Poſterity.

Your Pretext was, the Reſcue of your Liberties from the Tyranny of the *Romiſh* Religion; and the ſame God, ruling the World the ſame Way, has turn'd your Expedient to your Deſtruction alſo, as will appear from ſome Incidents, before and ſince the Fatal *Revolution*.

You may have obſerv'd, that a Scheme was laid by ſome of the moſt conſiderable Men in *England*, not ſo much againſt the Perſon of the King, as againſt Kingly Government: So that the King was not the firſt Perſon to be removed, for the Duke of *Monmouth* had attracted the Affections of the People, and might (in Caſe the King was firſt ſtruck at) ſtep into his Throne, and be ſucceeded there by the Iſſue of his own Body, to the Ruin of their intended Republick: So that to perfect the Scheme, the Duke was to be decoyed into a Reſiſtance, which in its Conſequences was to end his Days and then if the King could be Remov'd, the Point would be obtain'd intirely.

The Prince of *Orange* (being a Man of Policy, of ſome Power, and of Republican Principles) was conſulted in this Affair; he approved the Deſign, and promiſed his Aſſiſtance in reducing the Government of *England* to the *Dutch* Form, tho' his Hope was fix'd in the Crown's becoming his own, in caſe of Succeſs in their Attempts againſt the King and the Duke.

He, with the Chiefs of that Faction on this Side, adviſed the Duke to take Arms, and pretend a Right to the Crown, aſſuring him their Intereſt, and pretending not to doubt of his Succeſs.

The Unfortunate Duke did ſo, and had no ſooner taken Arms but they deſerted him and his Cauſe, and his Rebellion brought him to the End intended by them.

The *Republicans* were pleaſed, to ſee that there was only the Perſon of the King between *Monarchy* and a *Commonwealth*; and the Prince of *Orange* was no leſs pleas'd, at the Thoughts of their being but One between him and the Crown of *England*.

Their next Attack was upon the King and his Religion, with the Reports which they had already form'd againſt him, facilitated their Deſign, ſo as to bring you into their Meaſures, which made the Reſiſtance general, and put it out of the King's Powet to ſuppreſs.

They finding the late Unhappy Lord *Sunderland*, as capable of working in their Way as any Man then living, he was conſtituted their Principal Agent, and by Occaſionally conforming to the *Romiſh* Religion, by praying much, and counterfeiting all Vertues, he gain'd ſo upon the Credulity of the King (whoſe Native Charity and Candour render'd him eaſy in believing the reſt of his Fellow-Creatures endow'd with his own Integrity) as that he wrought himſelf into all his Secrets, and was the Perſon that determin'd him in all his Councils.

It was not yet a Time to publiſh the Calumny intended againſt the King, for to give it the Face of Truth, that Lord adviſed the King to make the Change that enſu'd in *Magdalen* College.

Their

Their Aſperſions were publiſh'd next, and circled through the Kingdom, with the Succeſs propoſed by their Authors; and when the Kingdom was ſo thoroughly inflamed, as that every Mouth had Evil in it againſt its King: That Lord adviſed, that a Standing Army ſhould be, and the Pretext was the Security of the King's Perſon: Which ſeeming very plauſible upon the Ferment which the Kingdom was in; an Army was raiſed, and led, to the End that was deſired, by thoſe that propoſed it, for it confirm'd the People in what they had heard before, and it was eaſy to make them believe that they were to be Dragoon'd out of their Religion, their Lives and Liberties, and it was well known to him that adviſed it, that the Army would Revolt upon the Prince's Landing. The Army did Revolt accordingly, and it proved a Political Way of raiſing an Army for the Prince at the King's Coſt, and perfected the Deſigns of the King's Enemies againſt him.

But to bring all the Calamities upon the King that could befal him by bad Counſel, that Lord advis'd him in his own Vindication, as he artfully term'd it, to ſend ſome of the Biſhops to the Tower: The King conſented, but he who could never do a ſevere Thing, Recall'd it, by offering them their Liberty upon each others Bail.

That Lord and his Party, fearing that they would accept of this Offer, and render their Contrivances Ineffectual; they ſet ſome of their Secret Springs to work upon them, who made ſuch Advantages of the Candour, the Good-Nature and Credulity of Dr. *Sancroft*, Dr. *Ken*, and other Prelates, as to bring them to believe that their refuſing the King's Favour, would prove the greateſt Service they were then capable of doing to me and the King: The poor Gentlemen, who were better Divines than Politicians, conſented to this unhappy Counſel, and to the Tower they would go; which Injured the King and me, more than any of the other Ill Offices that had been done before. And thus theſe abuſed Prelates were by a ſtrange Paradox, made Inſtruments of Miſchief to me, and their King; tho' if their Lives had been required in mine, or the King's Service, they would have reſigned them chearfully.

At length many of you were made to believe that I ſhould Expire, and that Liberty and Property would be no more, unleſs the Prince of *Orange* was invited over, who as the Artiſts affirmed, was only to ſettle the King in Peace upon the Throne, to appeaſe the People, and gain Terms for them that ſhould remove all their Jealouſies, and then to return again.

The Story being pretty plauſible, it obtained many Hands to an Inſtrument, by which the Prince was invited to you with a Body of Military Men; but the inviting a Foreigner into the Nation, with Men in Arms, without the Sovereign's leave, was one of the greateſt Breaches of their Duty towards God and their King; and its Conſequences ſeem'd to manifeſt the Divine Indignation's being kindled by it, againſt thoſe that were concerned in it: For the Prince came, and you were diſappointed in his depoſing the King with the King's Army, and the Republicans were equally diſappointed in his taking the Crown to himſelf; for they expected that King *James*'s Adminiſtration and the Monarchy of *England* ſhould expire in the ſame Day.

By this Time many of you found your Miſtake, and that it was too late to Recal it; yet ſome returned to their Duty, in a Repentance that ſhortened the

Day

Days of the greateſt *Eccleſiaſtick* in *England*, who never forgave himſelf his Miſtake in going to the *Tower*, and ſuch of them, as had Religion and Reſolution enough to Refuſe their Aſſent to the Uſurpation, were thruſt out of their *Biſhopricks*, *Parſonages* and *Employments*, and if they could find Charity they might find Bread, but if no Charity, Hunger was to be their Death.

Theſe Diſobedient and Inconſiderate Acts, gave me a Wound that almoſt proved Mortal, and what they did for Liberty and Property, proved to them the immediate Ruin of both.

The Lord *Churchill*, with other Licentious Perſons, took Oaths of Fidelity to the King, upon the four *Goſpels* over Night at *Saliſbury*, and deſerted to the Prince the next Morning. The Army ſoon follow'd, upon which the *Republicans* hoped, that Monarchy was labouring under the Pangs of Death; but to their great Diſapointment, the Prince would not deſtroy the Face of Monarchy, becauſe he had a mind to be the Monarch, which ſpoiled their intended Republick for a Time, but he compounded with them for that Sovereign Remedy that comes out of the beſt Places of Honour and Advantage in the Kingdom.

The Prince of *Orange* at length was Crown'd, contrary to all the Laws of *England* Eccleſiaſtick and Civil, which was the Deſtruction of your Conſtitution, in Things Spiritual and Temporal; for it put a Period to an Hereditary Right in the Crown, and who knows but this very Precedent may be uſed in times to come, againſt thoſe, who by the Laws which you have violated, ſhould ſucceed to your Eſtates; for if the People may deſtroy the Right of the Crown, of which they hold their Lands, can they complain if any that ſhould ſucceed to the Crown, ſhould do the ſame by the People by way of Repriſal, when Opportunity ſhall offer? Or if they ſhould complain, you have made an Anſwer for the Crown, that will be always ready; for it has to ſay, that you began firſt, and the Precedent, by which it acts, is of your own giving.

Let who will be your King, this Precedent may be of fatal Conſequence to you and your Poſterity, and Entail a fruitleſs Repentance upon you, that may convince Poſterity of your making a miſerable Bargain for them, in the Market that you have made of Crowned Heads.

Having deſtroyed poſitive Inſtitution both Civil and Sacred, you have no other Property than that which moral Rectitude, or an Uſurp'd Authority can ſecure you in; but as you have managed the Matter, you cannot depend upon either of theſe. For,

Firſt, You have been unanimous in doing by God and your King, as you would not be done by. Therefore, which of you can expect a better Uſage at the Hand of another. And then,

Secondly, An Unſurped Authority will never bind the Conſciences of *Chriſtian* Men, becauſe it is not the Authority *that you are to obey for the Lord's Sake*: And whenever an Uſurper prevents your breaking in upon each other Properties, it is not to prevent your being devoured one of another, but that he may have the Devouring of you; for it has been hardly known that the Upholders of an Uſurpation, have paid any thing leſs than all that they had for it.

An Uſurper never expects that his Uſurpation ſhould continue any conſiderable time, for the Ordinary Method of the Divine Providence, has been to reſtore the Heir, to his own ſooner or later: Therefore all Uſurpers enrich themſelves,

ſelves, and their own Creatures, at the Coſt of thoſe that ſubmit to their Uſurpation, and proving the *Sherks* of thoſe Nations that are ſo unhappy as to ſubmit to them, they take away *Legs* and *Arms* at their going off; ſo that your Fence is down, and nothing can prevent all things being in common, but the Reſtoration of your Lawful King, which will reſtore things to their Ancient and happy Form again.

You all know, that St. *Paul* in his Second Epiſtle to the *Romans*, did previouſly condemn your Revolution, therefore you never approve it by Word or Deed, but you ſin againſt the Light of Faith, which by the greater Number of the moſt learned Divines, is concluded to be the Sin againſt the HolyGhoſt, *which* the moſt undoubted Authority has aſſured you, *will not be forgiven in this World, nor in that to come.*

You have condemned the Aſſertors of St. *Paul*'s Doctrines as Enemies and Traytors, to *Church* and *State*, in aſſerting them. Is not this an Accuſation againſt that great Apoſtle, of teaching what you have lately call'd High-Treaſon; but can that be a *Chriſtian* Church, which the Doctrines of an Apoſtle of *Jeſus Chriſt* can be injurious to? or can that State be compoſed of *Chriſtian* Men, that cannot bear to hear the Doctrines of *Jeſus Chriſt*? No, it ſeems the higheſt Affront to Almighty God, that ſuch a Church or ſuch a Nation, ſhould be numbered with *Chriſtian* Churches or *Chriſtian* Nations.

Upon a little Reflection it will appear to you, that there is a Blaſphemy in the Revolution Principles, and conſequently that the Abettors of it are Blaſphemers.

You may think this a very ſevere Aſſertion, but conſider that the Votaries of the Revolution, do tacitly impute Sedition to the Doctrines of St. *Paul*. And is not that an Imputation of Sedition to the Dictates of the Holy Ghoſt? And that is a Blaſphemy for which the Blaſphemer, by the Laws of *England*, ought to be bored through the *Tongue* with a burning Iron? But inſtead of this Puniſhment, your Revolution has brought forth Acts of *Parliament*, which confirm and propagate that horrid Sin.

An Hereditary Right to the Crown, is the beſt Expedient for the Peace of the Public, but the Revolution has made the Crown of *England* Elective, and deſtroyed that Happy Mean to Peace.

Woeful Experience teaches, that an Elective Monarchy is the utter Ruin of the Subject; as appears in the Diſtracted Kingdom of *Poland*, which is almoſt deſtroyed by thoſe Inteſtine Troubles that are the unavoidable Conſequences of their Elections.

Their Caſe is very bad, but yours will be much worſe; for the Elections of that Kingdom are under certain Laws and Reſtrictions which prevent thoſe Riots, thoſe Tumults, and that Loſs of Blood that would otherwiſe attend them: But you have no Laws to over-rule you in your Elections that are to come; ſo that Riots and Tumults that cannot end but in the Loſs of a great deal of your Blood, will be the unavoidable Conſequences of your Elections.

Then there are no other Potentates to diſpute the Right of him that ſhall be ſo Elected to the Crown of *Poland*; but there are many powerful Princes in *Europe*, who will not ſo eaſily part with their Rights to the Crown of *England* as you may imagine, and will undoubtedly give perpetual Diſturbance to the

Perſon

Perſon or Perſons, that ſhall be Elected to their Prejudice: So that your Revolution has Entail'd upon you, and thoſe that may ſucceed you, Wars both Foreign and Domeſtick, that cannot end whilſt the Kingdom has Men or Money in it.

Some of you may be of Opinion, that your Elections may be managed with more Eaſe and Safety to the People than is apprehended by others: But if Riots, Tumults and Loſs of Blood, do attend your Elections for Members of *Parliament*, as you know it ſometimes does, tho' the manner of thoſe Elections is Regular, what will your and Poſterity's Caſe be when you come into the Field, in a confuſed Tumultuous way upon the Choice of a King?

Upon ſuch an Occaſion there may be many Candidates, each Candidate may have a powerful Party, the Sword will determine your Choice, and ſupport him in the Throne that ſhall be ſo Elected; which will entail a Standing Army upon you, that will breath out immediate Deſtruction to thoſe that happen'd to be in a different Intereſt, and load it's Votaries, at long run, with Inſupportable Calamities, and here will the Ruin of your unfortunate Nation be compleated.

This being an unavoidable Conſequence of the Revolution, who can believe that the Security of your Liberties and Properties are mended by it, You were made to believe that this vaſt Expence of Blood and Treaſure was for Liberty and Property; but it is too evident that there was nothing meant by it. But

Firſt, The Ruin of Monarchy. And

Secondly, The Saving of the Heads of a few Popular Traytors, who (by the Laws of *England*) ought to have died for their Endeavours to Deſtroy the Conſtitution.

Your Adverſaries have promis'd to make the Crown Hereditary again, in the remote Family they invited from *Hanover*, which they would have you believe will Avert the Inconveniencies that may attend its being Elective. But

Firſt, the Principles and Practices of thoſe that promiſe this, make it appear that they will not endure Monarchy, neither in an Election nor in an Hereditary way; for it is well known to you that they have been Defacing Monarchy theſe many Years, in order to introduce the *Dutch Form*.

Secondly, It ſhall appear, before the End of my Letter, that the Depoſing of Kings is an Avow'd Principle of theirs; ſo that if Kingly Government ſhould be continued, yet the King muſt be brought to their Tribunal to be depos'd when they pleaſe, and leave a Vacancy in the Throne, which is to be fill'd with the Perſon they ſhall appoint: So that they can intend nothing by talking of an Hereditary Right but an Amuſement to you, whilſt they are working the Government into their own Form.

Thirdly, The making it Hereditary, before the Revolution, is Condemn'd by the ſtrongeſt and ſolemn Act that can be made, is Prepoſterous, becauſe that unhappy Precedent will be a Law to you and your Poſterity; for if you had a Right of Depoſing one King, and Electing another, in the Year 1688, who can ſay that the ſame Right remains not in you? and if you aſſerted ſuch a Right, then, who can doubt whether you will do the ſame in time to come? And if that Right be in you, thoſe that ſucceed to your Eſtates, will believe

that

that they ſucceed equally to the ſame Right; ſo that nothing is more inconſiſtent with right Reaſon, than a Belief of the Crown's becoming hereditary in the *Brunſwick* Family, unleſs the Family itſelf can make it ſo by a Standing Army.

The few that were principally concerned in the *Revolution*, intended not an Elective Monarchy as it now is; for their Aim was at the Ruin of Kingly Government: But the Ambition of the Prince of *Orange* defeating that Deſign, is the Reaſon why they are fallen into the preſent Meaſures, which they will continue till they can trip up the Hells of him whom they have Elected: For their Deſign in the Beginning was to break the Line of Succeſſion in the Glorious Family of the *Stuarts*, which if they could effect they knew that your whole Conſtitution would fall after it, and intended to Erect your Government upon a perfect new Plan of their own making, which would make a vaſt Proviſion for the few that ſhould be concern'd in it, tho' it would be the Ruin of the People in geneal.

As the picking out of one Stone from an Arch, renders it eaſy to ſink the whole Fabrick, ſo they foreſaw that upon the Diſſolution of this Fundamental Point, or Baſis, of your Conſtitution, the whole, in a gradual way, may be wrought into the Form that is already in the Idea of the Attificer, for it would give him the *Power over you, that the Potter has over his Clay*; and your Revolution, as glorious as it ſeem'd, was nothing leſs than a Preface to this unhappy Work, in which you and your Poſterity will undergo greater Severities than were known to the *Iſraelites*, in the Captivity of *Babylon*.

As a Decoy to you, they pretend under all this the greateſt regard to my Preſervation; but you already ſee in their Practices, and may perceive in their Principles, that which in a very little time (humanly ſpeaking) will be my Death; for there is a Royalty in the Church as well as in the State, and the Hand that will Deſtroy the One, will never be ſtretch'd out in the Vindication of the Other; for it may be a ſtanding Rule to you, that the Enemies of *Monarchy*, will never be very great Friends to *Epiſcopacy*.

In ſhowing you what an Inundation of *Atheiſm*, *Deiſm*, *Infidelity* and *Immorality* came in by the Door, which the *Revolution* opened upon you. I am to tell you,

That it was put to the Vote, in the firſt *Parliament* which the Prince of *Orange* called, Whether an Oath of Allegiance to him, ſhould be tendered to the People, or not? Which, after ſome Debate, was carried in the Affirmative. But the Party that oppoſed it, finding that they were launched ſo far into the Deep, as to endanger Me and the State; they reſolved upon a Struggle for keeping our Necks above Water, hoping that God had ſtill a Reſerve of Mercy for us, and would help us to ſome Expedient by which we might be Saved: For whilſt they could preſerve a little Life, they conceived ſome Hopes. So the Queſtion was put, Whether the Oath ſhould be tendered to the *Clergy*, or *Laity* firſt? Verily believing that if it were propoſed to the *Clergy* firſt (which was the Point they endeavoured to gain) that it would be refuſed by them, and that their Example would have ſuch an Influence upon their *Flocks*, as would render the Vote for the Oath ineffectual.

They obtain'd a Majority, and believed it would prove a great ſtep to the Retrieving of what they had Loſt, by their paſt Over-ſights; but upon the Tender of the Oath, there were but few of the *Clergy* that had the Courage enough to Refuſe it: So the *Shepherds* going quietly through the Gap, the poor *Sheep* unthinkingly followed, not doubting that their Leaders had found out an endleſs *Paradiſe* for them.

When the more Diſcerning, had compared this new Oath to the Prince of *Orange*, with that which they had taken to King *James*, it appeared that the *Clergy*, who had unfortunately taken both, were in a manifeſt Contradiction upon the four *Goſpels*.

Upon this general Defection, it began to be queſtion'd, Whether there were more Truth in *Chriſtianity* itſelf, than appeared in the Unhappy *Miniſters* of it? And in a ſhort time *Religion* and *Religious Men*, were rendered as Odious in every *Tavern* and *Coffee-Houſe*, as the moſt Satyrical of the *Prophane* Wits could make them.

Though Dr. *Burnet*, and ſome other Time-ſerving *Prelates*, had ſtrenuouſly taught the Doctrine of *Non-reſiſtance*, as appears in their Printed Works; yet becauſe they had *Reſiſted*, they delivered the Doctrines of *Reſiſtance* for Sacred Trnths, and would have St. *Paul*, and his *Adherents*, to paſs for Sowers of *Sedition*.

Many of the younger *Divines* were corrupted, in the *Schools*, by ſuch as the Men of *Looſe* Principles had made their *Directors*; and as *Biſhopricks* and *Parſonages* became vacant, thoſe were Preferr'd that could meaſure their *Doctrines* by the *Will* of him who was call'd their *King*: and whether that Correſponded with the *Will* of God, was no longer the Queſtion: For be that as it would, the *Pulpit* was engaged in the Cauſe of the *Uſurper*, and ſeem'd reſolved to Propagate it, without any regard to the Juſtice of the Means by which it was to be done.

Theſe *Contradictions* were Improved againſt you, and the *Town* was ſoon fill'd with *Prophane* Books and *Pamphlets*, that poiſoned the growing *Youth* of the Nation, who not only *Ridicul'd* Religion, but made it a part of their Imployment, to laugh thoſe out of Countenance that made any mention of it in a ſerious way.

The *Clergy* perceiving the ſhame which they had brought upon themſelves, and their *Character*; they endeavoured to mend the matter by ſetting up for a *Reformation* of Manners.

To this End, they procur'd *Acts* and *Proclamations* from their pretended *King* and *Parliament*; but ſuch as knew that they open'd the Gate by which theſe Calamities came upon you, took it for a *Political* Turn, by which thoſe Temporals were to be ſaved, that were given as a Conſideration for the *Spirituals* that were openly contemned, but this proved a Heightner to the Diſgrace which they had brought upon *Religion* before; and all that was ſaid by them, upon the Subject, was called the Political *Cant* of Religious Cheats, who would *Bugbear* the World into an Intolerable Servitude.

To this another Calamity ſucceeded; for the greateſt Artiſt in all Evil, ſuggeſted to the Men in Power, a Neceſſity for Qualifying ſuch as were to Preach,

to

to practice Phyſick, or be concerned in many other Imployments, by taking Oaths upon the four *Goſpels* that were directly contrary to the Oaths which they had taken before: By this the roaring Lion was let looſe upon you, and he began to devour at a great Rate: For, under theſe deplorable Circumſtances, it could not be ſuppoſed, that the Concern of the Clergy for your Souls could be very great, ſince they could ſurrender their own in this unfortunate way; nor can it remain a Wonder why great Numbers die of the Doctor; for he that can kill his own Soul, that he may practice Phyſick, it is to be feared will have no other regard to the Life of your Bodies, than what his Credit in the Practice of it ſhall require.

You are now driven to this *Dilemma*, Swear or Swear not: If you Swear you kill the Soul, and if you Swear not, you kill the Body, in the loſs of your Bread. A falſe Oath upon the *Goſpels*, is become as Light a Matter as a Word in Courſe; and the time is come in which a Man's Property may be ſworn away for a few Shillings: So that you have but little Remedy left, in any of your pretended Courts of Judicature, againſt the greateſt Wrongs that can be done to you. Theſe are the Liberties, and theſe the Properties that were ſecured to you, by the *Revolution*.

I muſt remind you again of the Reproach you brought upon yourſelves, from all Nations, and the Injuries you did to the Chriſtian Religion, by the Contradictions that occured to you upon the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, now your King.

The Prince's Birth had the Cleareſt and Strongeſt Proof that ever was made of any Birth before, or ſince that time; The Oaths of a great Number of the beſt Quality in the Kingdom, who were then preſent, were recorded in the Court of Chancery; where they are to be ſeen at this Day. The Prince was Acknowledged by the King and Queen; All *Europe* acknowledged his Birth, and Congratulated the King upon it; All the Clergy of the Kingdom, the Lords, the Commons, Grand-Juries, Counties Corporations, Burroughs, and the *Diſſenters*, under every Denomination, Addreſſed the King upon it; and (with the reſt of the People) call'd Heaven and Earth to Evidence the Sincerity of thoſe Joys which they Expreſt upon the Birth of the Prince.

All the Clergy, in their reſpective Pariſh Churches, Prayed for ſix Months, with their Congegations, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, that the Prince might Live to Fill the Throne of his Anceſtors. But the Royal Family was no ſooner Driven from its own Country, but the Prince's Birth was called in queſtion, and a Perfidious Fellow Imployed in writing the Warming-Pan Story; which was Printed and Scattered about the Kingdom to poiſon the Lower Degrees of Men, with whom every Lie againſt the Royal Family paſs'd, at that time, for a ſacred Truth; but Infinite Juſtice Remarkably exerted itſelf, in making that very Story the Occaſion of many ſevere Whippings to its Author, in *Bridewell*; and that by the Order of a pretended Parliament of the Prince of *Orange*'s calling, though it was their Cauſe that the Story was contrived for; as if the Divine Goodneſs had directed thoſe his moſt Inveterate Enemies, to Confirm that Birth which they began to call in Queſtion. And it pleas'd God, in the

Tryal of Dr. *Sacheverel*, that the ſame Party gave a further Confirmation of it, by the Mouths of Mr. *Stanhope*, *Parker*, and others, who declared, *That if the Doctrines of Hereditary Right were true, that the Queen had no Right; becauſe her Brother then had a Right before her*; and ſince that, his Birth has been Acknowledged by all Mankind.

Could there be a greater Affront offered to Almighty God, than that of Imploring (in his Sacred Temples) with Hands and Eyes uplift, Bleſſings with your Mouths, upon a Family which you were then Curſing in your Hearts; as appear'd immediately after, by your running to Arms and Slander, to Deſtroy their Perſons and Credit. What was this but a bringing the Divine Capacity to the Human Standard? Or Endeavouring at leaſt to convince the World, that the Heart of Man was not known to him that made it? Or, as if Words without Meanings could tickle the Ear of Almighty God, as they ſometimes do the Ears of Deluded Mortals.

When this Account of you ſhall reach the Ears of the Pagan or *Mahometan* World, will it not make them abhor the Name of *Jeſus*, on Account of theſe ſinful and unprecedented Contradictions that appear in you, who call yourſelves his *Diſciples:* If this had been the Spirit of the Primitive Chriſtians, the Name of *Jeſus* would hardly have been known to the Second Generation: For ſuch a Stain as you have incurred, would have ſpoiled their Credit with the Unconverted.

Your Credit indeed may not ſuffer ſo much in After-Generations, for when your Story ſhall be Tranſmitted to them, they will never believe that their Fathers were ſo Impolitick, and ſo Impious, unleſs you entail a ſtring of Curſes upon them, by your Perſeverance in Sin, that ſhall abundantly convince them of the Truth of it.

Others are Aſtoniſhed at your Celebrating the Thirtieth of *January*, whilſt you Perſiſt in thoſe very Principles and Practices that occaſion'd its Solemnity. You are equally concerned in the Shame which that Day gives to your Enemy, for though it tells them that they did Murder King *Charles*, yet it does not ſpare to tell you, that you would have Murderrd King *James*; and leaves you without Argument, againſt the Rebellious Spirit that poſſeſſes your moſt Inveterate Adverſary. Nor can you ever Reproach thoſe of the *Romiſh* Religion with the Depoſing Doctrine, till you have convinc'd the World (by a Return to your Duty) of your being in Repentance for putting that very Principle in practice.

The Prince of *Orange* having already accounted to Almighty God for the Facts of his Time; I ſhall inſtance no more of them to you, than may be neceſſary to convince you of the Truth of what I have advanced, relating to the Loſs of your Liberties, and the Artifice of thoſe by whom you have been deluded, from the Beginning of the *Revolution* to this Day.

The Prince of *Orange* proteſted in his Declaration, printed at his coming into *England*, that he came not to take the Crown from his Father, but to ſettle him in Peace upon the Throne: But it is too well known to you, that he did take the Crown, and puniſh'd moſt with Priſons, all with double Taxes, and many with Death, that refuſed to forfeit that Fidelity which was due from them

to

to his Father; and was ſo far from ſettling him in Peace upon his Throne, as that he turn'd him out of his own Houſe in the Dead of Night, ſtept into his Throne, and kept him thence (with Sword and Gun) to the Day of his Death.

To pleaſe you, he promiſed to protect me, and in order to it, forced my Head from my Body, wounded me by all the Ways in his Power, ſeverely perſecuted the few of you that firmly adhered to me, and precipitated you into a Rebellion againſt me, which you now feel the dire Effects of.

He promiſed to prove, that the Prince of *Wales* was an Impoſtor, but you know, that the only Step that was ever taken towards that, was the Warming-pan Story of *William Fuller*'s, which (as I have already ſaid) was exploded in the laſt of his own pretended Parliaments; and its Author (the Juſtice of God would have to be ſentenced, even by them for whoſe Cauſe it was contrived) to a ſevere Whipping in *Bridewell* for it.

Theſe Untruths are too evident to be controverted, and the reſt of his Declaration was as falſe; yet this Man was made your Idol, and you were then ſo delirious, as to think your Civil and Sacred Rights well ſecured to you, under the Guardianſhip of him who had never performed the leaſt of thoſe Promiſes which he had made to you, and from whoſe Mouth you had never heard one Word of Truth, and were deluded by a Number of Falſhoods, that would have ruined the Reputation of any Man then living, but his, and would have deſtroy'd his too, had you not before forfeited the Divine Favour, by which you might have diſcern'd his Treachery, and the Calamities that he and his Creatures had wheel'd you into.

At his deplorable Acceſſion to the Crown, he took down the Tax that was upon Chimnies, to catch your Affections; but he led you into a War immediately, under the pleaſing Pretext of advancing the Trade and Tranquility of the Nation: When the true Intent of it was, the ſupporting himſelf in the Throne, and the enriching and making Conqueſt for the *Dutch*, at your Coſt: And the Abatement of Chimney-Money, was only a Political Bait for your Affections, which being thus caught, rendered him capable of Bridling and Saddling, and Riding you to Death.

Your Lands were immediately taxed to one Fifth of their Revenue; Food and Raiment were taxed; Virginity was taxed; Wedlock was taxed; your Children and Servants were taxed; a Tax reached the very Womb and the Grave; every Birth was paid for, and the Dead themſelves could not eſcape it: Nor was there any Degree or State of human Life excluded. A Tax reached the very Heavens, for you had no Light through a Window, but what was paid for; and more Money was raiſed, under his Uſurpation of thirteen Years, than was raiſed for all the Kings of *England* from the Conqueſt to his Time; yet he pawned the very Jewels of the Crown for Money, robbed the Royal Palaces, ſtripped them to the bare Walls, and carried their Hangings to his Houſe at *Loo*; and at his Death left a very great Debt upon the Nation, and bequeathed to you a Foreign Family, to pick up thoſe Remains of Money that are yet amongſt you: And all this you ſeem to undergo with Pleaſure under an Uſurpation; when a trifling Tax upon Chimnies, which was levied by a lawful Authority, ſeemed to you an inſupportable Calamity.

Beſides,

Beſides, the War which he had engaged you in, poured out your Blood like Water, filled your Pariſh Books with the Widows and Orphans of the Slain, and has tied you to a Conflict with other Nations, that will not end till the next Generation, unleſs Poverty puts a Period to it, or the Divine Mercy ſhall interpoſe, and ſettle you upon the ancient Foundation, by reſtoring his Anointed, and your lawful King, to you; which is the only Remedy that is left, againſt the Deſtruction of one of the braveſt Kingdoms in the World.

What a Breach did the Prince of *Orange* make upon your Privileges, by that horrid Maſſacre (which was committed by his Order, given under his Hand and Broad Seal) upon the Body of *Macdonal*, Laird of *Glencoe*, with the reſt of his Clan; and that after they had ſubmitted to him, and thought themſelves in the utmoſt Security, from the Indemnity they had accepted, which he propoſed to them by Proclamation.

Firſt, It was a moſt perfidious Act in him, after he had taken them into his Protection, to order, that they ſhould be fallen upon in cold Blood, murdered in their Beds in the Dead of Night, their Houſes plundered by thoſe that did it, and then burnt to the Ground.

Secondly, It was the moſt abſolute Breach that could be made upon the Liberty of the People; for if they had done any Thing contrary to Law, they ſhould have been tried by the Law for it, and if any Thing worthy of Death, the Law ſhould have inflicted it upon them; but the Uſurper reſolv'd that they ſhould die, and becauſe there was no Law by which their Lives could be taken from them (their reputed Crime being nothing but an Acknowledgment of their Duty to their lawful King, in oppoſing the Uſurpation) this Cruelty was exerciſed upon them, without any Regard to thoſe Souls, which ſhould have had Time to have aſked the Divine Mercy, before they had been forced out of their Bodies, or to the Widows and Orphans of the Slain, who periſhed in the Snows that fell, after their poor little Dwellings were deſtroy'd by the Fire of their barbarous Enemy.

This Breach upon your Liberties, it might have been ſuppoſed, would have convinced you of that Prince's Inſincerity, of a more cruel Diſpoſition being in him than does appear in the moſt ſavage Creatures, under the Make of Mankind, and of a ſtronger Tendency towards Tyranny, than appears in any of the moſt abſolute Princes in the World: For in all the World, this Age has afforded nothing like it; and the *Pagan* Emperors were not ſo arbitrary, nor ſo cruel, in grinding the Primitive Chriſtians to Death, with the Teeth of Lions, for in that they did nothing contrary to the Laws of their Time; and their Captains knew their Doom before their Death, and could prepare for a State of Bliſs: But in this Caſe, the Hand that kill'd the Body, might kill the Soul together with it, which is a Puniſhment that a Man would believe could not be offer'd by any but the common Enemy of Mankind.

Yet, to ſave the Credit of him whom you had placed on the Throne, you ſmother'd this black Deed, as if you had conſented to the Loſs of thoſe Advantages that uſed to flow from the Laws of the Land to the Subjects; and had ſurrender'd yourſelves and your Poſterity to the ſame Cruelties, when it ſhould pleaſe that mercileſs Prince, or any Succeſſor of his, by this Precedent, to inflict them upon you.

If

If a Lawful Prince had laid but his Finger upon you, in ſuch an Illegal Way, it is not to be doubted but you would have made the whole Earth to have heard of it, and it may be, have depos'd him to; when the unwarrantable Murders committed by this Uſurper ſeem'd not to deſerve your Notice.

The numerous Colony of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that went with their Effects for *Darien*, had Orders with them, under the Hand and Broad Seal of the Prince of *Orange*, to all your Forts, Towns, Factories and Plantations, in their way thither, to afford ſuch Refreſhments as they ſhould require: But that Prince treacheriouſly diſpatch'd a ſingle Veſſel, which arriv'd before them at the Places they were to be reliev'd from, with Orders of a later Date, that they ſhould be treated as Enemies, if they ſhould put into either of them for Refreſhment.

After ſome Sail, their Water fail'd them, and the Place they required freſh Water from, turn'd its Guns againſt them, and they retir'd in Aſtoniſhment: At length, moſt of their Proviſions fail'd, they ſought Relief in many Places, but where every where treated as Enemies: A terrible Famine enſu'd, which deſtroy'd ſome Thouſands. The Fleet with it's Dead periſhed, and the very few that ſurvived, had endur'd the ſame Fate, if a happy Wind had not caſt them upon the Coaſt of *Norway*, of which ſmall Number the preſent Mr. *Patterſon*, of *Queen*'s-*Square*, *Weſtminſter*, was one, but his Lady periſh'd.

Had theſe unfortunate People been of any other Nation, in Friendſhip with you, what they required could not have been refuſed them; and if they had been of a Nation at Enmity with you, the worſt that would have been done to them, would have been the ſeizing of their Shipping and Effects, with Confinement to their Perſons, yielding them the Conveniences of Life till they could be redeemed; it being againſt the Laws of Nature and Nations that any ſhould be ſtarv'd to Death.

But theſe were called the Subjects of him that wore the Crown of *England*; yet he depriv'd them of the Natural Conveniencies of Life, and deſtroy'd their Civil Rights which entitled them to ſuch Refreſhments as thoſe in the ſame Subjection could afford them, and to doom them to ſo ſevere a Death, without the Proof or Imputation of the leaſt Offence committed by them, when the greateſt Offender is Entitled to the Benefit of thoſe Laws that require his Obedience, is not only as great a Cruelty as ever was committed, but ſuch a Breach of Privilege, as none but himſelf dared to attempt, nor he neither, upon any other People than thoſe he had betrayed into a moſt deſtructive Rebellion, in which you ſeemed unwilling to ſee your Danger, and to make it your Choice to periſh in the Dark, rather than to receive thoſe Rays of Light that might direct you to a way by which you might be ſaved.

You all know that Sir *John Fenwick*, was in the moſt Deſpotick manner deprived of his Natural Right (as an *Engliſh* Man) who had his Life taken away without any Legal Proof of his being guilty of the Crime of which he was accuſed; and in ſo Arbitrary a manner, that the very Perſons whom the Prince of *Orange* had engaged, by Money and Promiſes, to Vote him to Death, dreaded it's Conſequences to them, and their Poſterity; and therefore Enacted it immediately, that it ſhould never be a Precedent in time to come.

Now,

Now, whether Sir *John* was guilty or not, was not the thing that you were to Queſtion, he being before his reputedly proper Judges, whoſe Judgments in the Caſe was to be meaſured by the Laws of the Land: But the Queſtion, whether he was condemn'd by Law or not, ſo nearly concerned every *Engliſh* Man, as to require the Inſpection of the meaneſt Subject, whoſe Life, an Ill Precedent might ſubject to the Will of the Uſurper?

The Act that immediately enſued againſt its being brought into a Precedent, tells the World that their Proceedings were againſt the Laws of the Land, and conſequently Perilous, and equally ſo to every *Engliſh* Man.

What a Man would ſuſpect the leaſt of any thing, was your being brought to believe that this Act againſt its being a Precedent, would preſerve you and your Poſterity from the like Injuſtices, in time to come; for if they could break through the whole Body of your Laws, in the Deſtruction of that Gentleman, Can it be ſuppoſed, that others of equal Authority, that may ſucceed them, will be bound by this Single Act, when all the Laws of *England* could not bind them?

When it ſhall be conſidered, that the Laws which they violated were given by indiſputable Authorities, and that this Act (in which you hope) was made by an Illegal Aſſembly, and never had the Royal Aſſent, without which it has no Sanction, nor can never be a Law that will bind any Man's Conſcience; it will appear that there is nothing but Moral Rectitude to reſtrain you from the like Barbarities, when you have a mind to commit them upon one another: And I have already ſhew'd in part, that you have but little reaſon to depend upon the *Morality* of each other.

By Sir *John*'s Caſe, it may appear to you, that Innocency will ſave no Man, for every Man is innocent in the Eye of the Law, till Guilt be prov'd as ſhall be required in *Law:* No ſuch Proof was made upon Sir *John Fenwick*, your *Laws* therefore declar'd him Innocent, but it was the Will of the Uſurper that he ſhould Die, and you conſented therefore to his Death.

By this it appears, that you have given up the Laws that ſhould bind the Men in Power; ſo that it is only for them to ſay that this Man ſhall Die, and the other ſhall have his Eſtate taken from him, upon no other Reaſon, than that of its being their Will that it ſhould be ſo, and it muſt be complied with: For you conſented to the Uſurper's breaking your Fence, and nothing but your Lawful King can repair it.

From hence, Judge whether that Uſurper was that faithful Steward of the Subjects Liberty, as you were made to believe he would be? or Queſtion rather, whether he has not been that Thief to the Publick, as have robb'd it of its Blood, of its Treaſure, and of all its Sacred and Civil Rights? And be the Conſequences of this Pernicious Precedent what they will to You, or your Poſterity, you are to account for them, for there will not a Drop of Blood ſpilt by it, but what will prove to be the Natural Reſult of your Reſiſtance in the Revolution; this very Precedent being a Conſequence of it: So that if any of you Die by it, your own Blood will be upon you, and ſuch of your Poſterity as may looſe their Lives by it, will accuſe you in Judgment, of ſo many Murders committed upon their Bodies.

There

There are at this Day ſome Gentlemen in *Newgate*, as *Meldrum*, *Barnardy*, and others, who were committed to that Priſon by the Prince of *Orange*'s Order, as Perſons concern'd in the Aſſaſſination Plot, but nothing was ever prov'd againſt them, nor have they been brought to Trial, in the Nineteen Years that they have been Impriſoned.

They Petition'd for Trial many Times, earneſtly begging that if they had done any thing worthy of Death, that they might Die, rather than be continued in the many Miſeries of a Perpetual Impriſonment; but if they had done nothing worthy of Death, or Bonds, or other Corporal Pains, that they might be Acquitted, according to the Direction of the Laws of *England:* They having an Indiſpenſible Right to the Thing Requir'd, being born in Subjection to the Laws of the *Engliſh* Nation.

Notwithſtanding, they are committed to *Newgate*, to this Day, againſt the Fundamental Laws of *England*, and for no other Reaſon than that of its being the Will of the Uſurper that it ſhould be ſo. Yet you are ſtill ſo Delirious as to believe that an Arbitrary Power was never known to the *Engliſh* Nation ſince *Oliver Cromwell*, and that you are, and have been, in the full Poſſeſſion of your Liberties and Properties, and of all Rights (both Civil and Sacred) from the Revolution to this Day.

This has not yet had your Notice, tho' there is nothing that more nearly concerns you; for theſe Gentlemen are Members of the Common Body, and what injures them, as they are ſuch, muſt affect you; for the Privileges that are taken from them, the ſame Power may take any of you when it pleaſes. Therefore this Injuſtice offer'd to them may be of terrible Conſequence to you; for by this very Precedent, any of you may be dragg'd from your Buſineſs, driven from your Families, and ſhut up for your Lives in this Tyrannical way, when it ſhall pleaſe an Uſurper to ſport himſelf in your Deſtruction.

The Republican Spirit that did this prevails now, and has pretty well proved that you are to have no Mercy at the Hands of thoſe which it poſſeſſes: So that when the Party has added ſufficiently to its preſent Power, you that cannot come into theſe Meaſures, may very well expect that this unhappy Precedent ſhall lead you into the ſame Slavery.

I know that you depend upon your Number, but if the Number of thoſe that are of you, were ever ſo much greater than it is, it may be reduc'd by a Handful of Reſolute *Whigs*, without much Difficulty, if the ſame want of Courage and Conduct ſhould attend you that has attended you hitherto.

Moſt certain it is, that if a Lawful King were to impriſon any of you, in this unwarrantable way, (under a full Cry of your Liberties and Properties being in Danger) you would go near to lay the Place of Confinement to the Ground; but under an Uſurpation you tamely conſent to it, tho' you and your Poſterity are threatned by it with the ſame Injuſtice, when it ſhall be the Will of the Uſurper to Inflict it upon you; for if theſe Things have been Done, and are ſtill Continued (as will appear to any that will but aſk for the Perſons, in their way through *Newgate*); Why ſhould you, who are as hateful to the preſent Miniſtry as thoſe Suffering Gentlemen, expect any thing better? They are Subjects, and were born ſuch, as well as you: Their Protection by Law, they have as good a Right to as you have: But if their Innocency, with the

Laws of the Land, could not fence them from this Cruelty, you have but little reaſon to expect that the ſame Plea ſhould ſave you.

The Prince of *Orange* was ſo regardleſs of his Future State, as to ſign the *Abjuration*-Act in the very Hour of his Death, and after his Death, an Inſtrument was found in his Strong Box, by which it appear'd that if he had lived three Weeks longer, the late Queen had been committed to the Tower of *London*, and her Life taken from her in a ſhort time after, as the preſent *John How*, Eſq; particularly affirm'd, having ſeen the Inſtrument.

The Parliament that was then ſitting, appointed a Day for his coming to the Bar of the *Commons*-Houſe, to receive the Sentence of that Aſſembly, if he could not prove the Truth of this Aſſertion; but they found, before the Day came, that he was capable of making his Allegation good. All Proceeding therefore were dropp'd, that this very dark Account of the Prince of *Orange* might not reach the Ear of the Publick.

Thoſe who had the Adminiſtretion of Affairs at that time, aſſured the Queen, that it would be her Intereſt that the utmoſt Reſpect ſhould be paid to the Memory of the Prince of *Orange*, and Adviſed her therefore to require Mr. *How*'s Silence, and under their Precaution this Black Deed was ſmother'd.

It appears that theſe Abominable Actions were to cut Off King *James* for ever, from his own Inheritance, and to deſtroy the late Queen, that there might not remain a *Stuart* upon Earth, to Interpoſe between the Throne and the Foreign Family that now fills it.

Then as if the People had not done enough, by the FalſeOaths they had taken before to deſtroy them Eternally, this Oath of Abjuration was Added, by which the People ſhould be obliged, upon the Four Goſpels, to Forſwear and Renounce him for ever whom the Lord had anointed their King, and from whom therefore they had no right of giving their Allegiance to any other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever.

Having provided thus againſt your Eternal Happineſs, he ſeem'd Reſolv'd not to be wanting, in his Endeavours againſt your Temporal Happineſs alſo, for he would deprive you of a *Stuart* for your King, as if it were in contradiction to the Divine Providence which placed that Family over you, to make you the happieſt People upon Earth: For it has been a Family without Fraud. The Breaſt of every Branch of it that God has given to you, has been repleniſh'd with Mercy: They ruled without Deceit, and were ſo tender of the Subjects Blood as to ſpare that of their known Enemies, to their own Misfortune, and ſtill made the Peoples Good preferable to their own; and it may be obſerved that in all the World there has not been one Family in which many Branches have Inherited that Probity, that open and unmixt Honeſty, as have Illuſtrated the Family of the *Stuarts*, in every Branch of it, that has ſat in the Throne of *England*.

Then, to fill the meaſure of your Misfortunes, and to make your Deſtruction ſure, he endeavoured to make the Crown Elective, as if it were on purpoſe to put the whole Kingdom into a Ferment, by which it ſhould deſtroy itſelf.

It is very much to find Men (as you may ſome at this Day) of Opinion that the Prince of *Orange* was a Favourer of Religion, and particularly of that which you are of: For if the Actions of a Man are the Index of his Mind, it muſt appear to you that it was Indifferent to him whether it were the *Jewiſh*, the *Chriſtian*, or the *Mahometan* Religion that ſhould prevail: But among *Chriſtian* Societies, he had the ſtrongeſt Tendencies towards that of *Geneva*; for in that he had his Education; And to ſhow that his Education had ſome Influence upon his Actions, he deſtroyed *Epiſcopacy* firſt in *Scotland*, as is very well known to you. And to do the ſame by it in *England*, he had New Oaths Coined for the *Epiſcopal* Clergy, which he thought they would never take. So their Non-compliance was to be a Reaſon for their Deprivation, and the Vacant Livings were to be filled by the Enemies of *Epiſcopacy*, who (as is well known) would not have heſitated at any Oath that could be Coin'd for them, by the way of a Qualification for thoſe Preferments.

But when this Deſign was defeated, by the unexpected Compliance of the *Clergy*, an Act of Occaſional Conformity was Coin'd, which was to Qualify your Enemies, by a Strain of the Conſcience, if Conſcience they had, for Places of Honour, Truſt and Advantage, that your known Enemies, in conjunction with your pretended Friends, might do that by *Epiſcopacy*, in a gradual way, which he endeavour'd to do before at one Blow.

This Deſign was not perfected in his Time, but it has entail'd an *Hypocriſy* upon the Kingdom that has advanc'd the Work, and may compleat it in this Generation, with the help of that Occaſional Conformiſt whom you have Elected to the Throne, unleſs you endeavour to Exchange him, for the only Heir Male that is left of a Family, by whom the Experience of ſeveral Reigns will tell you, that you were never doubly dealt with.

I would ſpeak with the utmoſt Caution of the Dead, every Man having as good a Right to his Credit, when Dead, as if he were Living. Therefore what is ſaid of the Prince of *Orange*, it would have been my Choice to have forborn, that his Crimes might have been buried with his Body: But I am conſcious of the leaſt Injuſtice done to his Memory, in any thing I have Recounted; and ſince I found it abſolutely neceſſary to remind you of the things I have inſtanc'd to you, and conſequently in my Duty towards God, if they had been omitted.

The Matters of Fact are too well known to you, to admit of the leaſt Doubt of there being true, the Concluſions from them are Natural, and I dare ſay that my Reader will not believe, that they are forced, or too far fetched.

The late Queen, finding the Reſtoration of Her Brother impracticable, at the Death of the Prince of *Orange*: She took the Adminiſtration of Affairs upon Her, hoping thereby that it would pleaſe God to make her inſtrumental in His Reſtoration, and in reſtoring, to you their Liberties, and Properties, Tranquility, to me and you to the Obedience that was due from you to your Lawful King, without which She foreſaw that you could never be a happy People; but being plung'd into a War, She found the Reſtoration a Work of more Difficulty than ſhe imagin'd.

Then the Regard which apaeared in all Her Actions to a Publick Good, engaged the Affections of the People to Her, even to Her own Diſappointment ; for She found that another Obſtacle to the Work that She had at Heart.

Your Adverſaries perceiving, that the Queen made my Intereſt much more Her Care than was Conſiſtent with the Eſtabliſhment of their Republican Schemes, they labour'd inceſſantly to incline Her to their Meaſures, which they had diſguiſed ſo, as to bring Her to a Belief of their being ſincere Eſpouſers of me and of the State.

The Queen doubted not its being as fully intended by you, who were then diſtinguiſh'd from them, by the Tory Character ; yet as your Means to that End were not the ſame with theirs, they had gained Her Belief of the Means which they would make uſe of, to be the Product of a more certain and better concerted Policy.

The Credit of their Scheme therefore prevailed with Her, till that time that Dr. *Sacheverel*, Mr. *Higgens*, and others, had Courage and Chriſtianity enough to revive the Antient and Apoſtolick Doctrines of Paſſive Obedience.

The Miniſtry of that time, compos'd of Chriſtian Men, if their own Words may be taken for it, reſolved to try Dr. *Sacheverel*, as a Malefactor, for delivering the Doctrines of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and could think of nothing leſs than a ſevere Puniſhment for him, for delivering the Avow'd Doctrines of that Church of which he was a Miniſter, and of which they pretended to be Members.

They obliged him to conſiderable Bail for his Liberty, in ſhort, they brought me to a Trial, in the Perſon of the Doctor ; and in Thirteen Biſhops, Seven, with the Majority of that Aſſembly voted me to Three Years Silence, and in all likelihood would have voted me to Death, if the awakened Multitude had not made an unexpected Appearance in my Favour.

The Queen being preſent at the Trial, ſhe there heard the Mouths of *Prelates* deny the Doctrines which they had ſtrenuouſly Taught, and inculcated on Pain of Damnation. There ſhe heard me reviled, and ſaw me treated, by my pretended Patriots, with more Contempt than the moſt inveterate of my declar'd Enemies would have offered at.

This happy Incident unfolded the Curtain, and diſplayed to Her their whole Myſtery of Iniquity, and convinced Her of my pretended Friends, being the moſt dangerous Enemies that I had to Encounter; which occaſion'd the Change that enſued, in moſt of the Offices of the Kingdom, to which a Peace ſucceeded, and ſuſpended the total Deſtruction of this impoveriſhed Kingdom for a time.

The Queen inclin'd all the Southern Princes of *Europe* to Peace, upon which the Ejected Party inſulted Her, as if ſhe had been the Common Enemy of Mankind, in preſerving the Human Blood that would have been loſt in a War, and the greateſt Enemy to the *Engliſh* Nation, in preſerving, by the Peace thoſe ſmall Remains of Money that were yet amongſt you.

The *Engliſh* of their Outcry againſt the Peace, runs thus : The Peace was not of their making, and their Hand in it was the only Ingredient that was wanting

wanting to make it a Safe and an Honourable Peace. Had they been concerned in the making it, the Queen might have been now living. That Blood which is threatened, by a Secret Committee, would have been ſpared; and the ſame Peace would have been approved, by the Party that now talk of nothing but Gibbets and Scaffolds for every one that had a Hand in it.

They Inceſſantly Petitioned the Queen, that the King (whom they had acknowledg'd to be Her Brother, in Her own hearing, at the Trial of Dr. *Sacheverel)* ſhould be driven from *Lorrain*; and at Her Requeſt too, that he might feel a Want of all the Conveniencies of Life, unleſs the Laws of Hoſpitality, ſhould conſtrain ſome diſtant Prince to commuuicate them to him: And continually preſs'd Her to this Cruel and Unnatural Action againſt Her own Brother, as if it were on purpoſe to make Her deteſtable to God and Man, in ſhowing that ſhe had no Remains of Nature, and was capable of exerciſing a Cruelty againſt him, which, the bare Relation of, would draw Commiſeration from the hardeſt Heart in the World, excepting that of a Whig.

They were continually affronting the Queen, by the Injuries which they offered every Day to Her Brother, and in the Stain they would have obliged Her to bring upon Her Perſonal Credit.

It is not hard to find a Reaſon, either true or falſe, for the foulеſt Action; ſo they falaciouſly pretended the ſecuring of Religion, Liberty and Propery, by this Barbarity; but it was well known to them, that they had exchanged all theſe for *Dutch* Kings, in the *Revolution*: So that this Cruelty ſeemed to be levell'd at the Queen's Credit, and to be perſiſted in, that they might have a King of their own making, though they looſe their Liberties and Properties by it, rather than to have one of God's giving.

The Queen not countenancing theſe ſhocking Petitions, their Cry was, that ſhe and Her Miniſtry were conſenting to the Reſtoration of Her Brother: Nor would any thing leſs appeaſe them, than the Queen's offering a Sum of Money for his Blood; which ſhe was adviſed to do, to wipe of the Calumny that came plentifully upon Her, from the Mouth of every Whig.

The ſame Diſpoſition they Imputed to the Parliament, which extorted from them an Offer of 100000 Pounds for the Life of their King.

In all this they have treated the King, as if his being born of the Queen's Body had been in his own Election, and his Birth an Injury to them of his Directing; or as if he deſerved to be Murdered by the Hands of Ruffians, for refuſing to quit his juſt Pretenſions to his own Property.

If he is to be Murdered thus, becauſe he refuſes to give up his Right to his own Dominions, Do they not deſerve to be knock'd at Head, becauſe they'll not give up their Eſtates to the Needy? When they have convinc'd the World of the one's being Reaſonable, it is not to be doubted but the Needy will ſoon find the other to be ſo too, and quickly diſpatch them all by a Law of their own making.

By way of Repriſal, the King or any other Perſon may offer Money for their Heads; and ſince the World does got want Men that will do any thing for Money, if ſuch an Offer were made, a few Months would clear the Kingdom of them and their Poſterity

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This Inconveniency occurred to their Recollection, and then they mitigated the Matter, by ordering that the Money ſhould be for His Life, in caſe He Entered His own Dominions; but in this caſe the Danger returns: For if their Servants, in meaſuring by their Standard, ſhould ſay (when any one of them Approaches his own) *This is the Heir, come let us kill him, that the Inheritance may be ours*; a ſhort time would ſend them all into another World, and their own Blood would abate their Thirſt after the Blood of Crown'd Heads.

They would doom Servants, under ſuch a Combination, to the Halter, ſo that their Merit might be gueſs'd at without much Difficulty, by their own Reckoning.

Had they not forgotten the great Law *of doing as they would be done by*, and blow'd their own Paſſions, till their whole Party was Involved in a Deſtructive Phrenzy, they would never have given a Precedent, by which the Needy may warrant all the Murders that can be committed upon them and their Poſterity.

Beſides, this very Precedent calls upon every Man to arm againſt a Whig, and at long run muſt call the very Whigs themſelves upon the Guard againſt one another, for when Men are in the way of bidding Money for the Blood of one another, a ſhort time would reduce the World to its Primitive State, of having but one Man in it: The Diſtinction of Whig and Tory would expire, and the ſtrongeſt Man would take all, and there would be the Deſtruction of that Fence by which the weaker are ſecured from the ſtrong.

It is very remarkable that the Whigs, who have gone thus far in taking down the common Partition, ſhould be in perpetual Outcry for the Preſervation of Liberty and Property, when nothing is more evident than the Impoſſibility of any Man's enjoying a Property in any thing, if their Principles and Practices ſhould be Marks for other Men's Imitation; and this being a Conſequence of the *Revolution*, you may perceive by this, and what has been already ſaid, by how may different ways your Religion, your Liberties and Properties are endangered by it.

I know they affirm that the Laws of the Land, has deſtroyed the King's Inheritance on the Account of his Religion; and that He pretends a Right therefore to what is none of his. But

Firſt, You know that by the Fundamental Laws of *England*, the only Right to the Crown is in him, and in no other Perſon till his Death: And that there was never any thing called a Law, in *England*, before the Uſurpation of the Prince of *Orange*, that cut off the Heir from the Crown, on the Account of Religion; unleſs it were an Act of *Oliver Cromwell*'s againſt the Royal Family, whoſe Acts you never numbered with the Laws of the Land.

Secondly, When this Act of the Prince of *Orange*'s was made, you had no King in *England*, and conſequently no Parliament legally Aſſembled. Therefore their Acts became void in themſelves, they being made by no better Authority than *Oliver Cromwell*'s was, and could not exclude him therefore, nor bind you or your Poſterity. And

Thirdly, If the Adminiſtration of that Time had been Legal, yet I could not make Laws againſt a Divine Right that could bind the Conſciences of Chriſtian

Chriſtian Men; for when Human Laws are ſo manifeſtly repugnant to the Laws of God, they become void in themſelves, becauſe you are bound to obey God before all Things.

The Right of the Crown is divine, therefore whatever Laws are made to its Prejudice, or to the Prejudice of him in whom that Right centers, are the higheſt Breach upon the Perogative of God, and conſequently a Renunciation of the Divine Authority. Therefore the Obſervers of that Pretended Law are in open Rebellion to the King of Kings.

Then if Religion (by this pretended Law) ſhall deſtroy the King's Property, the ſame Law will equally affect the Properties of all the People that differ in Principles with thoſe that made it. Whig and Tory differ in one very conſiderable Point in Chriſtian Doctrine, if not in more. This pretended Law was made by the Whigs. Therefore, if it be a Law, the Properties of all the *Tories*, *Papiſts*, *Quakers*, *Anabaptiſts*, &c. are forfeited to the *Whigs*, and are held by their Courteſy only; and if you ſhould ever get the Aſcendant over them, this is a Precedent by which you may make a Law that ſhall bring them under the ſame Forfeiture: So that it is of as pernicious Conſequence to the Makers of it, as to the preſent Sufferers by it.

You have join'd with the *Whigs*, in the Argument they built upon this pretended Law, which ſpeaks out your Approbation to it; ſo that when they ſhall uſe it againſt you, or you againſt them, which is neither impoſſible, nor altogether improbable, each Party, in its Turn, muſt ſubmit to its Fate, under the Reproach and ſad Remembrance of *Perillus*'s dying, in the Body of that *Bull* of *Braſs*, which he had made for the Death of others: Your Caſe being a Parallel to his, and this Calamity alſo is a Conſequence of the Revolutiox.

So vaſt a Sum of Money had not been offer'd for the King's Blood, had it not been very well known, to thoſe that extorted the Offer, that he was their King; ſo that tho' they extorted from you an Offer of Money for the Blood of your King, yet they brought out of you a Proof, by it, of his being your King, tho' it was in a very unſual Way.

The *Whigs* were ſtill implacable, and gave out, that the Queen and Miniſtry were then bringing the King upon them, which was another Proof of his Birth, from the Mouths of thoſe that call'd it firſt in Queſtion; for if they had not known, that the Queen was aſſur'd of his being her Brother, and the Miniſtry of his being their King, what could they think ſhould move them to make him a Way to the Crown, rather than the remoteſt and the meaneſt Perſon in the World?

At length they hurried the Queen out of the World, and on the Day of her Death the Elector of *Brunſwick* was proclaim'd, contrary to all the Fundamental Laws of *England*.

The Sin and the Shame you brought upon yourſelves, and the *Elector*, by it, Time will ſeverely puniſh; and the Danger it may occaſion to him and his Poſterity, (or to ſuch as are ſaid to be his) Time may alſo convince both him and them, that they have but little Reaſon to thank you for.

If any Prince abroad ſhould (in his Abſence) enter his Town of *Hanover*, and reduce that Country to his Obedience, there is no Doubt but he would cry aloud for Juſtice, and think himſelf hardly uſed by ſuch as ſhould refuſe to

aſſiſt him againſt ſo vile an Offender; and if ſuch an Uſurper ſhould vindicate his Uſurpation, upon the Plea of an Invitation made him by rebellious Subjects, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that the Elector of *Brunſwick* would take that for a Reaſon, why the Uſurper ſhould knaviſhly accept of it, to his Prejudice, ſince the Invitors invite him to that which is none of their own.

This is the Caſe between him and your lawful King, and if he has either Religion or Morality, he will decline what he has ſo ſinfully and ſo ſhamefully undertaken; but if he perſiſts in this inhuman Acquiſition, it muſt fully convince you of his being a Man that has no Regard either to Religion or Morality, and if that be the Caſe, you cannot depend upon him for the Security of your Religion or your Liberties; for if he continues the Poſſeſſion of the King's Property, you may be aſſur'd that he will not ſpare yours, when he ſhall be favour'd with an Opportunity of laying his Hand upon it, it not being poſſible for him to have a greater Diſlike to the Perſon of the King, than he has to the Perſons of any of you; and if ever he quits this Nation, as is his bounden Duty by the Laws of God, of Nature, and Nations, he can never reflect upon what he has done, without Shame, unleſs his Front comes to that Degree of Hardneſs, which infernal Aſſiſtance gave to *Cromwell* and the Prince of *Orange*; and the Truth is, it is very much that he can appear amongſt Men, ſince he muſt believe, that no Man can look him in the Face, without a Thought of his being one of the vileſt Things in human Shape, for taking the Crown and Title of the King of *England* upon him.

In this Uſurpation he has fallen upon the Properties of above forty Princes, in their Turns, before he can be a Pretender to it; which (as is already ſaid) has entail'd a perpetual War upon you, which will be commenced as ſoon as the Affairs of *Europe* are ſettled, that the Parties concern'd may be the better able to aſſert their Rights; and how meanly ſoever you may think of the Power of each of the injured Princes, yet when the Forces of the King of *Sicily*, the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the reſt that ſuffer by it, are cemented together againſt you, you will find it a Power too ſtrong for you (and the Confederacy you can make) to ſtruggle with; and if you put them upon a Neceſſity of reducing you by Conqueſt, you know (beſides the Loſs of Blood and Treaſure) what a Forfeiture your Liberties and Properties will lie under to the Conqueror.

Beſides, this Uſurpation has involved you in the Folly of treading the Fence yet lower, which the Laws of God and your Country has made to every Man's Property, and the Deſtruction of poſitive Inſtitution being confirm'd by it, all Things are laid open, and a Man can call nothing his own, but what he has a natural Right in, which are no more than the bare Conveniencies of Life; for you have unbound the Conſciences of Men, and the Hands that were reſtrain'd by Laws, are now at Liberty.

The Elector of *Brunſwick* makes himſelf an Occaſional Conformiſt for the Crown, which involves him in an Hypocriſy, that ſhould convince you of his being an unſafe Hand, for you to truſt with your Liberties and Properties; for he that parts with his Religion, upon Conſiderations purely Temporal, cannot be juſt to God and his own Soul, and you have but little Reaſon, therefore, to expect that he ſhould be ſo to you; and it ſavours very much of *Moreſields*, in

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any one to imagine, that the Perſon who parted with the Religion which he knows not, (and therefore made all Religions indifferent to him) ſhould have a greater Regard to yours than to any other; for as he parted with one Religion for another, to make his Way to the Throne, can it be ſuppoſed, that he will not part with that for the Preſbyterian, or any other, that, in Proceſs of Time, may ſeem to give him a better Security in it?

Beſides, you know, that he was, at *Hanover*, one of the moſt abſolute Princes in all the World; and yet he, who never knew any other Law than that of his own Will, muſt be call'd to the Guardianſhip of your Liberties and Properties. He who never knew the leaſt Reſtriction, but had always a Power without any Limitation, muſt be placed in the Gap, to keep out a Power which it is only ſuppoſed might prove abſolute; which is as if the taking one into your Houſe with the Plague upon him, were the beſt Remedy againſt that Diſtemper. But the *Engliſh* of this Paradox, is the ſaving of three or four of the moſt conſiderable Miſcreants, from the Hands of that Juſtice which they have offended; for if the Will of this Uſurper from *Hanover*, was the Law of thoſe that inhabit that Country, there is no Doubt but it may be ſo to you, when the willing Hand has gotten Strength enough to lay its Weight upon you. For (as a Specimen of what you are to undergo) he has laid about you pretty handſomely already; and the *younger* Gentleman, whom they call his Son, has (through an Infirmity which he is known to have in his Head) declar'd, that if he were King, he would try whether he could not purge the Kingdom of every *Tory* that is in it, within four Months; ſo that you will have a fine Time of it, when there ſhall be nothing but Death or Baniſhment for you.

I know that your Hope, of being ſecur'd from all the Evils that you were threaten'd with from the Foreign Family, centers in the Limitation Act; but the *Whigs* already talk of complimenting him with ſome Things it binds him from, others he will be ſure to aſk, and the reſt he may then take; ſo that by their giving, and his taking, he would ſoon eat his Way thro' that Act; and you cannot well complain, when it ſhall ſo happen, for it is well known to you, that the Breaker of it has as good an Authority, as the Maker of it had, and may therefore as well break it, as he could make it.

The Head of the illuſtrious Houſe, by his coming hither, will, at long run, prove himſelf very wiſe, or extremely otherwiſe; for if he be wiſe, he muſt know, that his Makers are very well acquainted with the Way, by which a Crown'd Head may be brought to the Block, and he muſt have learn'd, from their own Mouths, that they place the Power in themſelves, of making and unmaking Kings, and by a ſtrange Paradox do affirm, that they are the Rulers of him whom they ſhall Elect to rule them; by which he muſt perceive, that the Patent they granted him, at his Creation, is made to run during their Pleaſure, and that at their Scrutiny, the Queſtion will not be, whether he has behav'd well, but whether he has behav'd as they would have him; that if he makes but the leaſt Trip, down he muſt go, and that they will ſoon make him to underſtand, it had been better for him, and his numerous Iſſue, to have remain'd in their Security, on the other Side of the Water, than to have invaded the Property of another Prince, at the Hazard of their Lives; and muſt ſee (if he knows not himſelf to be an extraordinary Artiſt) that it may be a doubtful Caſe, whether he

will play his Game here with better Succeſs than the *Winter* King his *Grandfather* did his, in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

Then, if he be Wiſe, he muſt know that the moſt ſtrenuous Aſſertors of his pretended Right are implacable Enemies to Kingly Government, and therefore cannot long admit of his being King: So that upon the Suppoſition of his being a wiſe Man, you have Reaſon to believe that a Scheme was laid before his coming hither for the raiſing a Standing Army of *French Hugonots*, and other Foreigners, whom he may rely on for his Eſtabliſhment, elſe how can he account to the Family he has brought with him: Since it is evident from *Whig* Principles, that they are invited hither, as Tools to work up the Kingdom into the laſt Diſpoſition towards a Republick, and to be laid aſide when the Work is done.

Upon the former Condition of his being Wiſe, he muſt know the Parties Reaſons for the Murder of King *Charles* the Firſt; for their Attempts to Dethrone King *Charles* the Second, and their Depoſing King *James*; and that in Dr. *Sacheverel*'s Trial, the Doctrine of Hereditary Right, was the higheſt of thoſe pretended Crimes for which the Doctor was brought to Trial. Therefore he could not believe them to be in earneſt, in their Promiſe to make the Crown Hereditary, whilſt there ſhall be any of his ſuppoſed Iſſue to ſucceed it, and muſt have a View therefore to ſomewhat more than their Promiſes for the Security of this Succeſſion, and that in the ordinary Way of thinking, muſt be an Army of another Nation.

Upon the ſame Condition he muſt know, that they will never reverſe their old Maxim of *the Voice of the People's being the Voice of God*; and that as they Create the King, He (as their Creature) is to account to them as his Creators; and if he cannot make both Ends of his Account even, and in their way of Reckoning too, he is deem'd a Traitor to the People, that ſhall diſpute their Right of Electing him, or what other they ſhall think fit, to his Office; as muſt appear to him in his being on the Throne: This being the Principle that plac'd him there.

Theſe being their Principles, the natural Reſult of them, are the Conditions upon which he wears the Crown, and if he believes he can ſupport it upon theſe tickliſh Terms, during the Courſe of his Natural Life, it will be a Reaſon why he ſhould not be number'd among the Wiſe, for it will prove him extremely otherwiſe, and that he came into the World with that Infirmity in his Head, which his reputed Son is known to labour under. But if he be a Man of that Sagacity that was imputed to him before you ſaw him, he has ſome Aſſurances of an Army that will nail him to the Throne; which ſeems highly probable, when the Steps which he has taken are conſider'd.

Firſt, He affronted, aſperſs'd and degraded the beſt Quality of the Kingdom, and advanced the meaneſt of your Quality, the wileſt and moſt notorious Rebels to all the Offices of Honour, Truſt and Advantage. Their Crimes has made them deſperate; and to ward off the Merit of their Perſonal Offences, it may be their Choice to leave you to the Outrage of a Tyrannical Army, rather than hazard their being deliver'd up to that Juſtice which they have offended; and thereby lead your Liberties into a Captivity, from which they may not be deliver'd in many Generations.

Then,

Then, their Avarice (with their Ambition) may gain their Conſent to a Standing Army, to ſupport them in their Poſts of Honour and Advantage, and to confirm the Conqunſt which they have lately made over You.

The *Exchequer* has purchaſed a Parliament that is to fall in with the Meaſures of your pretended King and his Miniſtry; and when the Blood is drawn which they are hankering after, if an Army ſhould be requir'd (under the Pretext of an Invaſion) by him that has a Prior Title to the Crown, you have no great Reaſon to believe that it would be refuſed; but if they ſhould heſitate upon that Demand, that Treaſury that bought a Parliament of the Country, may buy an Army of the Parliament, and when that Bargain is ſtruck, *Dutch* Bottoms can bring in more *Pruſſians* and *Hanoverians* (to the *French* you have already) than ſucceeding Generations may be able to weed out again.

Then, as if it were to facilitate this Deſign, your pretended King is at preſent, a mere Proſtitute to the Direction of a few that are in the moſt deſperate Circumſtances; who, if their Conſciences were unburthen'd, would ſtart at the Thought of a Standing Army: But as they are labouring under a Deſperate Evil, it may be their Choice to make Uſe of a Deſperate Remedy. And as their pretended King has been very tractable hitherto, it may not ſeem to them ſo Deſperate a Remedy as it may to others; for they may hope to Govern him and his Army, as he has been Govern'd by them to this Day, and then all will be theirs, even *King*, *Army* and *People*; which will put a Face upon the Government, that the moſt Diſcerning Eye will not be able to diſtinguiſh from that of a Common-Wealth.

The Army being obtain'd, he may prove a Man of the deep Intellects that were imputed to him; and (by a Turn of the Tables) make himſelf as abſolute in *England* as he was in *Hanover*, and make them know that made him, that he will Govern them; and with *Alexander's* Sword, at one Blow, cut through the Knot of thoſe Republican Schemes which will be too hard for him otherwiſe to untie; and if all his Compliances, with thoſe that are now of his Council, ſhould be deſigningly made to counterfeit an Ignorance that may compleat the Project, which is neither impoſſible nor improbable; then the Property of *Whig* and *Tory* will fall a Victim to the Avarice of the Army, and its Commmander: There will be no Partiality of Affection in the Prince, for (like *Jupiter's Stork*) his Prey will be made upon all that his Hand can reach; that what you enjoy to Day, may be the Spoil of *Pruſſian*, *Hanoverian* or *Hugonot* Plunderers to Morrow, without any Reſpect to Party or Perſons. And if they ſhould imitate the *Danes* of Old, in Raviſhing your Wives and Daughters before your Faces, it is hard to know how you will prevent it. For when he has an Army, he may augment it to a Number that ſhall make you *Hewers of Wood*, and *Drawers of Water*; which deſerves the Notice of *Whig* as well as *Tory*; for the Calamity will be general, and therefore equally affect both.

This Uſurpation, if continued, may eclipſe the Liberties of all *Europe*, and at the Ruin of this miſerable Nation too; for if your pretended King ſhould think of enlarging his Dominions in *Germany*, he will not come to aſk you whether he ſhall do it at your Coſt or not; for his Army will fetch in the Money he ſhall need, and will very well pay its keeping: He will then have but little Occaſion for Parliaments, for he will know how to raiſe Money without them.

The King of *Prussia* is a Prince of great Power in the Empire, and to make him yet more Powerful, your pretended King has engaged the *Dutch* to be concerned with him in an Expedition which they say is to be very manfully made, under an Equipment of above Thirty Men of War, *English* and *Dutch*, against the poor Young King of *Sweden*, who has many of the most powerful *Northern* Princes upon him already, and whose present Circumstances demand the Assistance of every one that has a Turn to the Service of God and Man.

When *English* and *Dutch* Bravery, in Conjunction with the *Muscovite*, the *Danish*, the *Saxon*, the *Polish* and the *Prussian*, have reduced him, *Prussia* it may be supposed will be a Sharer in his Dominions tho' he has not born any Proportion of the Burthen of the War that may reduce him, which will enlarge his Dominions upon very easy Terms.

Prussia and *Hanover* being in the same Interest; when what *Prussia* may thus acquire (with what he had before) is cemented to the Force of *England* and *Hanover*, and such other Troops as the *British* Treasury is capable of keeping in Pay; they may become Princes of too much Power for any, if not for all the rest of the *German* Princes to contend against.

Every Inch of Dominion they shall obtain will give them an Increase of Power, and carry their Conquests, in a progressive way, through the Dominions of all the Princes of the *Germanick* Body, and at the Cost of the *English* Narion, which they will see shall never share in the Advantages that shall accrue to the Conquerors.

It might be imagined, that the Power that accrues to the Houses of *Prussia* and *Brunswick*, should awaken all the Princes in *Europe*, but your *Dutch* Neighbourhood more immediately; for that Ballance of Power which occasioned the late War, and has cost so much Blood and Treasure, is in the Hand of the two Houses, who in any Quarrel that may arise in time to come, may bring what Force they please, with *English* Money on one Side of them, whilst a Superiority of *English* Shipping shall invade them on the other; by which that Republick may quickly come to a Period.

It may be believ'd that *France* (upon such an Occasion) will exert itself, to lessen the Power that such an Attempt may give to the House of *Brunswick*. But the King is arriv'd to a great Age, and at his Death, the Minority of the *Dauphin* may engage that Kingdom in Intestine Troubles, that may be a full Employment for it for many Years.

Besides, if the Kingdom of *France* should not feel the Calamity of an Insurrection, in the Minority of the present *Dauphin*, yet Factions will be unavoidable Consequences of his Minority; Councils therefore will be divided, and Money, from *England*, may do very much with those that are of the Council, and prevent all Determinations that otherwise might be made to interrupt such an Undertaking against the *Dutch*.

When they have reduc'd that Republick, whither may not their Conquests be carried, and to how many Miseries will the *English* be exposed, when its *Blood* and its *Treasure* shall run (like *Water* from a *Fountain*) to satiate the Ambition of two or three Tyrannical Princes.

Your Pretended King cannot be ignorant of the Uncertainty of the *English* Humour, in respect to Crown'd Heads, nor of the vast Confederacy that may be made

made againſt him (in time convenient) by thoſe that have a Right to the Crown of *England* before him, Therefore, and in Caſe a Standing Army ſhould not anſwer all the Ends propos'd (no Man being able to know what unforeſeen Accidents may prevent it) it may be expected that he ſhould make Uſe of your *Blood* and your *Treaſure*, before his Harveſt be over, to enlarge his Dominions in the *Empire*, and to fill his *Foreign* Coffers, that if the Princes Abroad, or the People at Home, ſhould oblige him to retire, he may have the larger Country, and the better Purſe to retire to.

This being foreſeen, by the Makers of the *Limitation* Act, was the Reaſon why they provided againſt it, by a Clauſe that forbids a War on the part of the *Britiſh* Nation in the Defence or Increaſe of Your pretended King's Dominions in *Germany*, without the Conſent of the *Britiſh* Parliament; but when that Act is diſſolv'd (as unqueſtionably it will) then it will appear that this Proviſion was made to very little Purpoſe, and that the Labouring Oar will be your Lot.

If the preſent Elector of *Brunſwick*, or any of his pretended Iſſue that may ſucceed him, ſhould aſpire to the *Imperial* Diadem, it may be obtain'd without much Difficulty, if the Confederacy between him and *Pruſſia* be continued: In that caſe his Reſidence will be at *Vienna*. *England* will then become a Province of the *Empire*, and every three Years may bring You a freſh Spunge, under the Name of a *Vice-Roy*, to cleanſe your Coffers: For it has been the Policy of all Sovereign Princes, to ſend (to their remoter Dominions) ſuch of their Noblemen for *Vice-Roys*, as have been under hard Circumſtances.

Firſt, That they may ſqueeze out of the People committed to their care Fortunes, to repair their Decaying Families.

Secondly, That large Sums may be drawn by it, from the remoter Dominions, to center in the Nation where the Sovereign Reſides, that part of his Dominions being his principal Care, as the Miſtreſs of all the reſt.

Thirdly, That the remoter Nation may be Impoveriſh'd by it, to a Degree that may preſerve its Subjection.

Then it is generally the Policy of the Sovereign to depute a Vice-Roy that is an Alien to the People he is to Govern, that he may not attract their Affections, ſo as to acquire a Power that may ſet him up for their Sovereign; it being the Choice of all wiſe Nations to be govern'd by a Native rather than by a Foreigner.

Therefore, when you become a Province to the Empire, which may be expected, if this Uſurpatation be continued; you will be Impoveriſh'd by all the Means, in your pretended King's Power, to continue your Subjection to him; and will be Inſulted and Squeezed, by Foreigners that will be conſtituted your Rulers, who will carry your Treaſure into the Countries where they are to end their Days; and there will end all the Felicities which you may reaſonably promiſe to yourſelves from the Government of your Lawful King.

I know that the People of *England* have ſtomach, and will ſay (upon the reading of this) that they will not endure what I foreſee will be their Fate, but if they tamely yield their Hands and Feet to the Chains of a Foreign Family, it will prove an Overſight that they will not be able to Recall; for they ought

not

not to forget what came of the Wood that granted an Helve to the Hatchet; nor muſt they expect (after they have given their ſtrength into the Hand of another Nation) that it will return, by Miracle, as *Sampſon*'s did.

The Princes of other Nations, it might reaſonably be ſuppoſed, ſhould exert all their Power, in forcing a Thief and a Rober out of the Houſe, even of an Enemy, leaſt the ſame Thief (or ſome other, by his Example) ſhould Viſit them all in the ſame way, when time ſhall ſerve. No trifling Robbery is committed but the Country is alarm'd, and every Man is a Purſuer of him that commits it, till he is chas'd out of the World; and the ſame Policy ſhould equally alarm the Princes in our preſent Caſe: For it is but one that is Robbed, yet it is every Man's Buſineſs to purſue the Thief. The great Thief that gives our Subject, Hangs thoſe that have not ſtole a Shilling, where he has ſtolen Millions; and the Law that Hangs them, pleads a greater neceſſity for his being brought to the ſame Juſtice; becauſe his continuing in the Throne of another warrants all the Robberies that Men can commit. And it is ſurprizing to ſee him, or his Creatures in his Name, in judgment upon ſuch as ſteal for the bare Conveniencies of Life; when they ſit in Judgment, by virtue of one of the greateſt Thefts that ever was committed, in the Name of the moſt Notorious Theif that is now in being.

Beſides, this Precedent may excite Rebellions in other Nations, that may make all the Crowns in *Europe* ſit uneaſy upon the Heads of thoſe that wear them; for he that can be a ſilent Witneſs to the Sufferings of a Royal Brother (in ſo juſt a manner) may very well expect that the Juſtice of God ſhould permit his own People to puniſh him in the ſame way: For it is to be conſidered, that the Perſon of a Man ſuffers not by itſelf in this Caſe, but that Royalty lies a Bleeding, which makes it as much the Concern of thoſe that immediately ſuffer by it; for the Doctrines of Reſiſtance are not taught by it to the *Engliſh* Nation only, but to all the Nations upon Earth, and may ſpread through the World, like a Canker: So that the King of *England*'s Cauſe is their Cauſe, and what he ſuffers in it, they muſt ſhare in.

Then, if the Kings upon Earth are in Subordination to the King of Kings; the King of *England*'s Cauſe is the Cauſe of God: Therefore the Repreſentatives of God to other Nations (that look with ſilence upon the Sufferings of his Cauſe) betray their Office and Character to all the Injuries that can be offer'd, and muſt account at the great Tribunal for ſo pernicious a Contrivance.

Upon the whole, nothing is more evident than that of your being an undone People, if this Uſurpation be continued. For

Firſt, An Uſurpation is the Invaſion of another Man's Right: Therefore it is unjuſt, and cannot be pleaſing to him who is infinitely Juſt, and that Injuſtice having gain'd a National Aſſent, you may well expect that a National Calamity ſhould enſue. Then,

Secondly, It has brought you under the *Dliemma* of maintaining a ſtanding Army, to perpetuate this Succeſſion, or of being torn to peices by the many Armies that an Elective Monarchy will infallibly produce: One or the other of theſe muſt be your Lot, under the Uſurpation, and be it which it will, it is your unavoidable Deſtruction.

Under this Reflection (which I am ſure is a very juſt one) it is ſurprizing to find that the Uſurpation ſhould be favour'd, by either Whigg or Tory. For.

Firſt, It is Diametrically oppoſite to the Principles of a Tory. And

Secondly, It is very much that the Whigs (who are in perpetual Outcry upon the Buſineſs of Liberty and Property) ſhould ſurrender both, to ſave the vileſt Mortal and ungrateful Nobleman now in being, with a few of his Adherents, from the Hand of that Juſtice which they have offended; when the Life of that miſerable Creature, by the Courſe of Nature, cannot run to a much greater length; tho' the Captivity they ſubmit to, to ſave him, will be without End.

To all Princes I cry aloud, in the Name of an injur'd Prince, for Juſtice, they being the Miniſters of it, as well to one another, as to the People that are committed to their Care.

I hereby acquaint the Elector of *Brunſwick*, that it may be his Prudence to walk out of the Kingdom of *England*, whilſt the Door is open, and to reſt himſelf ſatisfied with his own, as every honeſt Man would do: for he may go with that in Peace to the Grave, when his Countenance with you (unleſs he be early with his intended Army) may ſhorten that Life, which in his own Country might have many more Years to run: For there is no pleaſing the Party that made him, and the Hand that led him to the Throne, will (if Strength remains) lead him to the Scaffold, if they ſhould come to diſlike but the very Countenance of the Man.

By the Artifice of your Enemy, you were made to believe that your pretended King was a Man of profound Piety, but his parting with a Religion that he knew, for a Religion which he knows not, upon Arguments, purely Temporal, is a Teſtimony of the Standard by which his Devotion is meaſured.

He was repreſented a Man of exquiſite Juſtice, but his Poſſeſſing the Dominions of another, by Violence, proves that the Repreſentors were deceived by others, or would have deceived you.

He was ſaid to be a Man of marvellous *Chaſtity*, but I refer you to Madam *Kilmanſeck*, and others of the Foreign *Harlotry*, for the truth of that Aſſertion.

He was reported ſo vaſtly Rich, as to give every Body hopes of a mighty Flux of Silver and Gold after his Arrival; Whether he were Rich, before his coming to you, is a doubtful Queſtion; but if he ſtays any time with you, it is not to be doubted, but he and his People will be ſo.

It was ſaid that the Treaſure of *Hanover* was to pay the Debts of the *Engliſh* Nation: But all that you have ſeen of that was what entered the City of *London* with him (in a Cart) under the appearances of Mops, Brooms, Buckets, Tubs, Earthen-Pans, and Cloſe-Stools: which will not go a great way in paying the Debts of the Nation, if they ſhould be ever ſo well ſold.

And that you may beſure to know what you are like to have more of the Foreign Treaſure, I refer you to his Speech (at his meeting his pretended Parliament) where, from his own Mouth, you will find him a Perſon in great want, and the numerous Iſſue (called his) in the very ſame Circumſtances; for he

carefully

carefully ſets forth their Neceſſities, with the Peoples Happineſs in ſeeing ſuch a ſtring of Needy Perſons at his Elbow, whom he hopes *no Man will grudge to Relieve*, tho' it is hard for any Man to enter into the reaſon, why they ſhould have Relief from the Pariſh of St. *James*'s, rather than from the Pariſh where they were born.

The *Engliſh* Nation had always Poor enough of it's own, and to them the *French* and *Palatine* were added, and the *Hanoverian* being now added to them; your Labours may be eaten up, by the Foreign Poor in your keeping.

The Wiſdom imputed to that Family, does not yet appear in the reputed Father of it; and it is confidently reported, that it never will in the reputed Son, and that it never can in the ſaid Son's Son.

Your pretended King, is one of the Remoteſt Relations to the Crown, a Stranger to you, and altogether ignorant of your Language, your Laws, Cuſtoms and Conſtitution.

But your Lawful King was born in the Royal Palace at St. *James*'s: He is a *Stuart*, perfect in your Language; and tho' driven by you into another Nation, yet his and his Father's Court was ſtill *Engliſh*, and his Education *Engliſh*; by which he as well underſtands your Language, your Laws, your Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions, as if he had never been out of his own Dominions, and it may be much better: For his Misfortunes have given him a larger Experience, and a ſtronger Tendency to the Knowledge of Men and Books, than he might have had in a Life of uninterrupted Tranquility.

Your pretended King is a Native of another Country, and Nature therefore muſt give his Affections a ſtronger Turn towards its Inhabitants, that it is poſſible for him to have towards you: They will be his chiefeſt Care, and you may be aſſur'd of his Enriching them, at your Coſt.

But the Heart and Affections of your Lawful King muſt be with you, for this is his Country, the Place that gave him Birth.

You are his all, your Proſperity is his Proſperity, your Wealth and your Grandeur is his Glory: Therefore his whole Care will be Employed (by all the ways in his Power) to make you a Rich, a Happy, and a Flouriſhing People.

The Title of your Pretended King will be in perpetual Diſpute, which will lay you under a double Load of Inconveniencies. For,

Firſt, A great Part of your Blood and Treaſure will be waſted in the Conteſt. And

Secondly, It will make him think it is his Prudence to make a Lodgment of all the *Engliſh* Money he can, at his Capital at in *Hanover*, that he may be able to ſay (if he ſhould be obliged to withdraw) that ſtill he has made a ſaving Bargain of it.

But the Right of your Lawful King, is not diſputed by any othe Prince in all the World; therefore his Hope is to end his Days with his own People: So that he will never think of plundering your Pocket, but of improving your Trade and your Treaſure; your Intereſt and his being the ſame: When the Gentleman from *Brunſwick* will be to you, as a bad Wife that makes a Seperate Purſe, at the Ruin of her Huſband.

Your

Your pretended King cannot be a Man of Probity, whilſt he takes the Title and Property of another; and therefore not a Perſon under whom you can be happy.

Then, as another Mark of his Inſincerity, he has already violated his Coronation-Oath; for the Religion which he pretends to be of, and has ſworn to maintain, is the only Religion in *England* that is diſcountenanc'd by him; for every Thing is preferred and careſſed that goes under any other Denomination than that of a Churchman, and every Churchman that is ſo High as to acknowledge that he wiſhes the Preſervation of that Church of which he is a Member, is too High to be deem'd worthy of your pretended King's Service: Which may be another Reaſon to you, why you ſhould not expect the Performance of any of the Promiſes he has made to you, unleſs it be thoſe which he has made in every Action ſince his Arrival, and they are to be dreaded by you, for they ſeem fatal to me, and to your Liberties.

But the Actions of your Lawful King have correſponded with the moſt exact Juſtice and Honour, and his being a *Stuart*, is the beſt Pledge that you (who have experienc'd the Probity and Clemency of that Family) can receive for his Perſeverance.

The Love of your Lawful King, for his own Country, has been ſufficiently atteſted, by the many Marks of Affection which he ſhew'd to the *Engliſh* Officers and Soldiers that were taken into *France*, in the late War; tho' the Cauſe of their Confinement was, their being in Arms againſt him and that Intereſt that ſought his Reſtoration.

As he ſeems the Inheritor of his Grandfather King *Charles* the Firſt's Virtue, for the moſt malicious of his Enemies, never could reproach him with thoſe Impurities that are incident to his Years: But your pretended King (in the Fifty Fifth Year of his Age) has many Lewd Foreign Woman in *Engliſh* Pay.

Your Lawful King has alſo a Capacity, that has raiſed the Admiration of all the Princes with whom he has converſed; He is ſo well acquainted with the Art of Government, as that a Man would imagine he had preſided with all the Councels of paſt Ages; he is as well acquainted with the Art of War, as if he had commanded in all the Battles and Sieges of the Wars of *Europe*: And his Behaviour (in the Battle of *Malplaket*) was ſo Brave, as to attract the Affections, even of Prince *Eugene* and others, whom he fought againſt.

He is ſo great a Maſter in the Art of Reaſoning, as to have obtained the Character of the Fineſt and moſt Promiſing Prince that is at this Day in all the World; He Executes nothing Raſhly; He is not Poſitive, but is eaſy of Acceſs, and ever ready to hear.

His Actions are ſo well concerted, as to lead always to their End, and under a Regularity that ſpeaks him one of the beſt Œconomiſts in the World; and his Perſon (as he conducts it) at once moves all the Paſſions of thoſe that are ſo happy as to have their Eyes upon it: For the Clemency of the *Stuart* appears in all his Actions, and at the ſame time Majeſty is preſerved in the ſame Perſon, ſo as to raiſe the Reverence that is due to one of his Diſtinction.

He is, in every Reſpect, that perfect Man as have made all *Nations ambitious* of the Honour and Credit of giving him Birth, excepting the unhappy Nation that really gave it him: Which, by a deplorable Fatality, has rejected him whom the World Admires, and has filled his Throne with one of the moſt Tyrannical and moſt Scandalous Families in *Europe*.

Your Lawful King has promiſed to make the Laws of the Land the Rule of his Government; and to hear what I have to ſay in the Buſineſs of Religion, when he comes into a Country where it may be done with Conveniency; and to be determined by that as ſhall appear to him the better Argument: And has farther promis'd (be his Determination what it will as to himſelf) to Protect and Maintain me, and has offered you ſhould ſecure the Things he has promiſed, by the ſureſt Expedient you yourſelves can propoſe: And upon the whole, it ſhould be your Prudence to rely upon the Promiſes of him who is of unblemiſhed Reputation, rather than upon the Promiſes of a Man who has already Violated the Laws of God, the Laws of the Land, and all the Vows he made to you (upon the Four *Goſpels*) at his Coronation. And I do ſtill hope that your Infatuation is not for ever, and that the Goodneſs of God will reſtore your Reaſon to you, that you may Obviate the Dangers with which you are threatned, both Spiritually and Temporally, and make you Inſtrumental in the Reſtoration of your Lawful King; without which it is Impoſſible for you to regain the Liberties that were Injoyed by you and your Fathers; for your Inheritance is given to Strangers, who will not give you your own Water, without Money, and your own Wood they will ſell unto you, and your Bread will be gotten at the Peril of your Lives.

POSTSCRIPT.

April 26, 1715.

THE Fear of running theſe Reflections, to a length beyond the Patience of my Reader, is the Reaſon why the Work is not ſo perfect as was intended; but I do hereby promiſe you a Supplement that ſhall make the Deficiences good.

For what I have done already, I do expect that your pretended King and his Miniſtry (as a Mark of their Affection for me) ſhould puniſh me with Death, if they can; for thoſe Truths which they neither like nor are able to anſwer by dint of Reaſon, it may be they may (as their Cuſtom is) Stigmatize them with the Words *Libel*, *Sedition*, *Rebellion*, *Treaſon*, &c. Which Words alone (without farther Argument) give the Reaſon why the Devulger of thoſe Truths ſhould be *Whipp'd*, *Hang'd* or *Pilloried*; and theſe Puniſhments that Set of Men, take for a Full and a Convincing Anſwer to all that may be ſaid againſt them by the Perſon that is Puniſhed.

The Facts I have delivered, you are all Witneſſes to the Truth of, and the Reflections that I have made upon thoſe Facts, you will find to be meaſured by your Principles in Religion and by the Laws of the Land, and if they offer to

Puniſh

Puniſh me for it, in the Perſon of my faithful *Orator:* It will be a ſtanding Monument, of their Diſlike to the Religion which they pretend to be Patriots of, and that *Conſtitution* that has been univerſally acknowledg'd to be the Peculiar Happineſs of the *Engliſh* Nation.

The True COPY of a LETTER from the *Right Honourable* the Lord Viſcount BOLINGBROKE. Printed in the Year 1715.

Dover, 27th of *March*, 1715.

My Lord,

I Left the Town ſo abruptly, that I had no Time to take Leave of you, or any of my Friends. You will excuſe me, when you know that I had certain and repeated Informations from Some who are in the Secret of Affairs, that a Reſolution was taken by thoſe who have Power to execute it, to purſue me to the Scaffold.

My Blood was to be the Cement of a *New Alliance*; nor could my Innocence be any Security, after it had been once demanded from Abroad, and reſolv'd on at Home, that it was neceſſary to cut me off. Had there been the leaſt Reaſon to hope for a fair and open Trial, after having been already prejudg'd, unheard by the Two Houſes of Parliament, I ſhould not have declined the ſtricteſt Examination.

I challenge the moſt inveterate of my Enemies to produce any one Inſtance of Criminal Correſpondence, or of the leaſt Corruption in any Part of the Adminiſtration in which I was concerned. If my Zeal for the Honour and Dignity of my Royal *Miſtreſs*, and the true Intereſt of my Country, has any where tranſported me to let ſlip a warm or unguarded Expreſſion, I hope the moſt favourable Interpretation will be put upon it.

It is a Comfort, that will remain with me in all my Misfortunes, that I ſerv'd her MAJESTY dutifully and faithfully, in That eſpecially which She had moſt at Heart, relieving Her People from a Bloody and Expenſive War: And that I have always been too much an *Engliſhman* to ſacrifice the Intereſt of my Country to any *Foreign Ally* whatſoever; and 'tis for this Crime only, that I am now driven from thence.

You will hear from me more at large, in a ſhort Time.

Yours, &c.

Bolingbroke.

The REPRESENTATION of the *Right Honourable* the Lord Viſcount BOLINGBROKE. Printed in the Year 1715.

ON the 11th Day of *April*, *N. S.* 1713. the Miniſters of *Great-Britain*, of *Pruſſia*, of the preſent King of *Sicily*, and of the *States-General* of the United Provinces, ſigned their reſpective Treaties with the Miniſters of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at *Utrecht*.

From that Time therefore no Treaties between *France*, and any of the Allies remained unfiniſhed, except thoſe of the Emperor, and of the Body of the Empire, the firſt of which was executed at *Raſtadt* on the 6th of the laſt Month, *N. S.* And his Imperial Majeſty undertaking therein to procure the Conſent of of the Empire to all the Articles of it, the Peace of the latter may in Effect be reckoned to have been likewiſe made at the ſame Time; altho' a Congreſs is appointed to meet at *Baden*, where the Conſent of the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire is to be given in Form, and ſeveral Claims to be diſcuſſed.

Paſſports not having been granted to the Miniſters of *Spain* till more than Fourteen Months after the Conferences at *Utrecht* were opened, the Duke *d' Oſſuna* did not come to the Congreſs before the 19th of *April*, *N. S.* 1713. nor enter upon any Buſineſs till the Arrival of his Collegue the Marquis *de Monteleone* in the Month of *June*.

On the 13th of *July* following the Treaty of Peace between Her Majeſty and the Catholick King was ſigned; but the Treaty of Commerce could not be finiſh'd till the 9th of *December*, *N. S.* 1713.

The Peace between *Spain* and *Portugal* Her Majeſty looks upon as good as concluded, it appearing by late Accounts from *Utrecht*, that the Project thereof had been drawn up in Form, and ſent to the two Courts to be approved, and that the Differences which remain were too inconſiderable to occaſion any New Delay. In the mean time Her Majeſty has taken the moſt effectual Care of the Intereſts of the King of *Portugal*, having given to that Prince on the 13th of *Auguſt*, 1713, of Her own Motion, and without any Requiſition on his Part, a new Guaranty, whereby the Queen obliged herſelf to ſecure the Reſtitution, even by Force of Arms, if that ſhould become neceſſary, of any thing which might be taken from *Portugal* before the Concluſion of the Peace, to procure to that Crown the Colony of the *Sacrement*, or in lieu thereof, ſuch an Equivalent as the King of *Portugal* ſhould be contented to accept, to obtain Satisfaction to the *Portugueze* for what they claim to be due to them on Account of their *Aſſiento*, or Contract with the Crown of *Spain*, and to ſet on Foot after the Peace an Amicable Negotiation for accommodating the Differences, which have ariſen concerning ſeveral Eſtates ſituated in *Portugal*, and claimed by the Subjects of *Portugal* reſiding in *Spain*, and concerning thoſe *Spaniſh* Ships which were about the beginning of the War ſeized by the *Portugueze*: On theſe Principles the Earl of *Strafford* made a Solemn Declaration to the Miniſters of *Spain* in *February* laſt; when he exchanged with them the Inſtruments of Ratification of the Treaties between Her Majeſty and the Catholick King; that the Peace which the Queen then

ratified did not diſpenſe with the Obligations which ſhe lay under to the King of *Portugal*, as well by Her Guaranty lately granted, as by Her Defenſive Alliance made in 1703. And that Her Majeſty was determin'd to aſſiſt and defend this Prince on the Foot of the Pretenſions ſpecified in the ſaid Guaranty, and accoring to the Tenor of the ſaid Defenſive Alliance.

The Treaty of Peace between the Kings of *Spain* and *Sicily* was executed on the ſame Day on which Her Majeſty's Treaty with the Crown of *Spain* was Signed, that is, on the 13th Day of *July* 1713. *N. S.*

All the Articles of the Treaty between the Catholick King and the States-General have been long ago adjuſted; and the Treaty would have been executed in Form, had not the Miniſters of the States-General made and inſiſted upon a Declaration, which thoſe of *Spain* apprehend to be repugnant to the Terms already ſettled.

It has not hitherto been poſſible ſo much as to enter on a Treaty between their Imperial and Catholick Majeſties, the Emperor having thought fit to withdraw the laſt of his Miniſters from *Utrecht*, before thoſe of the King of *Spain* could appear and act in that Congreſs.

This ſhort Account of the preſent State of the ſeveral Treaties of Her Majeſty, and Her Allies with *France* and *Spain*, ſhews how little is wanting in Compariſon with what has been already done, to render the Peace at laſt as Univerſal as it would have been long ago, had not continual Obſtructions been thrown in the way of this great Work at its beginning, and in every Step of its Progreſs.

France having complained of the manner of Treating, when former Attempts were made to ſet a Negotiation for a General Peace on Foot; and having for that Reaſon refuſed to make any Overtures to the States-General, Her Majeſty receiv'd in the Month of *April*, 1711, a Propoſal from the Moſt Chriſtian King, which ſhe immediately communicated by Her Ambaſſador to the Miniſters of *Holland*, aſſuring them, that in making Peace, as in making War, ſhe would act in perfect Concert with the States. The *Dutch* Miniſters, in Return to this Mark of Her Majeſty's Confidence in them, and Friendſhip for their Republick, having expreſſed themſelves to be weary of the War, heartily deſirous of Peace, and ready to join in any Method her Majeſty ſhould think proper to obtain it, gave their Opinion, That the Overture made by *France* was too general; That it was neceſſary the Queen ſhould make the *French* explain themſelves more particularly; and That till they had done ſo, it was not proper to take any Concert with the reſt of the Allies.

As ſoon as Her Majeſty received this Anſwer from the *Hague*, She inſiſted, that the *French* ſhould be more direct and particular in their Overtures, and that they ſhould form a diſtinct Project of ſuch a Peace as they were willing to conclude. No time was loſt in carrying this Negotiation forward, and the utmoſt Care was taken according to the Deſire of the Miniſters in *Holland*, whom Her Majeſty had conſulted to preſerve the Secret. But the Dilatory Method of Treating, which in thoſe Circumſtances was unavoidable, and other Accidents, to which Tranſactions of this kind muſt be always expoſed, were the Occaſions that nothing more ſatisfactory than the firſt Propoſitions, which *France* had made, could be obtain'd 'till the End of *September* 1711.

On

On the Firſt of *October*, the Queen's Inſtructions were given to the Earl of *Strafford*, to repair, with all poſſible Diligence, to *Holland*, to acquaint the Miniſter of the *States* with all that had been done, in Conſequence of what they had in the Month of *May* deſir'd, and to communicate to them the Propoſitions ſign'd by Monſieur *Menager* four Days before, *viz.* the 27th of *September*, which her Majeſty look'd upon to include, in their general Expreſſions, all the particular Demands proper to be made in the Courſe of the Negociation, and to be a ſufficient Foundation whereupon to open the Conferences. The Earl of *Strafford* was, at the ſame Time, inſtructed to aſſure the Miniſters of *Holland*, that her Majeſty was determined to accept of no Advantage to herſelf, repugnant to their Intereſts, nor of any Peace, unleſs they had all reaſonable Satisfaction, as to their Barrier, as to their Trade, and in every other Reſpect. He was likewiſe to exhort them to join with her Majeſty in promoting the ſtricteſt Union among all the Confederates, as the only Means to carry the Negotiation forward; and Communications and Aſſurances of the ſame Nature were, at the ſame Time, given to the other Allies.

Before theſe Orders could be executed, and even before the laſt Overtures had been made on the Part of *France*, or it could poſſibly be known what had been tranſacted, the whole Confederacy was induſtriouſly alarm'd, Jealouſies were every were ſown, and even in *Britain* the moſt licentious Clamours were raiſed againſt her Majeſty's Proceedings.

This Behaviour muſt appear very extraordinary, when, beſides what is abovementioned, it ſhould be conſider'd, That the receiving a Miniſter from *France*, by her Majeſty, which was urged as the Reaſon of the Apprehenſions of the Allies, and which was the only One they pretended to give, was no more than what the *Dutch*, and there was Ground to believe, others of the Confederates had done; and that the Perſon ſent hither, was the ſame Monſieur *Menager*, who, a Year or two before, had lain conceal'd in *Holland* for many Weeks, and had treated, during that Time, with the Chief Miniſters of that Republick.

The fatal Conſequences, which the leaſt Appearance of Diſunion amongſt the Allies would neceſſarily produce, began to be felt; and her Majeſty found herſelf oblig'd to let the *Imperialiſts* and the *Dutch* know, That the *French* might have been brought to explain themſelves further than they did, had it not been for the extraordinary Uneaſineſs, Impatience, and Jealouſy, which, upon the firſt Appearance of taking any Meaſures towards Peace, diſcover'd themſelves among the Allies.

From thence are all the Obſtructions to the Peace to be dated, and to thoſe Obſtructions alone, ſuch Points as ſeem to fall ſhort of the Expectations of any of the Parties concerned, are to be attributed.

The Queen foreſaw, that nothing would be left undone, to force the Negociation out of her Hands, as well by thoſe who were againſt any Peace at all, as by thoſe who feared, that her Majeſty, being at the Head of the Negociation, more Advantages might accrue to *Great Britain*, than they were willing to allow; and therefore the Confederacy, which formed itſelf in Oppoſition to what the Queen had undertaken, inſtead of inclining her Majeſty to alter her Conduct, became the ſtrongeſt Reaſon imaginable to continue it. Things were already

ready brought to that Extremity, That there was no Middle between a ſteady Purſuit of the true Intereſt of *Great Britain*, in the firſt Place, and abandoning ourſelves to be diſpoſed of in War or in Peace, as ſhould ſuit the Conveniency, or gratify the Paſſions of the Confederates.

Soon after the Earl of *Strafford*'s Departure to *Holland*, Monſieur *Buys* arrived here with the Character of Envoy from the *States General*. When a Miniſter of this Conſequence was ſent, Hopes were immediately conceived, that all Jealouſies might be cured, and a perfect Harmony be created between the Queen and the *States*; after which, an Union with the other Allies would neceſſarily follow, and the whole Confederacy entering, as one Man, into the Congreſs; the Sincerity of the *French* would have been ſoon tried, and the Poſſibility or Impoſſibility of obtaining a good Peace, ſoon decided.

In order to this End, her Majeſty's Servants were inſtructed and empower'd to ſettle, with this Miniſter, ſuch Diſputes as related to the reciprocal Intereſts of the two Nations, and to prevent, by this previous Concert, any Difference which might ariſe in the Courſe of the Treaty, between the Queen and the *States*.

They were further directed to adjuſt, in Confidence with him, ſuch a Plan for the general Peace, as it might be proper finally to inſiſt upon; and in this Caſe her Majeſty would have been ready, jointly with the *States*, to have broke the Conferences, if theſe Terms had not been granted without Exception and without Delay. But ſuch was the publick Misfortune at that Time, that this Miniſter was only empower'd to Hear, and not to Speak; and could not take upon him ſo much as to Conclude, or even Sign, *Sub ſpe rati*, a new Offenſive and Defenſive Alliance betwixt the Queen and the *States*, which, in thoſe Circumſtances of Affairs, he judged, and her Majeſty's Servants concurred with him, to be extremely neceſſary.

By the Conferences which were held with Monſieur *Buys* here; by the Accounts which came from Abroad, and by the Repreſentations which ſome of the Allies made, about the ſame Time, to her Majeſty, it appear'd undeniably evident, not only that the War was become, on the preſent Foot, abſolutely impracticable, but alſo that no Alteration could be attempted, either in the Method of carrying it on, or in the Views towards which it was directed, without diſſolving at once the Confederacy; and that the Diſpute was, in fact, not whether a Peace, by which *Spain* and the *Indies* would be left to *Philip*, ſhould be made, but who ſhould have the making of it?

The real Annual Expence of this Kingdom amounted to more than ſeven Millions, whereas it is certain, that we were not in a Condition effectually to raiſe near ſix Millions in the Courſe of a Year: From hence it follows, That if this Proportion had been continued, about nine Millions would have been the true Charge of a ſecond Year, and about thirteen Millions that of a third.

This was the State of our Affairs, whilſt the Houſe of *Auſtria* contributed nothing but one Regiment to the War of *Spain*, little to that of *Italy*, had but few Forces, and thoſe entirely unactive on the *Rhine*, and ſent none into the *Netherlands*, except ſuch as thoſe harraſſed Provinces were obliged to maintain, and were thereby render'd unable to furniſh Troops, or make the neceſſary Proviſions for the Operations of the Army; both which they might otherwiſe have done,

done, and both which they did, in an eminent Degree, whilſt they were under the Government of the preſent King of *Spain*.

The *States General* bore a conſiderable Burthen; but as they had, from the Year 1708, ſent no Supplies, of any kind, either to *Portugal*, or to *Catalonia*, and had drawn themſelves almoſt entirely out of the *Spaniſh* War; as they furniſh'd, in no Proportion, their Quota for the Sea Service; as they had reduc'd their joint Contributions with the Queen, in all Payments, to one third of the whole; and as they were very backward in anſwering even this Share of Expence, ſo the Load of *Great Britain* came, upon their Account, as well as upon the Emperor's, to be vaſtly encreaſed. As to the reſt of the Allies, all the Troops which they furniſh'd, were maintain'd by the Queen, and the *States*, except a few, and thoſe almoſt employ'd in covering their own Frontiers.

In this Situation of Affairs her Majeſty declar'd to the *Imperialiſts*, and to the *Dutch*, That if they would not allow *France* to have given Grounds for opening the Conferences, if they were deſirous to carry on the War, and determin'd to accept of no Terms inferior to thoſe which had been formerly demanded and refuſed, ſhe was, on her Part, ready to concur with them; but that, in Juſtice to herſelf, and to them, ſhe thought herſelf bound to let them know, that ſhe could no longer bear ſo diſproportionate a Burthen; that it was evident, that the common Effort muſt be ſtill greater than it was, or that there would remain no Proſpect of arriving at the Ends which they propos'd, and that, for theſe Reaſons, it would be incumbent upon them, if the War continued, to encreaſe their Expences, whilſt the Queen reduced her's.

The Miniſters of the *States General* were very Candid and Open upon this Head. Monſieur *Buys* aſſerted, that his Maſters had done their utmoſt already, and could be oblig'd to no more; many of the others had, on ſeveral Occaſions, declar'd their Country unable to ſupport the Charge they were at, another *Summer*, and the Penſionary himſelf, in a Deputation of the *States* appointed to attend the Earl of *Strafford* in *October* 1711, declar'd, that it was impoſſible to think of continuing the War another Year; that what from the Emperor, and what from the Princes of the North, we ſhould be in the utmoſt Danger, ſhould we attempt to do it: And, finally, that they were Traitors to their Country, who were againſt a Peace.

Many Inſtances might be produced, to ſhew, That there was, at leaſt, as little Reaſon to expect, from the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as from the *States General*, a greater Effort than they had hitherto made. The Peace of *Hungary* was concluded about the Month of *May* 1711, and that conſtant Excuſe which the Miniſters of *Vienna* uſed to make for all their Deficiencies, did, by Conſequence, no longer ſubſiſt; yet her Majeſty found it impoſſible, at the latter End of that Year, to obtain a Reinforcement of no more than 8000 Men from thence, altho' her Miniſter was empower'd to have offer'd 40000 *l.* for the march of them; and although the preſent King of *Sicily*, then Duke of *Savoy*, undertook (if he might be aſſur'd of this Reinforcement any Time before the Cloſe of the Campaign) to eſtabliſh his Winter Quarters on that Side of *France*, which would have been, in that Point of Time, the moſt Deciſive, becauſe a Project was then form'd, and would have been executed, could the *States* have been, in time, induced to have taken even leſs than their own Share upon them; her Majeſty

ſupplying their Deficiency, as well as Her own Proportion, to have kept a great Body of Horſe all the Winter on the Frontiers of the Low-Countries, by which means *Picardy* and the Iſle of *France* would have been Ravag'd, no Magazines would have been erected, and the *French* muſt have gone in the Spring a great way back into their own Country to aſſemble their Army.

The Imperial Miniſters confeſs'd very freely that their Maſter expected the Queen ſhould furniſh all the Money; and that the utmoſt he could do was to ſend Troops at her Expence; in the ſame Breath avowing the Emperor's Intention to be, to break the Negotiation of Peace, and to continue the War till *Spain* was conquer'd, the entire Monarchy whereof he expected. But if there had remained any doubt of the little Aſſiſtance which was to be hoped for from the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who aim'd at ſuch great Acquiſitions, this Matter would have been put intirely out of Diſpute by the Propoſals which Prince *Eugene* himſelf made in *Holland* firſt, and afterwards to the Queen.

The Propoſals, it muſt be thought were carry'd at leaſt as high as his Imperial Majeſty judg'd himſelf able to make good, ſince it is notorious he would have ſtuck at nothing which might have broke the Meaſures of Peace, and have encourag'd the Reſolution of Proſecuting the War. And yet even by theſe Propoſals, his Imperial Majeſty did not pretend to act in the Field with 2000 Men more, than in the Year 1702, it was underſtood, that the Emperor *Leopold* undertook to furniſh, altho' the Expence of a great part of theſe Troops was not to fall upon him; and altho' he offer'd to conſtitute but a fourth part of the Charge of the Army in *Spain*; ſo that the remaining three Fourths, as well as the whole Tranſportation and Extraordinaries of that War, would ſtill have been placed to the Queen's Account.

From what has been ſaid, it is manifeſt, that the Method in which the War was propoſed to be carry'd on, could no longer be ſupported: and that there was not any Glimpſe of Hope left, that the Allies could be brought to make any conſiderable Augmentation of Force to have proſecuted the War; therefore in this manner it muſt have been the Ruin of *Britain*, to have inſiſted on an Impoſſibility as a Condition, without which the Queen would not proceed, muſt have diſunited the Alliance, and ſuſpended the Operations of the Armies in all Parts; in both theſe Caſes the Conſequences are too evident to be enlarged upon.

In the Beginning of the Year 1711, died the late Emperor *Joſeph*, and the Eyes not only of the Princes of the Empire, but all the Confederates, and of Her Majeſty's in the firſt Place, were immediately fixed on his Brother: This Event occaſion'd a great Alteration in the Councils of *Europe*, and gave a new Turn to the Sentiments of many Princes.

There are reaſon to believe, that the Miniſters of *Vienna* themſelves began to cool in the Project of recovering *Spain* and the *Indies*; they ſeem'd to intend nothing more than to get the preſent Emperor of *Germany*, and to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of *Italy* to themſelves: And the former as well as the late Inſtances they have made for attempting the Reduction of *Sicily*, tho' at the Expence of diverting part of that Force which was applied to the War of *Spain*, pointed the ſame way.

In *Holland* a Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſeem'd almoſt the general Scheme, and the Conduct of that Republick, as well as the Confeſſion of its Miniſters, ſhew'd that the Project of driving *Philip* out of *Spain*, was look'd upon there to be a mere Chimera.

Soon after the Death of the Emperor *Joſeph*, Her Majeſty had been acquainted, that ſome of the Princes of the Empire thought it a Point which deſerv'd the moſt ſerious Reflection, whether they ſhould ſuffer the *Imperial* and *Spaniſh* Crowns to be united on the ſame Head, and whether it might not be proper in the Capitulation of the Empire, to inſiſt on the ſeparating of them. Other Members of the Grand Alliance, and thoſe the only Two with whom His Majeſty had enter'd into any formal Engagement for recovering the entire *Spaniſh* Monarchy, repreſented upon the ſame Occaſion againſt placing this Crown on the Emperor's Head. It was urged by one of the moſt conſiderable Princes in the Alliance; That the Principle upon which he Engag'd in the War was now alter'd, and that inſtead of Fighting, to procure the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, his Intereſt, and even his Safety requir'd that he ſhould Fight to prevent it.

The Caſe therefore ſtood thus, the preſent Emperor even after his Brother's Death, and his own Election, would content himſelf with nothing leſs than the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and inſiſted that the War ſhould be proſecuted in this View. Of the other Allies, ſome look'd on this Project as Chimerical, others as dangerious; from whence it follows, that to keep the Grand Alliance united in this Principle was impracticable; and it muſt be allow'd, that to have alter'd this Principle, to have changed ſo many Treaties, to have reconcil'd ſo many different different Intereſts, and to have formed a Syſtem entirely New in the midſt of the War, was an Experiment too hazardous to be attempted.

In this Situation of Affairs, no time was to be loſt. The Queen knew very well, that Attempts to open a Treaty with *France*, ſeperately from Her, were made by thoſe who clamour'd the loudeſt againſt Her Meaſures. And the preſent Emperor had thought fit, on Board of one Her Majeſty's Ships, and by her own Miniſter, to ſend Her a Meſſage of the ſame Nature. She therefore inſiſted with the *Imperialiſts* and with the *Dutch*, that She would be at ſome Certainty, and that they ſhould comply with Her in the Meaſures, either of War or of Peace.

How the War became impracticable, has already appear'd; what Objections there were to the carrying on a Treaty of Peace come next to be related.

The principal, and indeed the avow'd Diſpute between Her Majeſty and the States, at this time, concern'd the Method of carrying a Negotiation forward; the States pretended that a fair Opportunity would be given to the Miniſters of *France* to divide the Confederates, if they were ſuffer'd to meet together in a general Congreſs, before the eſſential Articles of Peace were ſettled by ſpecifick Preliminaries; the Uſe which had been made of this Method on a former Occaſion, to evade the concluding of any Peace, when according to the Confeſſion of the *Dutch* Miniſters themſelves, the Differences on which the Allies and *France* broke off, did not deſerve the Life of a ſingle Soldier, gave no great Encouragement to purſue the ſame again; beſides which, as the Queen would not take upon Her to ſettle the Intereſts of Others, neither would ſhe ſuffer

Others,

Others to determine thoſe of Her own Kingdoms; and if all the Confederates were to aſſemble, in order to adjuſt a Preliminary Treaty, the Objection made by the States, return'd upon them.

In *December* 1711, the States concur'd with Her Majeſty, in fixing the Place of the Treaty, appointed the Day on which the Congreſs ſhould open, inviting the Allies to ſend their Miniſters thither, and giving the neceſſary Paſſports to the Plenipotertaries of *France*; and, if nothing had happen'd, to revive the Spirit of thoſe who were Bent againſt the Peace, it is highly probable, by the little Time which it coſt to conclude moſt of the Treaties, after the Conferences that had been interrupted, were reſum'd at *Utrecht*; and the Allies proceeded in earneſt to Negotiate, that the Treaties of all the Confederates with *France*, might have been finiſhed before the Seaſon of opening the Campaign in 1712. But before Monſieur *Buys* returned into *Holland*, or the Conferences could begin, the Efforts were renewed with the greateſt Vigour to break off the Negotion; the Cry againſt the Peace, by which *Spain* and the *Indies* ſhould be left to any Branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, became louder than ever, and Letters and Memorials were not only delivered but printed, and Appeals made againſt Her Majeſty's Proceedings to all *Europe*, and even to Her own Subjects.

On theſe Encouragements, the good Diſpoſition towards Peace, receiv'd a Check; and ſome of thoſe who had own'd themſelves againſt the Proſecution of the War, to recover the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, join'd now under this very Pretence to break the Meaſures of Peace. The Treatment which Her Majeſty met with at this time, will appear in the cleareſt Light, from this Circumſtance. The Miniſter of the States General propoſed to Her Majeſty's Servants, that conſidering the Difficulties which the Queen lay under, how impoſſible it was to recover by War, or by Treaty, the *Spaniſh* Monarchy from King *Philip*; and how impoſſible he likewiſe apprehended it to be, in the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs, for Her Majeſty to carry any Negotiation on, by which this Monarchy ſhould be left to *Philip*, he was ready to extricate Her Majeſty from this Dilemma, and to ſkreen Her Miniſters in carrying on the Work which they had begun, in the Name of his Maſters, to preſent a Memorial, by which, the Point of obtaining *Spain* and the *Indies* ſhould be given up, provided that he might be aſſured that the *Dutch* ſhould have an equal Share with Her Majeſty's Subjects in the Aſſiento, which Contract, he ſuppoſed it was ſtipulated, ſhould be made with *Great Britain*.

From the Cauſes, and by the Steps which have been here mentioned, was the Diſ-union among the Allies arrived to the higheſt Pitch, at the opening of the Conferences in the Month of *January* 1711-12, when the ſtricteſt Union amongſt them was then more than ever neceſſary; and when the whole Fruit of thoſe Succeſſes, wherewith God has bleſſed their Cauſe in the Courſe of the War, depended on it, they ſent their ſeveral Plenipotentiaries to *Utrecht*; but it was very apparent, that moſt of them acted on that Maxim which one of them profeſſed, That giving into the Meaſures of Peace, was the ſureſt way to continue the War. They flattered themſelves, that the Imperial Miniſters, in Conjunction with thoſe of *Britain*, had two Years before baffled the Deſigns of *Holland* to make Peace, and that it would be at leaſt as eaſy for the Miniſters

of the Emperor, in Conjunction with thoſe of the States General, to render Fruitleſs at this time all Her Majeſty's Endeavours to the ſame End. After this it will not appear ſurprizing, if the utmoſt Dexterity was exerted to Delay the Entring on Buſineſs at *Utrecht*, and to wait for the Events of the Campaign.

On the 29th of *January* 1711-12, the firſt General Conference was held between the Miniſters of the Allies and thoſe of *France*; and by the beginning of *April* a Diſpute was ſet on Foot, concerning the Method of Proceeding, which made all Treaty impracticable, and which was kept up till a Quarrel happening between One of the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, and One of the *States*, a new Obſtruction was created to take Place, and to anſwer the Ends of the Firſt.

The *French* had made their Overtures in Writing, the Allies had likewiſe given in their Demands in Writing: And the Queſtion aroſe, Whether the *French* were obliged to give a Specifick Anſwer in Writing, or Whether they ſhould now proceed in the Negotiation by debating with the ſeveral Allies agreeably to the Method uſed in former Congreſſes. By the Minutes of the *Protocol*, to which the *French* Miniſters Appealed, it appeared that they were under no ſuch Obligation: But between the Second of *April* and the Fifth, Count *Zinzendorff* had been at the *Hague*, where the Reſolution was taken to carry Things to Extremity, that is, not to treat with the Miniſters of the moſt Chriſtian King, unleſs they gave an Anſwer in Writing; and Orders were accordingly ſent by the States to their Plenipotentiaries. The Deſign was laid upon this to have broke off all further Treaty; but this Deſign was diſappointed by the Declaration which the *French* Miniſters made on the Sixth, that their Inſtructions allowed them to go no further than they had offered, but that they would write to the King their Maſter to know his Pleaſure. After which, during Three Months time, there was not ſo much as any Step made on the part of the Allies for an Anſwer from the *French*, though at the ſame time the *Imperialiſts* were puſhing to get the Congreſs broke, or at leaſt Her Majeſty's Miniſters excluded.

In *Auguſt* the 2d Obſtructions took Place, and that trifling, as the Occaſion of it may ſeem, was ſo manag'd, that till the 30th of *January*, N. S. 1712-13, the Difficulty could not be Overcome.

Ten Months having been loſt at *Utrecht*, and the Succeſs of the Campaign not having anſwer'd the Deſign of thoſe who projected the breaking off the Treaty by the Operations of the Army, the Miniſters of the Allies made no further Difficulty to proceed in the very Method which Her Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries had from the firſt adviſed. This Method ſucceeded ſo well, that in Two Months after the Negotiation was reſumed, all the Parties in the War made their Peace with *France*, except the Emperor and the Empire; and the Miniſters of theſe Powers had likewiſe brought their Diſputes to ſo narrow a Compaſs, that on the 15th of *May*, 1713, the only Difference between them was concerning the Marquiſate of *Burgaw*, eſtimated at the yearly Value of about 12000 Crowns.

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In this State of Things Monſieur *Kirchner*, the laſt of the Imperial Miniſters who continued at *Utrecht*, left that Place, and the Emperor's Reſolution was declared of ſupporting that War ſingle, which, aſſiſted by the Queen and the States, he had not been able to carry on with any tolerable Vigour.

It was from this Time eaſy to foreſee, that the Emperor intended to Treat no more at *Utrecht*, and that a ſeparate Negotiation between the Courts of *Vienna* and *France*, whenever it ſhould happen, would not prove very Advantageous to the Empire, or favourable to the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Germany*, of which Her Majeſty had taken early, and (as ſhe hoped) effectual Care, by obliging *France* to Conſent that all Things concerning the State of Religion in the Empire ſhould be ſettled conformably to the Tenour of the Treaties of *Weſtphalia*; in ſuch manner as to make it plainly appear, that the moſt Chriſtian King neither would make nor would have had made any Alteration in the ſaid Treaties. Thus One of the Contracting Parties had already in effect yielded to the Abolition of that Clauſe in the Fourth Article of the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, ſo fatal to the Proteſtant Religion. And if his Imperial Majeſty had concluded his Treaty at *Utrecht*, it is hardly to be believed that in the midſt of many Allies, whoſe Blood had been ſhed, and whoſe Treaſure had been exhauſted in his Cauſe, he would have refuſed to their Joint-Interceſſion, what *France* had complied with on the ſingle Inſtances of the Queen.

It has been already obſerved, That if the Allies, when the Congreſs at *Utrecht* was opened in the beginning of the Year, had in good earneſt gone about their ſeveral Treaties, the Peace might in all probability have been made before the Armies could have taken the Field. It may be neceſſary here to obſerve the State of Affairs at another Period of Time, and another Opportunity loſt of Treating with the greateſt Advantage on our Side, and with the greateſt Probability of Succeſs.

On the 6th of *June*, 1712, Her Majeſty communicated to both Houſes of Parliament upon what Terms a General Peace might be made; thoſe who were againſt any Treaty, and thoſe who entertained Hopes that the Senſe of the Nation would not go along with Her Majeſty's, and that Obſtructions would ariſe even in *Britain* to the Concluſion of the Peace, might have ſeen how vain thoſe Expectations were by the Returns which the Two Houſes made to this Inſtance of Her Majeſty's Condeſcenſion, by the Aſſurances they gave of their Confidence in Her, and of their entire Reliance on Her Wiſdom to finiſh this great and good Work, and by their humble Deſire that ſhe would pleaſe to proceed in the preſent Negotiations for obtaining a ſpeedy Peace. Thoſe who pretended only to be againſt the Method of Treating, and who were fond of Specifick Preliminaries, had now the very Thing which they deſired, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty having declared himſelf explicitly and particularly on the moſt Important Points that were to be ſettled in the Treaties of Peace. The Queen was even at that Time not under the leaſt Obligation, but at full Liberty to have proceeded on the Negotiation, or to have broke it off, according as the *French* had behaved themſelves. But *France* was under the ſtrongeſt Obligations to Her Majeſty, and, by Her Majeſty's Means, to the Allies. The Conceſſions then made on the Part of *France* were made without any Conceſſion

whatever on the Part of the Confederates. If therefore even then they could have been prevailed upon to Unite with the Queen, and with one another during a ſhort Ceſſation of Arms, the General Peace might have been ſecured; or if that had failed, we ſhould have got by the Ceſſation into our Hands a Place of greater Importance than we could have expected by the moſt ſucceſsful Campaign to Conquer. But inſtead of improving this happy Conjuncture, the Miniſters who met to treat of Peace, ſeem'd attentive only to what paſs'd in the Field, and *Utrecht* ſeem'd the Scene of no other Buſineſs than unneceſſary Diſputes concerning the Forms of Proceeding, and Negotiations, to accommodate Differences which the Quarrels of Servants had begun.

From theſe unhappy Meaſures were many evil Conſequences derived; and by them were all the ſubſequent Tranſactions affected, particularly thoſe which related to the Intereſt of the *Catalans*.

This People had ſubmitted to the preſent King of *Spain*, on his Acceſſion to the Throne; had taken the Oaths of Fealty to him; and in the Cortez held at *Barcelona* in the Year 1701, and 1702, had receiv'd from him a new Eſtabliſhment of their Privileges; notwithſtanding which, they began, in the Year 1704, to ſhew their Inclinations to a Revolt: And it appears, that in the beginning of the Year 1705, they made Overtures of this kind to the Queen, and that Numbers of them were already actually in Arms. In Compliance therefore with what they deſir'd, and encourag'd by the Aſſurances which ſhe receiv'd, That not only the *Catalans*, but other People of *Spain*, were ready to declare for his preſent Imperial Majeſty, as ſoon as they ſhould ſee any Proſpect of being ſupported in their Revolt: The Queen thought fit to give Directions to the Earl of *Peterborough* and to Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, Joint-Admirals of Her Fleet, on the Firſt of *May*, 1705, to do the beſt they could to induce the *Catalans* to co-operate with them for the Reduction of *Spain*; in order to which, they were empower'd to promiſe, in the Queen's Name, That ſhe would ſecure to them a Confirmation of their Rights and Liberties from the ſaid Prince *Charles* the the Third; but it appears by the ſaid Inſtructions, that inſtead of giving thoſe Aſſurances, the Admirals were to take Meaſures for annoying the Towns on the Coaſt of *Spain*, and for reducing them by Force, unleſs ſuitable Returns from the *Catalans* and *Spaniards* were made to theſe kind Offers, on Her Majeſty's Part. This likewiſe appears to have been the Meaſure, by which the Queen proceeded, from the Commiſſion, Credentials and Inſtructions given to Mr. *Crowe*, who was ſent to *Genoa* in *March*, 1705. Beſides which, it is alſo to be obſerv'd, That after the Earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* were arriv'd with Her Majeſty's Fleet at *Liſbon*, it ſtill remain'd for ſome Time uncertain, what Deſign they ſhould proſecute; and this Uncertainty hindered them from preſſing the People of *Catalonia*, whilſt King *Charles* rather check'd than incited them; ſo that when the Queen's Forces proceeded on the Service, the *Catalans* were look'd upon to be the Principals, and We only Acceſſaries in the War. From all which it is evident, that the Landing of the Earl of *Peterborough* in *Catalonia*, and her Majeſty's entring into that part of the War, was in conſequence of the Solicitations of the *Catalans* and other *Spaniards* affected to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and that all the Engagements which ſhe gave to theſe People, went no farther than the obtaining from King *Charles* the Third, a Confirmation of their Rights

and

and Privileges; and altho' Her Majeſty offer'd, at that time, to give a Guaranty for the ſame, and to enter into a Treaty with thoſe People; yet it does not appear that ſuch a Guaranty was ever given, or that ſuch a Treaty was ever made.

This being the State of the Queen's Engagement to the People of that Province, there could have been no Doubt of making them good in every part, had the Events of the War and other Circumſtances, rendered the placing his Imperial Majeſty on the Throne of *Spain* practicable; and as there is as little Doubt, that beſides what has been obtain'd by Her Majeſty for the *Catalans*, the Confirmation of all their Privileges would likewiſe have been procured from His Catholick Majeſty, had not the Conduct of the Emperor, ſingly, prevented it.

In the Year 1712, it has been already ſaid, that altho' the faireſt Proſpect of making a General Peace was open'd, yet his Imperial Majeſty continued in his Reſolution not to make it. The Queen on the other Hand, was under a Neceſſity of purſuing the Meaſures ſhe had taken, and thereby not only of agreeing to a Ceſſation of Arms, but alſo of withdrawing Her Troops out of the Province of *Catalonia*, the Supplies granted by Parliament for that Year, having been ſo Calculated, that the whole Eſtabliſhment was given only for the firſt Quarter, and One Third of Four Millions of Crowns for the other three Quarters conditionally, that the Emperor and the States-General would take upon themſelves the other two Thirds, which in Fact neither of them did.

Under theſe Circumſtances it was plain, that the *Catalans* would be left without any Terms made in their Behalf; and, that the Empreſs, and Imperial Forces who remain'd in that Province, would be expoſed to the greateſt Difficulties and Dangers: The Queen therefore took, immediately, all the Care ſhe could to prevent theſe Misfortunes, and at the ſame time to ſecure and ſtrengthen His Imperial Majeſty, as far as lay in Her Power, notwithſtanding the Treatment ſhe had received, and the Juſt Provocation ſhe had to leave him to ſtruggle with the Conſequences of his own Meaſures.

At the latter End of this Year 1712. Her Majeſty ſet a Treaty on Foot for the Evacuation of *Catalonia*, and for the Neutrality of *Italy:* Her Majeſty's Aim by the firſt Part of this Treaty was to ſecure the Return of the Empreſs and Imperial Troops; and ſince ſhe could no longer ſupport the *Catalans* by Her Arms, to provide for them by Terms of Peace. Her Majeſty's Aim in the ſecond Part, was to leave as little Room as poſſible for *France* or *Spain* to attack his Imperial Majeſty, when the Treaties between Her Majeſty and the States-General ſhould be concluded with the Moſt Chriſtian King; the Queen conſider'd that theſe Treaties and the Barrier of the States, would ſecure the 10 Provinces of the *Netherlands* from any Invaſion, and by this Convention for a Neutrality in *Italy*: The Emperor's Territories in that Country were likewiſe cover'd, ſo that by the Care which Her Majeſty took, ſince he was determin'd to run the Riſque of continuing ſingle in the War, he would lie open on no Frontier but that of the *Rhine*, where by the ſame Means he would be able conſiderably to increaſe his Strength as well with Draughts out of *Italy*, as with the *Germans* and other Forces which were to be tranſported from *Spain*.

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It was not ſooner than the End of *January* 1712-13, that by the good Offices of her Majeſty's Miniſters at *Utrecht*, the *Imperial* and *French* Plenipotentiaries were brought to meet upon this Negotiation; and in the mean time Her Majeſty endeavour'd as well by Her own Miniſter at *Madrid*, as by preſſing the *Spaniſh* Miniſter, who was then here, to introduce the Catholick King to facilitate this Matter as much as poſſible, and particularly on the Head of the Privileges of the *Catalans*, in which the Miniſter of *France* concur'd with the greateſt Earneſtneſs; but it ſoon appear'd that his Catholick Majeſty, who ſaw the Advantage which the Conduct of the Imperial Court gave him, would hardly be prevail'd on to grant any thing more than a general Act of Oblivion, and a Reſtitution of Honours and Eſtates.

On the 14th of *March*, *N. S.* 1713, the Convention of the Neutrality of *Italy*, and the Evacution of *Catalonia* was executed by Her Majeſty's Miniſters, on the Behalf of the Emperor; and by thoſe of *France* on behalf of the King of *Spain*; and the Article concerning the Privileges of the *Catalans* was left undetermin'd; a Right being reſerv'd to Her Majeſty to inſiſt whenever the Emperor ſhould treat of Peace, that theſe Privileges ſhould be preſerv'd to them, and the moſt *Chriſtian* King declaring that he would concur with the Queen to the ſame End.

In *May* 1713, the Treaty of Peace between Her Majeſty and the *Catholick* King was ſigned proviſionally here, and in *July* definitively at *Utrecht*, whereby there is not only an abſolute Amneſty, with a full Poſſeſſion of all their Eſtates and Honours, but alſo the Privileges of the *Caſtilians* granted to the *Catalans*; which Article is at leaſt in this Reſpect conſiderable, that the People of *Catalonia* are thereby entitled to hold an Employment in the *Weſt-Indies*, or to Trade directly thither in as full and ample manner, as the People of *Caſtile*; from which they were formerly as much excluded as any Foreign Nation whatever.

The Preſervation of their ancient Privileges, is neither granted nor directly refuſed by this Article, ſo that the Queen, either when the Peace ſhall come to be treated between their *Imperial* and *Catholick* Majeſties, or any other favourable Occaſion which may offer it's ſelf, is at Liberty to renew Her Applications upon this Head. In the mean time it is certain, that the Refuſal of the People of this Principality, as well as of the Iſland of *Majorca*, to ſubmit to the *Catholick* King, when in purſuance of the Treaty of Neutrality theſe Countries were Evacuated by the Emperor's Forces, and their obſtinate Reſiſtance ſince that Time, muſt have rendered the obtaining of their Privileges ſtill more difficult, if that be poſſible, than it was.

If the ancient Privileges of theſe People in their full Extent were not obtained, it muſt be attributed to thoſe who rendred it impracticable to treat effectually for them, before the withdrawing of the Queen's Forces out of *Catalonia*; and if their Condition is become ſince more deſperate, thoſe are only to anſwer for it, who have encourag'd them not to ſubmit a ſecond Time to their Prince, with the Hopes of Relief, which they who gave ſuch Hopes, muſt have known themſelves in no Condition of making good.

From

From this State of the ſeveral Treaties between Her Majeſty, Her Allies, and *France* and *Spain*, by this Account of the general Negotiations, and of the particular Caſe of the *Catalans*; the Reaſonableneſs of all the Steps Her Majeſty has taken, and thoſe Deſigns which have been purſued at firſt, to wreſt the Negotiation out of Her Hands, and ſince to unravel all that has been done, and to throw us into Confuſion, will ſufficiently appear.

A Short NARRATIVE of the Life and Death of *JOHN RHINHOLDT*, Count PATKUL, a Nobleman of *Livonia*, who was broke alive upon the Wheel in *Great Poland*, *Anno* 1707. Together with the Manner of his *Execution*: Written by the *Lutheran* Miniſter, who aſſiſted him in his laſt Hours. Faithfully Tranſlated out of *High-Dutch* Manuſcript; and now Publiſh'd for the Information of Count *Gyllenborg*'s *Engliſh* Friends. By Lord MOLESWORTH. Printed in the Year 1717.

April 8. 1717.

To the BOOKSELLER.

Mr. Goodwin,

YOU tell me you are importun'd every Day by Perſons of Diſtinction, to publiſh ſome Account of the Life and Death of Count Patkul; *and you have importun'd me in your Turn, to furniſh you with ſuch Memoirs as I had by me, relating to* Sweden, *wherein that unfortunate Gentleman has been mention'd; that you might, in ſome Meaſure, ſatisfy the impatient Curioſity of your Friends. I have yielded to your repeated Deſires, with too much Haſte for a Performance of this Kind, wherein it was neceſſary to add a few Reflections naturally ariſing from the Subject: But knowing how great the Expectations were, of ſome very ill-minded Men among us, and how great the Apprehenſions of many good ones, from this King of* Sweden, *and his deſigned Expedition, I would not delay it. Gentlemen of both theſe Sorts may from hence learn, what they are to fear, or hope for, from a Magnanimity ſo wrong turn'd; and an utter Ignorance of all Laws, and Liberties; with an Impaticnce of Contradiction, beyond what has appeared in the World theſe Five Hundred Years paſt. If your Profit may be joined with other Peoples Pleaſure and Inſtruction, by this my Compliance with your earneſt Requeſt, I have my Ends, and I hope you have yours.*

I am, Your Affectionate Friend, and Servant.

THE Ruining of all the Old Nobility and Gentry of *Sweden* by the Reduction, Reſumption, or Re-union of the Crown-Lands, (for it had all theſe Names) cauſed there ſuch an odd Kind of univerſal Miſery and Deſolation, that the like was never before known in any Part of *Europe*. It fell heavieſt upon the moſt Noble and Wealthy of that Kingdom; whoſe Families, from the greateſt Affluence, were immediately reduced to the utmoſt Degree of Poverty: And ſuch Numbers of Gentlemen were oppreſſed by this Project, that the Clamours in all the Provinces and Towns, of Perſons of the beſt Quality periſhing for want of Bread, was enough to have moved the moſt obdurate Hearts to Pity and Compaſſion.

One might have ſeen thoſe of the firſt Quality, who but a few Months before had lived in the higheſt Splendor, in well furniſh'd Palaces, attended by numerous Domeſticks, provided of large and magnificent Services of Plate, now (in a manner) begging with their Wives and Children, with ſcarce ſufficient Cloaths to cover them. Several of the poor Noblemen and Gentlemen wandred through the Neighbouring Countries in this ſad Condition, imploring the Commiſeration and Aſſiſtance of all good People, and ſending up their frequent Looks and Groans to Heaven; while others were forced to undergo the Weight of their Calamities at home, if that can be properly called Home, where the miſerable have neither Means nor Dwelling.

And the moſt grievous Circumſtance, among many bad ones, was this; That the Perſons thus treated, were for the moſt part ſuch whoſe Families had merited beſt from the Crown, and had ſpent their Blood and Fortunes in its Service.

This Deſtruction of all the better Sort, drew along with it that of thoſe who depended on them; ſuch as their Creditors, their Relations and Friends, who were bound for them; of infinite Number of Manufacturers, Merchants, and Traders employ'd by them; and in ſhort, exceeded in moſt Men's Opinion, any of thoſe, hitherto eſteemed, the ſevereſt of God's Judgments, War, Peſtilence and Famine.

The Parliaments of *Sweden*, (named there the Eſtates,) were made ſubſervient to the Execution of this inhuman Deſign; which in their ſeveral Seſſions between the Years 1680 and 1687, they brought to the Perfection 'twas then in; and did withal ſo thoroughly rivet the Work of their own enſlaving, that all future Meetings of Parliament were rendered unneceſſary. There is not henceforth any Occaſion to make them ſo much as the Covers for Tyrannical Proceedings, or Screens between the King and the People. A fatal Document, how the very beſt Inſtitutions, when perverted, are moſt capable of being employed to the Accompliſhment of the worſt Ends and the greateſt Miſchiefs.

It will be needleſs to enlarge upon the Particulars, and the Methods taken in this Reduction; all the Books which have given any late Accounts of *Sweden*, being full of them; only in ſhort; That after the War, King *Charles* XI. Father

ther of the preſent King, imputed the ill State the Kingdom was then it, *viz.* in the Year 1680. to the foregoing evil Counſels of the Prime Noblemen, Senators, and Miniſters; and cauſed a ſelect Committee out of each of the Three Eſtates, to meet and ſearch the Regiſters, wherein every Senator ſets his Hand to the Advice he gives, and to compute the Damage proceeding, or ſuppoſed to proceed from every Advice; according to which they taxed each Senator, in proportion, towards making it good; which the whole Fortunes, that were hereupon taken from them, were found inſufficient to make Satisfaction for; there being no Rebate for any Sums which the Crown owed to them.

After ſome Time, a College of Reductions was Inſtituted, wherein all Donations of the Crown, for ſeveral paſt Generations, were reſumed without any further Enquiry.

And all Crown-Lands, tho' purchas'd from the Crown, which lay within ſix Miles of any of the King's Caſtles.

As alſo all other Crown-Lands which were judged to have been Sold at an Under-Value; and this Rated according to the preſent Improvement, not what they were firſt bought at. In this Caſe indeed the King allowed 5 *l. per Cent.* to him that had paid down ready Money; but if the Income had exceeded that Intereſt, as it commonly did after ſo long a Tract of Time, 8 *l. per Cent.* was exacted for the Intereſt of the Overplus from the Day of the Purchaſe, which eat the whole Eſtate, and ſo the Lands infallibly returned to the Crown. Nay, it was a great Favour if the Crown accepted of the Eſtate for the ſuppoſed Debt, without charging any other Eſtate the Purchaſer was poſſeſſed of, to make good the Deficiency.

At firſt, about 700 Guilders *per Ann.* was allow'd to ſuch poor Purchaſers, as a Maintenance to them and their Families; but this was preſently, in another Seſſion of Parliament, taken from them, and given to the Crown.

Nothing but the moſt arbitrary Government (ſupported by the Face of a Parliament, and a real Army in Time of a profound Peace) could have ſubſiſted after ſuch an exorbitant Seizure of the Subjects Property. But the entire Subverſion of Laws, has now (after 36 Years) ſilenced the Clamours of the Perſons concern'd. Moſt of them are in their Graves, and their Children have forgot their Anceſtors were ever Freemen. And if ſome of them remember it, 'tis to little or no Purpoſe; for theſe re-united Crown-Lands are now applied to the Maintenance of this conſtant Standing Army, wherein both Officers and Soldiers live upon the reſumed Farms, and their Income paſſes not thro' the Hands of cheating Agents or Treaſurers; ſo that their Subſiſtence comes in due Time to them Net, and without any Deductions, which makes Amends for the Smallneſs of it, and keeps the Officers at Home.

At the Time when this Reſumption and Re-union began in *Old Sweden*, *Livonia* was involv'd in the like Calamity, with the Addition of many other intolerable Oppreſſions and Exactions heap'd upon the Inhabitants. Here not only the Nobility and Gentry were reduced to Beggary, in order to put all the opulent Subjects upon the ſame Foot, but all Degrees of People were oppreſs'd without Diſtincton.

Livonia is a large and fertile Province, on *Germany* Side of the *Baltick*; 'tis an Acquiſition of *Sweden* at ſeveral times, partly by Compact, and partly by Conqueſt (within ſomewhat more than the Compaſs of this laſt Century) from the *Poles* and *Muſcovites*: Theſe took it from the Knights of *Jeruſalem*, who had long been Poſſeſſors of it, but, after thoſe Knights were extirpated, could not keep it from the *Swedes*, who promiſed the Inhabitants better Uſage than they had from their former Maſters. A Promiſe ſeldom kept with any conquer'd Country, and never after the Mother Nation has loſt its own Privileges.

The *Livonian* Nobility and Gentry had more to ſay for themſelves than the *Swedes*; that Province being not bound by a *Swediſh* Parliament, but having a Parliament of its own; and therefore (in Hopes of ſome Eaſe and Relief) they ſent a Deputation of ſelect Members of their own Body, to make their Remonſtrances to the *Swediſh* Court. Theſe carried a pathetick Memorial with them, ſetting forth the very great Hardſhips they labour'd under; not without ſome oblique Reflections on what had been done, even in *Old Sweden*: Which Memorial was ſo ſtrongly worded, and contain'd ſo many ſevere Truths, that it gave great Offence to the Projectors at *Stockholm*, and induced them to perſuade the King to oblige thoſe principal Perſons who had ſign'd it, either to make good the Allegations, or to anſwer for the Calumnies contain'd in it. The firſt of theſe was eaſy enough, had there been equal Judges to hear the Cauſe.

One of the chief of theſe Remonſtrators, was *John Reynouldt* Count *Patkul*, a young Gentleman of an Ancient, Noble, and Rich Family: He had a graceful Perſon, ready Wit, fine Addreſs, and great Parts, improv'd by good Learning, and Knowledge of the World: But, above all, was remarkable for being a true Lover of his Country's Liberties. This Gentleman (together with ſome other Counſellors of State) was employ'd by the *Livonian* Nobility to draw up their Memorial; and the wording of it (which was as much approv'd by the *Livonians*, as condemn'd by the Court of *Sweden*) was ſuppos'd to have been the peculiar Work of his Brains and Pen. He therefore (together with ſeveral others of the chief Perſons concern'd) went to *Stockholm* (*a*) by Order: Where he demean'd himſelf ſo extraordinarily handſome, and withal couragiouſly, that King *Charles* the XIth, (tho' he diſlik'd his Cauſe) was very much pleas'd with his Behaviour. He was very familiar with the King, who took ſo much Delight in his Manner of pleading for diſtreſs'd *Livonia*, that when ſome of the King's Miniſters argued againſt *Patkul* with more Warmth, perhaps, than Truth, the King gently clapp'd him on the Shoulder, ſaying, *Courage*, Patkul; *behave thyſelf like a brave and honeſt Man in thy Country's Cauſe*. More than one Attempt was made to gain him to the Court Party; but when they found he was inflexible, and that the Affection he had for his Country's Liberties, was predominant to all other Conſiderations, the Miniſters began, in good Earneſt, to ſtudy his Ruin; and this good Diſpoſition of the King's, was ſoon cool'd by the Repreſentations of the Projectors; who told his Majeſty their Scheme muſt be ſupported, whatever it coſt, elſe he muſt want both Power and Money: That the principal Oppoſers of it muſt be oppreſs'd in the ſevereſt Manner, to the End the Subjects might be convinced, no Remonſtrances ſhould avail

(*a*) 1694, and 1695,

avail them in the leaſt, and thereby be diſcouraged from any Attempts of like Nature for the future.

Patkul being a Man of great Foreſight, was early aware of theſe Practices againſt him; and finding that the Courtiers were reſolved to proceed to the utmoſt Extremity, and that he was likely to be charged with Sedition, upon Pretence that he and his Companions could not fully juſtify, upon the Spot, all the Particulars contained in the Memorial, when perhaps he had but too well juſtified it for the King's and Miniſters Ends, he prudently and ſecretly withdrew; not waiting for the Execution of the Sentence of Death, and Confiſcation of Goods, which was pronounced againſt him, and Two or Three of his Aſſociates; for one of them, whoſe Name was *Schlippenback*, was abſolved, becauſe he recanted his Part in the Memorial; that is, he deſerted his Brethren, and the Cauſe of his Country.

The King, though far from being in his own Temper a merciful Man, was yet convinced in his Conſcience that he was egregiouſly in the Wrong, and would not put to Death thoſe Two or Three which were in his Power, only doom'd them to perpetual Impriſonment. At the Time of his Death, (*b*) which happened about Two Years and a half after, his Confeſſor put him in mind of theſe worthy Sufferers; and laid it home to him, that he ought to pardon them; upon which he Signed an Inſtrument for their Releaſe. He had been inexorable all his Life-time, not only to the Cries of his miſerable abuſed Subjects, but to the continued Prayers and Tears of his incomparable Queen, who often, on her Knees, 'tis ſaid, intreated him to ſhew Mercy to his poor People, and to reſtore them to their Eſtates and Privileges; the like Requeſt ſhe made upon her Death Bed, to her Son, the preſent King of *Sweden*, but with equal ill Succeſs.

As to Count *Patkul*, 'tis confidently affirmed and believed by the *Swedes*, that King *Charles* the XIth himſelf gave him Warning to retire in time; together with his Conſent, that he might go and ſerve any other Prince he pleaſed, principally recommending to him the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*. So glad was the King to be rid of ſo great an Obſtacle to his Arbitrary Procedings, and yet ſo loth to deſtroy unjuſtly, a Perſon of ſuch rare Abilities and Honeſty.

Being thus forced to quit *Sweden*, and *Livonia* his Native Country, where he was Maſter of a very great Eſtate, (moſt of the Revenues of which, he found means to receive Abroad) he was exceedingly eſteemed and careſſed in all the Foreign Courts where he took Shelter; and employed by the ſeveral Princes, in their Wars and Negotiations, for both which he was very well qualified: But the greateſt Uſe he made of his Intereſt, was to engage thoſe Sovereigns to intercede for his Pardon, and his being reſtored to the Favour of the Court of *Sweden*: (For the preſent King *Charles* the XIIth, upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, had pardoned moſt of the other *Livonian* Noble Priſoners, in a general Amneſty he Publiſhed, yet excepted out of it Count *Patkul*, becauſe he had fled:) But all they could do was to no Purpoſe; the King remained obdurate as to *Patkul*. Some ſay that Count *Piper*, his firſt Miniſter, was afraid of the great Genius and Abilities of *Patkul*, and inſpired the King with theſe cruel Sentiments and Reſolutions, in Relation to him; as fearing that *Patkul*, if he were once pardoned, would ſoen become chief Favourite. The Young King having

(*b*) *April* 1697.

having one Day in Diſcourſe commended *Patkul*'s great Abilities, and ſaid, *What a Pity 'tis that* Patkul *is not an honeſt Man? If he were, he wou'd make a Servant fit for the greateſt Prince in the World*: Theſe Words, which the King had let fall in *Piper*'s Hearing, alarm'd that jealous Miniſter ſo much, that he took Care to repreſent *Patkul*'s Actions always in the worſt Light he could, and kept up the Reſentments of a paſſionate young King to the Height, hindering the Effect of the Interceſſions of the Emperor, and of almoſt all the Princes of Chriſtendom in his Behalf, both before and after he came into King *Charles*'s Power.

Patkul hereupon transferr'd his Allegiance, and took Service with King *Auguſtus*, and the Czar of *Muſcovy*, whoſe Ambaſſador he was to the King of *Poland*, at the Time when he was ſeized, and put in Priſon by the latter. This Seizure had been deſired and conſented to, during the extravagant Mirth at an Entertainment in *Poland*, given to both Kings in the Time of an Interview, upon Inſinuation that he had made Miſchief between them. For *Patkul*'s Honeſty and Integrity never left him; he could not endure to ſee, (much leſs to be an Actor in) any Thing he thought mean and diſhonourable, and often found Fault with what was amiſs in their Dealings and Oeconomy; and ſpoke his Mind ſo freely to theſe Princes, as to their little Regard to the Faith of Treaties, that he vexed them both. They neither of them liked his free Temper, though they had often made uſe of his Perſon, and Money; and thus at laſt were the Occaſion of his Ruin and Death, which they neither of them intended. For when the Heat of their Paſſion was over, they were convinced they themſelves were in Fault, not he; and the Eſteem they had for his Parts and Probity, took its own Place again with them; but they repented when it was too late. King *Charles*'s March into *Saxony* was ſudden, and altogether unexpected; and when he came thither, he ſoon became abſolute Maſter of every Thing. He found *Patkul* in a Priſon, where King *Auguſtus* had put him, rather with an Intent to humble him a little, than to ruin him; but this King's Meaſures of every Kind were broken to Pieces.

Patkul had ſerved as a Major General, and a Lieutenant-General, in all thoſe Wars; but always deſiring and endeavouring at a Reconciliation with *Sweden*, not by betraying any Truſt repoſed in him, but openly and honourably. This as has been ſaid before, could by no means be effected. The King of *Sweden*, and his Miniſters, were moſt obſtinately bent againſt him; no Prayers, no Money, no Humiliations, no Interceſſions of the greateſt Potentates in *Europe*, could prevail over the Intereſted Views of his Enemies, and the high Spirit, and harſh Temper of the King.

Tho' he had been excepted out of the firſt general Pardon, yet upon the breaking out of the War, when the King publiſhed his *Avocatoria*, for all his Subjects to return out of Foreign Service; *Patkul*'s Enemies, in order to Enhance his Crime, cauſed him to be Summoned by Name in theſe *Avocatoria*; though at that Time apparently none of the King of *Sweden*'s Subject; and the *Swediſh* Miniſters knew he durſt not, if he had ever ſo great an Inclination, return to *Sweden*, being already a Condemned Perſon, who wou'd have been executed as a Traytor, had he obey'd the *Avocatoria*: But they were reſolved to

make

make ſure Work with him; and upon his not appearing, got him a Second Time condemn'd to Death for his Contumacy.

What could a Gentleman of Honour do otherwiſe than Count *Patkul* did in his Circumſtances? He uſed all lawful Means to preſerve his own and his Country's juſt Liberties; he joined in dutiful Romonſtrances, he pleaded in Perſon for them; and when he ſaw theſe Methods were conſidered as capital Crimes, and that he was doom'd to die for them, by the Advice of his King he withdrew into a Place of Safety. He enter'd indeed into the Service of Foreign Princes, who before that time had been at War with *Sweden*, and had promiſed him to reſtore *Livonia* to its Antient Freedom, tho' they could not accompliſh it. But upon the preſent King of *Sweden*'s Acceſſion to the Crown, he had uſed all Endeavours, even by the Conſent of thoſe Princes, to be reconciled, tho' upon the hard Condition of acquieſcing in what had been done againſt his Country. He and all the World thought he had a Right to transfer his Allegiance when his firſt Maſter would not afford him a Protection which he had not forfeited. Notwithſtanding which, ſo great was his Inclination to be reſtored to the King of *Sweden*'s Favour and Service, that he valued no Riches or Preferments elſewhere in compariſon. He was unfortunate to the laſt Degree; for he might have come out of the Priſon wherein he was confin'd, if he would; but he ſcorned to do it before he had a Reparation of Honour. In the mean time the King of *Sweden* came, and nothing would ſerve this irritated Monarch, but poor *Patkul*'s Life: The delivering of him up was made one of the Articles of the Treaty, tho' much conteſted by King *Auguſtus*; who alledged that it was a Violation of the Laws of Nations, *Patkul* being then the *Czar*'s Plenipotentiary and Ambaſſador.

But King *Charles* proteſted he would not leave *Saxony* without him; and accordingly he was put into the King of *Sweden*'s Power, on the 7th of *April* 1707. From that Time to *Michaelmas* following, he was kept in Cuſtody of ſeveral Regiments, during the long March of that gallant Army, which the King of *Sweden* had gather'd together in *Saxony*; and then the King being advanced as far as *Caſimir* in *Great Poland*, was reſolv'd to make him a horrid Example of his Cruelty, (falſely called, his Juſtice) and had him executed in a ſmall Village upon the March, to the great Diſguſt of the Army, which could not forbear ſhewing its Diſlike at ſo unuſual and terrible a Spectacle. But you ſhall have a more particular Relation of the manner of his Death, from the Chaplain who then aſſiſted him, after I have taken Notice of what our News-Papers, and the *Swediſh* Partizans themſelves have ſaid of this Affair.

In a Book called *The State of* Europe, [*March* 1707. *p.* 135.] you will find the following Accounts.

" King *Auguſtus* has been obliged, by a lawleſs Neceſſity, to deliver up " General *Patkul* to the *Swedes*, though he is very ſenſible that the *Laws of* " *Nations* have been violated in this Caſe. That Gentleman was Envoy Ex- " traordinary of the *Czar*, and in that Reſpect his Perſon ought to have been " Sacred. But few Men are capable of containing themſelves within Bounds " during their Proſperity: The *Swedes* act as if they were perſuaded that For- " tune will be always at their Command. But as all Sublunary Things are

" liable

" liable to Changes and Viciſſitudes, it may very well happen that they will " repent, ſome time or other, the ill Precedent they have made at this time; " and, if I ſhould live till then, I could not but bleſs the Divine Providence " for it. Princes are, after all, but creeping Worms before the Almighty, " and no leſs ſubject to the Rules of Juſtice than the reſt of Mortals. But " ſome think thoſe *Rules were not made for them; and their Paſſion and Intereſt* " *are the only Guides of their Actions.*

" Letters from *Poland* tell us, That Lieutenant General *Patkul* was broke " alive upon the Wheel, and afterwards Beheaded and Quartered, as a Rebel " to his Sovereign, and the chief Promoter of this War, *&c.* (*c*)

" The late General *Patkul* has made ſo much Noiſe in the World, and *his* " *Death is ſo remarkable*, that it will not be amiſs to give ſome Account of " that Unfortunate Man. (*d*)

" We cou'd wiſh it had been written by an Impartial Hand: For one who " appears ſo entirely in the Intereſt of *Sweden*, may have diſguiſed the Truth " in ſeveral Reſpects. Whatever it be, 'tis certain that *Patkul* was Born a " Subject to the King of *Sweden*, and that he was put to Death as a Rebel; " but we do not deſign to examine here, how far it is lawful for a Man to " transfer his Allegiance, nor whether or no the Practice of moſt Nations in " the World, as to that Point, has any reaſonable Grounds. But I make bold " to ſay, that whoſoever will enquire into the Original Cauſe of Societies and " Politick Government, will be tempted to believe, that the Severity uſed in " this Caſe is hardly to be juſtified before the Tribunal of Sound Reaſon, and " Natural Equity. The *Roman* Orator had a better Idea of the Liberty of " Mankind, than our Modern Politicians; and affirms, *That no Man ought to* " *be conſtrain'd againſt his Will to remain in a Society, nor to quit it unleſs he* " *pleaſes.*

But let us ſee what the *Swedes* themſelves ſay of *Patkul.*

" *John Rheynouldt Patkul* was born in *Livonia*, of a Noble and Honourable " Family: His Parents took a great deal of Care to give him a good Educa- " tion, to which Nature contributed very much; ſo that he learned the Sciences " with a great deal of Eaſe. He was vey virtuous during his Youth, and was " blameable only for his Avarice. He travelled much into Foreign Countries, " and applied himſelf to acquire the Languages, and a conſiderable Knowledge " in the Affairs of State; in which he ſucceeded very well. He was very " pleaſant in Converſation, and knew perfectly to give an Appearance of Truth " to the greateſt Falſities; but was impatient of Contradiction. He began to " raiſe his Fortune in *Livonia*, and was made firſt a Captain in 1695. He " and three other *Livenians*, as Counſellors of State, ſent a Memorial to King " *Charles* the XIth, concerning the State of the Country, which was found to " be of dangerous Conſequence. Upon this they were ſent for to *Stockholm*, " to declare themſelves more expreſly upon it. But *Patkul* perceiving, that " he could not juſtify what was writ, and that he was likely to be charg'd with " Sedition, retir'd privately, without ſtaying for the Execution of the Sentence, " by which he and his two Friends were condemn'd to Death and Confiſca- " tion;

(*c*) Idem. *p.* 454. *Oct.* 1707.
(*d*) Id. *p.* 31, 32, 33, 34. Vol. 19. *Jan.* 1708.

" tion; but the third, call'd *Schlippenbach*, was abſolved, becauſe he did not " approve the above-mention'd Memorial, and was afterwards a Major-Gene- " ral in the *Swediſh* Service. *Charles* the XIth, mixing Clemency with Juſtice, " did not execute the Sentence to the Rigour, and deſign'd only to have kept " them in perpetual Priſon.

" When *Charles* the XIIth, the preſent King came to the Throne in 1697, he " pardon'd the reſt at his Coronation, but excepted *Patkul* becauſe he had fled; " and having carry'd himſelf in ſuch a Manner, as he durſt not return to his " Country, he went from one Court to another to ſollicit a War againſt his Na- " tive Country. and ſought all Occaſions to annoy it. At laſt he came to King " *Auguſtus*'s Court in *Poland*, where he found moſt Credit, and by his ſmooth " Tongue made him believe that it was eaſy to reduce *Livonia* under the Do- " minion of *Poland*; and ſo much the more, that there was no Troops to defend " it, and that the Inhabitants were ſo diſaffected, that they wanted only an Op- " portunity to ſhake of the *Swediſh* Yoke. He added, that the King of *Sweden* " had no Troops on Foot, except a few Regiments in the Country, [or *Militia*] " which being undiſciplin'd, were not in a Condition to do any Service; that " his Revenues were ſo much exhauſted, as made the King unable to bring Ar- " mies into the Field, and much more to equip a ſufficient Fleet to tranſport " Troops into *Livonia*. By theſe and ſuch like Arguments, he impoſed upon " King *Auguſtus*, who (as he has ſince declared) could never have believed the " King of *Sweden* to have had ſo many, or ſo well diſciplin'd Troops; or that " his Subjects had been ſo loyal, or his Revenues ſo conſiderable, as to carry on " the War in ſuch a Manner as he ſince found he did.

" *Patkul*'s Repreſentations prevailed ſo far, as to kindle a War between King " *Auguſtus* and *Sweden*; and that Prince following *Patkul*'s Advice) ſent ſome " Thouſands of *Saxons* into *Swediſh Courland*, on Pretence of keeping thoſe " People in Obedience; but his true Deſign was, to make himſelf Maſter of " *Livonia*. *Patkul* followed this Detachment, and was their Counſellor and " Leader. A little after the Beginning of 1700, when all was Peace, and the " *Swedes* expected no ſuch Thing, the *Saxons* fell into *Livonia*, and took the " Forts of *Dunamund* and *Cobrots*; after which *Patkul* attacked *Riga*, the Capi- " tal Town of the Country, and its chief Defence; but miſcarrying in his De- " ſign, he ſatisfied himſelf to ravage the Country with his *Saxon* Troops, and ad- " viſed thoſe of *Livonia* to ſubmit to King *Auguſtus*; alledging it was impoſſible " for them to receive any Relief at that Seaſon of the Year, promis'd them a " mild Government under his Adminiſtration, and aſſur'd them of King *Au-* " *guſtus*'s Protection; and ſeveral other Things of that Nature. He wrote alſo " to his Mother, who liv'd further up the Country. ſent for her to come to him " and pretended he had taken Arms for her Defence; but ſhe abhorr'd him ſo " much, that ſhe would not own him.

" At the beginning of this War, the King of *Sweden* publiſh'd his *Avocatoria*, " by which he order'd all his Subjects in King *Auguſtus*'s Service (and *Patkul* " by Name) to return to *Sweden*, on Pain of Death; [*Mark, that he had before at his Acceſſion to the Crown, excepted him out of the General Pardon; though his Father King* Charles *the* XIth, *had given him Leave to quit* Sweden.] But he " continuing in his Rebellion and Diſobedience, was a ſecond time condemned

" to die. This made no Impreſſion on him, ſo that he continu'd his Practices " againſt his Country; and inſtead of endeavouring to recover his Prince's Fa- " vour, he perſuaded King *Auguſtus* to beſiege *Riga* the Beginning of that " Year; but he was oblig'd to raiſe the Siege again in a few Weeks after he had " begun it.

" *Denmark* began at the ſame time to raiſe ſome Troubles in *Holſtein*, which " were ſoon after appeaſed. 'Tis needleſs to mention the Reaſons of thoſe " Troubles, nor how they began, ſince theſe Things are well enough known, " but only that *Patkul* continually endeavour'd to add Fuel to the Flames.

" The *Czar* being perſuaded by General *Patkul* to enter into a War againſt " *Sweden*, raiſed a formidable Army to that End, and puſh'd on the War with " Vigour, in Conjunction with King *Auguſtus*; and *Patkul* not only commanded " the *Saxon* Troops, as Major-General, in the Actions which paſſed in *Poland*, " but went Journeys for the *Czar*, and King *Auguſtus*, to advance their Military " Preparations; having a perfect Knowledge of the State of the King of *Swe-* " *den*'s Forces, ſo that all Enterprizes he judg'd neceſſary, were approv'd, and " put in Execution againſt his Country, as far as poſſible. When any Treaty " of Accommodation with *Sweden* was ſet on Foot, he conſtantly oppoſed the " ſame, and was the Cauſe that the War in the *North* continued ſo long. In " *Saxony* he diſperſed ſeveral injurious Libels againſt his own Country. In " 1702, he enter'd into the *Czar*'s Service, becauſe his Ambition and Avarice " were inſatiable; and the *Czar* granting him better Terms, he left the Court " of *Saxony*, with which he could not agree.

" Being very fit for Negotiations, the *Czar* ſent him to ſeveral Courts of " *Germany* to negociate his Affairs; and there he furniſh'd his Army with Fo- " reign Officers, and other Neceſſaries. After this he return'd to *Ruſſia*, to " give the *Czar* an Account of his Succeſs, and in a little time the *Czar* ſent " him as his Plenipotentiary to King *Auguſtus*, where he alſo commanded the " Auxiliary Troops which were ſent to that Prince. In 1704, he was detach'd " with ſome thouſands of Men to beſiege *Poſen*, but was oblig'd by the *Swedes* " to break up that Siege, and retir'd into *Saxony*, where he loſt his Credit " more and more, and embroil'd himſelf with that Court, by endeavouring to " create a Diſunion betwixt King *Auguſtus* and the *Czar*, and by upbraiding " the *Saxons* with not obſerving their Treaties faithfully, nor puſhing on the " War with Vigour againſt *Sweden*; ſo that at laſt he enter'd into a Treaty " with the Emperor, and put the *Muſcovite* Auxiliaries into his Service. Mat- " ters being thus, King *Auguſtus* went to meet the *Czar* in *Lithuania*, and be- " ing diſſatisfied with *Patkul*, obtain'd the *Czar*'s Conſent to put him in Pri- " ſon. Accordingly, he was ſent to the Caſtle of *Sonneſteyn*; towards which a " certain Paper contributed very much, which *Patkul* had writ, about the Af- " fairs and Government of *Saxony*, and reflected much upon King *Auguſtus* and " his Miniſtry. His treacherous Temper appear'd yet further, by the follow- " ing Inſtance. While he was Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Sonneſteyn*, he prevail'd " with the Governor to ſuffer him to make his Eſcape, on Condition of paying " him a certain Sum, which the Governor agreed to: But *Patkul*, inſtead of " making his Eſcape, gave an Account to the Court at *Dreſden*, of the Gover-

" nor's

" nor's Treachery, tho' he had always been civil to him; upon which the " Governor loſt his Head.

" A little after, King *Auguſtus* order'd *Patkul* to be releaſed; but he would " not come out of Priſon without a full Satisfaction for the Affront he pretend- " ed to have received; and there he continued through his Pride, which was his " predominant Paſſion, the chief Cauſe of all his Misfortunes, and of his Ruin " at laſt: Though he was otherwiſe *capable of every Thing*, being well verſed in " the Affairs of State and War. After this he was tranſported to the Caſtle of " *Coningſtein*; and the *Swedes* entring *Saxony*, which brought on a Treaty be- " tween the King of *Sweden* and King *Auguſtus*; one of the Articles was, that " *Patkul* ſhould be delivered to the King of *Sweden*. King *Auguſtus*, however " let ſome Months paſs, before he would deliver him up; alledging for Ex- " cuſe, that he was in the *Czar*'s Service: But the King of *Sweden* inſiſted upon " it, he was at laſt put into the Hands of General *Meyerfeldt*, whoſe Regiment " of *Swedes* lay neareſt, and was carried into *Poland* with the Army, where he " was always kept a Priſoner. The Day appointed for his Execution approach- " ing, he was ſent to the Regiment of Dragoons of *Hielm*, and a Prieſt was " order'd to tell him in the Evening that he muſt prepare for Death. This ſur- " prized him at firſt, and occaſion'd him to utter ſome Incoherent Diſcourſe, But " the Prieſt talk'd to him ſo, that he immediately laid aſide all Thoughts of the " World, and next Morning ſent for the Prieſt, and receiving the Communion " from him, ſaid, he was well ſatisfied to die; and that he expected his laſt " Hour with Impatience. He ſlept very well the Night following; and better, " as was obſerved, than he had done at any Time after he had received his Sen- " tence." [*He received no Sentence, till the Minute he was Broke alive.*] " Next " Day he was carried to the Place of Execution; and endured with great Firm- " neſs of Mind, the Puniſhments which were inflicted upon him. Thus he " was broke alive upon the Wheel, and his Head being cut off, was fix'd on " a Pole; his Body was Quarter'd, and laid upon Wheels on the 20th, [*it* " *ſhould be the* 10*th*] of *October* laſt, *N. S.* in a Village of *Upper Poland*, be- " twixt *Stupea* and *Caſimir*. During his Impriſonment, he confeſs'd he had " done many Things againſt his Country, and that he had verry little Hopes of eſcaping Puniſhment. He made a conſiderable Preſent to the Prieſt who at- " tended him to the Place of Execution, He gave Money to the Executioner " that he might do his Office with all poſſible Speed, and not ſuffer him to " languiſh long under his Pain."

Thus far the *Swediſh* Narration; which in many Places is notoriouſly falſe, in others very ſhort, leaving out all the cruel Circumſtances of his Death; and by the whole Tenor of it, 'tis apparent, that the Writer was put to all the Shifts imaginable, to juſtify in ſome Meaſure the King of *Sweden*'s Procedure with him. You may ſee, however, that *Patkul*'s great and good Qualities were ſo many, that he is forced to own them all along in his whole Narration; here you may believe him, whatever you do in any thing elſe: The whole Drift of his Paper being to diſpraiſe him, and make him appear as black and unworthy as poſſible, that he might thereby alleviate that Load of Infamy which lay upon the King of *Sweden*, even in the Opinion of his own Army, and Subjects, for treating him in the manner he did.

In a late Book called, *The Hiſtory of the Wars of* Charles *the* XIIth *King of* Sweden, written, as 'tis pretended, by a *Scotch* Gentleman in that King's Army very partially, with deſign to aſperſe the Guarantees of the Treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt*, and to extol the Actions of the King of *Sweden* at any rate, in order to recommend him to the People of *Great-Britain*; you will find what follows.

" There was at that Time in the King of *Poland*'s Troops, *(e)* a *Livonian* " Gentleman, a Subject of the King of *Sweden*, but who upon former Diſcon- " tents had quitted the *Swediſh* Intereſt, and was entertained by the King of " *Poland* in the Quality of a Major-General. It was ſaid, this Gentleman had " Liberty given him from the late King of *Sweden*, *Charles* the XIth, to enter " into the Service of the Czar of *Muſcovy*, as a kind of Baniſhment for ſome " Offence he had given the Crown of *Sweden*, in oppoſing the King at the Time " when the Act for Re-aſſumption of Crown-Lands was put in Execution by " that Prince.

" I confeſs that all the while I liv'd in *Sweden* I could never learn the true " Hiſtory of General *Patkul*'s quitting the Service of *Sweden*. Perhaps it was " generally conceal'd; *becauſe they would not ſeem to ſay that the King had not* " *ſufficient Provocation to the Severity which he uſed afterwards with this Gentle-* " *man when he fell into his Hands.*

" Be it as it will, it was generally *believed* in *Sweden* that this Gentleman was " a great Inſtrument, I do not ſay, in firſt ſtirring up the King of *Poland* to " the Deſign of breaking with *Sweden*, *for it was apparent that had other Cauſes* " *and Springs*; but in giving that King Encouragement to the particular Inva- " ſion of *Livonia*; and that he perſwaded the King to believe, that the Nobi- " lity of *Livonia*, *having been miſerably ſpoiled of their Eſtates, and impoveriſhed* " *by the ſaid Re-aſſumption of Crown-Lands*, were generally Malecontents like " himſelf, and would revolt to the *Poles*, as ſoon as they ſaw an Army ſuffi- " cient to defend them. This I ſay, was *generally reported and believed*. Cer- " tain it is, that General *Patkul* accompanied the *Saxon* General *Flemming* in the " firſt Expedition againſt *Riga*, and was ſent out with a Detachment of 1400 " Horſe and Dragoons, to range over the open Country, and give the *Livo-* " *nian* Nobility an Occaſion to revolt, if they were ſo inclined; and no doubt, " was diligent to perſwade them to do ſo, though without Effect.

" King of *Sweden*'s Demands of King of *Poland* at *Alt-Ranſtadt*. *(f)*

" All Deſerters and Traytors of the King of *Sweden*'s Subjects, *(g)* and " particularly *Reinholdt* Count *Patkul*, ſhall be delivered to the King of *Swe-* " *den.*

" It muſt be confeſſed, ſome of theſe Conditions were very Grievous upon " King *Auguſtus*, *(h)* and ſuch as nothing but the Miſeries of his *Saxon* Do- " minions could have extorted; but above all, the delivering up Count *Pat-* " *kul*, which (it is owned) to a Man of Honour was very ſevere.

" The

(e) Pag. 20.
(f) Pag. 245.
(g) Art. 5.
(h) Pag. 246.

" The King of *Sweden*, *(i)* who has as much Generoſity in his Temper, as " Fire in his Reſolution, yielded in ſome Points to King *Auguſtus*; but as to " the Affair of Count *Patkul*, the King of *Sweden* would abate nothing, de- " claring he would never quit *Saxony* without him; nor could the Interceſſion " of any of the *Saxon* Court, or of ſome Princes who concerned themſelves, " for that unfortunate Gentleman, prevail with the King to deſiſt from the " Demand, or to ſpare him when he had him in Cuſtody. He was according- " ly delivered to the King of *Sweden*, the 7th of *April*, 1707.

" We were now entered into *Poland*, *(k)* and the firſt Thing of Moment that " happen'd in our Army was the Execution of General Count *Patkul:* The King " had ſo highly reſented his Conduct in the beginning of the War, looking up- " on him to have been the principal Mover of the Invaſion of *Livonia* by " King *Auguſtus*, that no Interceſſion could obtain his Pardon; and being his " *Swediſh* Majeſty's Subject, the King thought it proper to ſhow that Severity " to him, to let all thoſe who, being Subjects of *Sweden*, ſhould fight againſt " their Maſter, know what they might depend upon. He was broke upon the " Wheel at *Caſimir* in Great *Poland*, the 10th of *October*, *N. S.* 1707. *I need* " *not enter farther into the Story*; the Juſtice of provoked Kings is not *always* " to be cenſured or *Examined* into. Much might be ſaid on both Sides.——— " I acknowledge, many honeſt Gentlemen in the King's Army, would have " been very glad if his Majeſty would have been pleaſed to have extended his " Mercy to that unfortunate Gentleman; but it *could not be obtained*; and *we* " *had no more to do but to ſubmit.* I obſerved. the Army was very melancholy " during this Execution. *No body took pleaſure in it*; nor can I ſay, that we " had the *uſual Chearfulneſs* among *us for time afterwards*; but the King had " great Provocations. And by how much the *Genius and Capacities of this* " *Perſon were extraordinary*; and that theſe had carried him an unuſal Length, " (for he was ſuppoſed to have been the great Manager in forming the firſt Al- " liances againſt the King,) by ſo much greater was his Offence; which his " Majeſty thought obliged him to the higheſt Reſentment, and that he ought " to be treated as a Rebel to his Natural Prince, and as a Traytor to his " Country, *&c.*

This is all this Author ſpeaks of *Patkul.* And as much as he is bent to make the Panegyrick of the King of *Sweden*, one may perceive in it the Force of Truth, which burſts out in his Narration, and that even he, as well as the whole *Swediſh* Army, could not endure or palliate the exceſſive Cruelty of this Hero. 'Twas a pity, that brave Army, which thus openly ſhew'd a Diſlike of their Implacable Abſolute Monarch's Proceedings, notwithſtanding the juſt Dread they had of him, ſhould from this time forward ſuffer for the enormous Iniquity of their King: For that brave Army was ſoon after totally deſtroy'd at the Battle at *Pultowa*; the very Remains of it that eſcaped with the King into *Turkey*, being ſince that Time, one way or other, extirpated. As if God Almighty had a mind to ſhew the World, that the very bearing with the Cruelty of their King, was a Sin

(i) Pag. 251, 252.
(k) Pag. 275.

a Sin not to be expiated, but by their Bodily Puniſhment: And as to their King, I am perſuaded his Life was continued to him rather as a Judgment, in being forced to receive ſo many ſenſible Mortifications, than as a Bleſſing: Since from that Day to this, he has never proſper'd; and he does not yet make uſe of the Time allotted him for Repentance; but hardens his Heart, like *Pharaoh*, the more, for every Affliction which fall upon him.

A True Relation of the Death, and Manner of Execution of the Famous JOHN RHEINHOLDT *Count* PATKUL.

IN the Year 1707, the 28th of *Sept. O.S.* about Night-fall, *Patkul* was brought to the Regiment of Dragoons commanded by Colonel *Nicholas Hiems* (then in *Great Poland* upon the March) under the Guard of Thirty Men of *Meyerfeldt*'s Regiment, wherein he had continued a Priſoner during ſeveral Months before. The Day following, being *Michaelmas* Day, my Colonel told me privately (as ſoon as our Devotions in the Church were over.) That *Patkul* was to die next Day, and therefore deſired I would go and acquaint the Priſoner with this News, that he might prepare himſelf for Death. Accordingly I went to him about Three a-Clock that Afternoon, and having made my Compliments to Mr. *Patkul*, whom I found a-bed; I begg'd his Excuſe for my Viſit, becauſe I ſuppoſed that an afflicted Spirit, like his, had great Need of ſome Conſolation drawn from the Word of God. To which he anſwer'd, I am extreamely glad, Mr. *Le Paſteur*, that you come to ſee me, and thank you with all my Heart; for at preſent the Viſits of Divines are moſt proper and agreeable to me. Pray, what News? I reply'd, that I deſired to ſpeak a few Words with him in private. As ſoon as he heard that, he got up, and made a Compliment to the Officer who guarded him in his Chamber, and with a gentle Nod of the Head deſired his Abſence; which I alſo ſeconded, by whiſpering the ſaid Officer in the Ear, and acquainting him with the Colonel's Orders that I ſhould be alone with the Priſoner. As ſoon as the Officer had left the Room, *Patkul* took me by the Hand, and with a very melancholy Tone of Voice, Alas, ſaid he, my Dear Monſieur *Le Paſteur*, what have you to ſay to me? Sir, reply'd I, I am commanded to bring you the ſame Tidings, which the Prophet *Iſaiah* formerly carried to King *Hezekiah*, *Set thy Houſe in Order, for thou muſt die, and not outlive To-morrow.* At theſe Words he flung himſelf upon the Bed, and burſt into Tears, which ran plentifully down his Cheeks. I began then to comfort him, by telling him, That I doubted not a Perſon ſo Wiſe and ſo Learned as he was, being withal ſo well inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, wou'd upon thoſe Accounts, now look upon the End of his Days in this World with the greater Courage and Conſtancy. Alas! ſays he, I know very well, the common Lot of all Mankind is to die; but the Manner of my Death will be too ſevere, and too hard for me to endure: And upon this he began again to weep bitterly. I reply'd, That I was altogether unacquainted with the Manner of his Death; but did firmly believe that it would be happy, and much more ſalutary to the Soul, than terrible to the Body. At this he roſe, and joining his Hands, he ſaid,

ſaid, *Grant, O Lord Jeſus, that my End may be happy!* After having leaned againſt the Wall a-while, he went on, O Auguſtus! Auguſtus! *How wilt thou anſwer this at the great Day? Alas! the Revolution in* Sweden *and* Livonia *has been the Source of my Misfortune.* I begg'd of him then not to apply himſelf ſo much to worldly Affairs, but to think upon Eternity, during the ſmall Time which remain'd for him to live. My dear Monſieur *La Paſture*, reply'd he, ſuffer me to vent what lies next my Heart; for this Heart of mine cannot be cured, except all the Filth it is ſo full of be purged away. The reducing of the Eſtates, which has been the undoing of Multitudes of poor People, has been the Occaſion of the only Crime which is imputed to me. The deceas'd King of *Sweden*, clapped me upon the Shoulder, ſaid to me; *Patkul, Defend the Rights of thy Country, like a Brave and Honeſt Man:* How then could I do otherwiſe? But wicked Men have had the ſhuffling of my Cards. God forgive *Haſtoer*, who has contributed ſo much to my Misfortunes: At firſt he inſtigated me, afterwards he deceived me, and at laſt he perſecuted me. Well! Well! I ſhall meet him ſhortly, with many more of my Adverſaries, before the Tribunal of *Jeſus Chriſt*. *Bergenhielm* has alſo been very much my Enemy, but he had Orders to do what he has done. O *Sweden! Sweden!* God Almighty knows, that I did not quit thy Territories with a glad Heart: Whither could I fly? It was not poſſible for me to hide myſelf under Ground: I could not reſolve to throw myſelf into a Convent, becauſe of my being a Proteſtant; and I could not remain in Safety with any of the Allies. They ſay, that becauſe I took Sanctuary among the King's Enemies, therefore I was the Occaſion of this bloody War: But how can they draw that Conſequence? I was there in the Condition of a poor perſecuted Man, and not at all a Giver of Advice; no body judged me at that time capable of doing it, and in truth I was not. For before I came among the *Saxons*, every thing was already concerted with *Denmark:* The Treaties with the *Muſcovites* were ſigned, and I had not in the leaſt any Authority or Reputation—Then I deſired him to remember, that he plunged himſelf too deep in Diſcourſes which regarded only Temporal Affairs. But he taking me by the Hand, ſaid,— Allow me a little Time before I quite abandon worldly Things; after that, I aſſure you I will not ſpeak one Word more of them. What Countryman are you, Monſieur *Le Paſteur?* I am a *Swede*, born at *Stockholm*, reply'd I. Well then (ſaid He) you pleaſe me better for being ſo, becauſe I am glad that a *Swede* may give a Report of me hereafter. I alſo have a *Swediſh* Heart, and *Swediſh* Inclinations; and altho' People will not believe it, God Almighty knows it's true, and you will be convinced of it by what I am going to ſay to you. The miſerable Condition wherein you now ſee me, ſhall not hinder me from aſſuring you, that the Elector of *Brandenburg* is obliged to me for the Crown of *Pruſſia*. I am ſure he is in his Conſcience convinced of this: And indeed he offer'd me a very great Sum of Money, as a Recompence; but I made anſwer to him, that the greateſt Recompence, he could beſtow upon me for all my Services, would be for his Majeſty to grant me his Interceſſion, that I might be reinſtated in the Favour of his *Swediſh* Majeſty; which he alſo promiſed me, and Count *Dohna* ſpoke in my Favour at *Stockholm* as much as he could; but the Court of *Sweden* was deaf to all the Repreſentations of that Envoy, which any way regarded me. Some time after (I may tell you

without Vanity) I had an Opportunity of doing the late *Emperor* a ſignal Piece of Service, in relation to *Spaniſh* Affairs, ſuch as no other could have done for him; and he gave me by way of Recompence, a Bill for Fifty-thouſand Crowns; but I took it and laid it at his Imperial Majeſty's Feet, thanking him with the moſt profound Devotion, and requeſting another kind of Paper from him. The *Emperor* thought I had not been content with the Sum. But I told him, that I deſired nothing but his Recommendation to the Court of *Sweden*. You ſhall have it, replied the Emperor; and indeed I know that he both writ, and ſent ſuch a Letter of Recommendation; but in vain; there was no Grace or Pardon to be had for me.

That no Occaſion might be let ſlip to ſet me right with the Court of *Sweden*, I went to *Muſcovy* when your Envoys were there; without doubt you have heard of it. Yes, Sir, replied I, I had the Honour to be the Chaplain to that Embaſſy, and remember to have ſeen you there at that Time. Are you the ſame Perſon who was there? (ſaid he.) I thought indeed at firſt, I had ſeen you ſomewhere; I was there at that time ſeeking the *Czar*'s Mediation to be reſtored to Favour; but as ſoon as I underſtood that your Envoys had Orders to demand the Delivery of my Perſon up to them. I was obliged to retire, and to live *Incognito*. Ever ſince it has been given out that I ſtirr'd up the *Czar*, and incited him to that War; but it was *Carlowitz*, a Creature of King *Auguſtus*, that did that Piece of Work; and for my Part, I was always an Adviſer of Peace: And I had contrived Matters ſo, during the firſt Years of that War, that the King of *Sweden* ſhould have for his Satisfaction *Courland*, *Poliſh Livonia*, and a part of *Samogitia*, in caſe he would make Peace. It was generally thought the *Czar* would never conſent to theſe Terms; but when I made him the Propoſal, he was ſatisfied with it, and embracing me, gave me Thanks for my good Advice: But the King of *Sweden* would not comply with thoſe Offers. Moreover, all the poor *Swediſh* Priſoners, (whereof there are great Numbers of *Muſcovy*,) will, I dare ſay, give this Teſtimony of me, that I have done them a great many Kindneſſes, and diſtributed among them in Charity, ſeveral Thouſands of *Ducats*. I can ſafely aver, I have given away about a Hundred Thouſand *Ducats*, in order to regain the King of *Sweden*'s Favour: *Would to God, I had been as ſolicitous to procure for myſelf the Divine Favour.* Having ſaid theſe Words, he began again to weep, and I did my beſt to comfort him, by aſſuring him that the Gate of Divine Mercy was ſtill open for him; that he had yet Time enough left to ſecure for himſelf an Entrance there; but that Time was precious, and not to be flung away. That is my only Conſolation, ſays he; but what troubles me moſt is, that I have more diligently ſerved Men, than my God. Particularly, I have Reaſon to curſe the Time wherein I applied myſelf to King *Auguſtus*'s Service. God Almighty convert him; he is neither faithful to God, nor Man. As ſoon as the Peace with *Sweden* was concluded, he writ me a Letter, dated the 16th of *February*, deſiring me to acquaint the *Czar*, that the *Swedes* had diſtributed their Arms up and down into Workmens Hands, in order to get them mended; and that their Officers were moſt of them ſent abroad, partly to raiſe Recruits, and partly for other Affairs; therefore that the *Czar* would do well to come immediately with all his Forces, and break the Necks of his Enemies: And to this

this End he would give Orders to all the Gunſmiths and Workmen, not to finiſh any Pieces of Work the *Swedes* ſhould employ them in.

In my Anſwer to this Letter, I told him, I would have nothing to do in an Affair of this Nature, nor any more with him; and that he ought to keep better the Faith he had ſo lately given. This he took very ill from me; notwithſtanding which, he has ſeveral times ſince ſollicated me to concur in his wicked Deſigns; but I always diſapproved them. One Day I received a Letter, wherein was communicated to me a Project of a very extraordinary Nature; which Letter ended with theſe Words,———*In this manner, one may ſay, that* Auguſtus *has gained more in one Night, than* Charles *has by ſo many bloody Battles*, &c. 'Tis with Horror that I call to Mind all theſe Villainous Tricks; and I heartily thank God that he has protected the King of *Sweden*, who, I can aſſure you, has very often been in extraordinary great Dangers. Great God! ſaid I, interrupting him, HasKing *Auguſtus* no more regard to his Word? Alas! replied he to me, he is a profeſs'd Atheiſt, a Man without Piety; who values neither his Faith nor his Honour. One Day the late Emperor writ me a Letter, deſiring me to do my Endeavour, after the handſomeſt way that I could, to perſuade that King to amend his Life. I ſhow'd him that Letter, but the Anſwer he gave me, laughing, was this; *That old Fellow had better employ his Thoughts upon Purgatory, for he will come to that Place before me.* Her Highneſs, the Electreſs Dowager, often ſpoke to me to the like Effect; and indeed, I employ'd my beſt Skill to that Purpoſe; but I thereby always drew Diſgraces upon myſelf; he has threatened me long ſince, that he would be even with me one Day. He was in a great Streight at *Warſaw* for want of Money, at the time when the King of *Sweden* came thither from *Lemberg*; ſeveral of his Troops being about to deſert him for that Reaſon: I did ſo, and gave him Four Hundred Thouſand Crowns; but next Day I perceived that he had laid it out in magnificent Preſents to certain great Ladies, and had bought 150,000 Crowns Worth of Jewels to make a Hatband of. Being heartily vex'd to ſee him employ his Money to ſo bad Purpoſes, I made my Remonſtrances to him upon that Head, and obliged him to reſtore thoſe Jewels to the *Jews*, and take back his Money. For a little while he hid his Spite againſt me for doing this; but ſwore to be revenged on me, and has made good his Oath too well, for my Misfortune. Wou'd to God he had as punctually kept the good Promiſes he has made, and his Faith and Honour. God Almighty will judge him. *Potentes potenter punientur.* But, Monſieur *Le Paſteur*, continued he, you have, I believe, ſomething elſe to do at preſent, and not to hear theſe diſagreeable Diſcourſes. Sir, ſaid I, I will return to you about a ſhort Hour hence. Do ſo, ſays he, and if you can prevail with the Colonel to ſuffer me to be alone, that I might not be interrupted in my Devotions, he will do me a ſingular Kindneſs. I promis'd him to do my beſt, and ſo took my Leave. About 7 o'Clock at Night I return'd; and as ſoon as the Officer was gone out of the Chamber; Welcome, ſaid he, Mr. *Le Paſteur*, with a ſmiling Countenance, which denoted ſomewhat of Contentment, I look upon you as an Angel of God. God be prais'd, I find my Conſcience very much eas'd, and methinks it is as if a great and heavy Stone were remov'd from off my Breaſt. I am very glad to die, for it is better to die than to remain long in Priſon. Alas!

That my Death may be ſuch as may be tolerable! Know you not, continued he, what kind of Death I am to ſuffer? It is what I am altogether ignorant of, replied I; all that I know is, that it will be done without much Noiſe and Stir, for no body has as yet ſeen the Sentence. Muſt I then ſuffer Death, ſaid he, without being ſo much as heard, and without a Sentence? The Sentence is without doubt ready at Hand, reply'd I, but perhaps it is ſealed up, and ſent with Orders not to open it, till ſuch time as it comes to be executed. That may be, ſaid he, but pray God they may not torment me a long time. I comforted him in the beſt manner I could, and he cheered up himſelf, repeating among many other Paſſages of the Holy Scripture (whereof he had great Knowledge) theſe two Texts in *Greek*, *Acts* 14. 22. *Through great Tribulations we muſt enter into the Kingdom of God.* And *Romans*, Chap. 8. ver. 18. *For I reckon that the Sufferings of this preſent time are not to be put in Balance with the Glory which ſhall be reveal'd in us.*—— After this he aſk'd me, whether he might have Paper and Ink; and when I told him Yes, he deſir'd me to write a few Words for him, and dictated to me that which follows. "The laſt Will and Teſtament of me the Under-"written, after what Manner I intend to diſpoſe of what I may leave behind "me after my Death. I deſire that King *Auguſtus* would conſult his own Con-"ſcience, and reſtore to my two Couſins, who are now in the Service of *Swe-*"*den*, thoſe Sums of Money which he owes to me, and which amount to Fifty "Thouſand Crowns; and I deſire that his *Swediſh* Majeſty would moſt gra-"ciouſly grant his Aſſiſtance towards the Execution of this my Will———." Let us leave off this Buſineſs at preſent, ſays he; I ſhall ſoon recollect ſome other Things to add to it; but in the mean time let us return to our Devotions; which we did, and as ſoon as Prayers were over; "Thank God, ſaid he, "I find myſelf grow better and better. Oh! If they would not make me ſuffer "long Torments! I would willingly ſatisfy with my Blood for the Faults which "I may have committed." Pray tell me is the King a merciful Prince? Yes, replied I, the good God has favoured with a very gracious and pious King. That is the principal Thing, ſays he; Piety is the Fountain of all other Virtues, and, as the Prophet ſays, *is the beginning of Wiſdom.* And what think you of Count *Piper*, the Firſt Miniſter, continued he, Is he a Nobleman fearing God? I affirmed that he was, and that his Excellency had already given a Thouſand Proofs of his Probity. "Well then, ſaid he, God be praiſed, they will then "do nothing to me but what is Juſt. Happy is that Kingdom which is go-"vern'd by Piety and Juſtice." After this he aſked me ſeveral Queſtions concerning *Sweden*, of our Univerſities, of our Learned Men and Divines; particularly concerning Doctor *Meyer*, alſo of the Profeſſor *Frank*, and Dr. *Breithault* at *Halle*; aſking me at the ſame Time, what my Opinion was of the *Pietiſts*, and where I had made my Studies? And at laſt concluded, (venting two or three deep Sighs) "Yes! yes! I have ſome Friends here and there, who will lament me, and weep for my Death." What will the good Old Electreſs ſay to it? And Mademoiſelle *Lewold*, who is in her Service? And principally my poor betrothed Spouſe? With what ſad Affliction muſt ſhe needs receive the News of my Death? My dear *Paſteur*, continued he, preſſing my Hand, may I ſtill deſire a Kindneſs of you? Any Thing that is within the Compaſs of my Power for your Service, I will do with all my Heart, Sir, replied I. Be ſo good then as to

write

write a few Lines to my dear Spouſe, Madam *Einſideln*, when I ſhall be no more in this World; and tell her in preſenting her with my laſt Compliments, that altho' the End of my Life was Ignominious, in reſpect of my Bodily Puniſhment, yet it was very happy in reſpect to my Soul, as I verily hope and truſt in my God. This will comfort her, at leaſt in ſome ſmall Meaſure; eſpecially when ſhe ſhall ſee this Conſolation comes from the Perſon who aſſiſted me in the laſt Moments of my Life: She will be henceforth free and at Liberty to diſpoſe of herſelf; and I own myſelf to have been infinitely oblig'd to her even to my Death——. After this he drew out his Purſe, and took out a Sum of Money which he put into three different Papers, and ſaying, *To-Morrow if it pleaſe God, I will think no more of Worldly Things*, he preſented me with one of thoſe Papers, which contained a Hundred Ducats, deſiring me to accept of it. And upon my making a Difficulty to take a Thing which I had never deſerv'd; My dear *Paſteur*, ſays he, I have often given a Thouſand Ducats for very ſmall Services; but the Friendſhip you have ſhewn me, and the Good you have done me, cannot be recompenc'd by all the Treaſures in the World. Would to God I had it in my Power to ſhew you more effectually the Senſe I have of the Kindneſs you have done me. But I have yet one Preſent to make you, that I eſteem above all other Riches, and that is my New Teſtament in *Greek*, with the Verſion of *Arius Montanus*, which has been my faithful Companion in my Miſery. Major *Groothuyſen*, who has it now in his Poſſeſſion, will give it you, when you aſk it of him in my Name. I return'd him my Thanks, promiſing to keep that Treaſure very carefully. Afterwards he pray'd me to ſalute Monſieur *de Groothuyſen* in his Name, and to thank him a thouſand Times for the great Civilities he had ſhewn him during his laſt Calamity. After this he drew out of his Pocket another ſmall Book: This Book, Mr. *Le Paſteur*, ſays he, is one that I have written with my own Hand; pray accept of it alſo, as a Remembrance of me, and a Proof of my Chriſtianity; I ſhould be very glad this little Book, which in itſelf is of no great Value, were ſhown to the King; his Majeſty would at leaſt find by it that I was no Atheiſt. I hope, reply'd I, that what you deſire, may be accompliſh'd, for I will put it into my Colonel's Hands, who may find a proper Opportunity to lay it before his Majeſty. That would be very well, ſaid he, and I wiſh that my Book may be more happy than its Author; I may ſay to it what *Ovid* did in his Exile, to his Book *de Triſtibus*, when he ſent it to *Auguſtus*; *Go thy Ways, little Book, and procure that Favour which I have not been able to obtain for myſelf:* Pray read it Monſieur *le Paſteur*; which I preſently ſet about doing, and I obſerv'd in my reading it, that he had it all by Heart: Afterwards he made me read ſome Prayers, and ſeveral devout Hymns of Death, and from thence he took Occaſion to diſcourſe of the Vanity of this World. Alas! ſaid he, God is my Witneſs, that in the midſt of all Worldly Pleaſures my Heart has been always ſad. And at this Time, though I know I muſt die To-Morrow, I find myſelf much more content than I have formerly been at the moſt magnificent Entertainment. *Munde, Munde, Vale! World, World, Farewell!* Aſſure yourſelf, Mr. *le Paſteur*, that very often, and principally in the latter Years of my Life, I have endeavour'd entirely to put off this World; but I found it impoſſible for me to execute this Deſign. Thanks to *Jeſus*, who has at length torn in pieces for me the Nets of *Satan*, my Chains are broken, and

my Soul is at Liberty. The Hand of the great *Charles* has contributed much to my Enlargement. God be prais'd! 'Tis a great Truth what St. *Paul* says in his 8th to the *Romans*; *We know that all Things work together for Good to those who love God.* And now it beginning to grow late, Monsieur *le Pasteur*, says he, I keep you here too long with me; I beg of you not to be tired of me. As soon as I had assur'd him of the contrary, we went again to Prayers; and when we had done, What Counsel, says he, do you give me? Ought I to take a little Rest? 'Tis long since I have slept, and I find myself very weary and weak; for besides that, I have not Eat nor Drank to day, except a little Water. And I could not do otherwise than approve of such a Resolution. Perhaps by doing so, continued he, my Spirits may revive a little; for it will be very necessary, that I should be well-disposed To-Morrow Morning, because then I hope to comfort my poor Soul by receiving the Holy Communion. When we had pitched upon an Hour for this Holy Design, he went to Bed, and I return'd to my Quarters. The 30th of *September*, at 4 o'Clock in the Morning, I return'd to him; and as soon as he heard me salute him, as I enter'd his Chamber, he rose out of Bed, and gave Thanks to God for having afforded him so good a Night; saying That he had not of a long Time rested so quietly. Presently we went to Prayers; and I must needs own, the Fervour of his Devotion was extraordinary. About 6 o'Clock, he said; We will in the Name of *Jesus* now execute our Holy Design, before the Noise which they are making without Doors increases; and as I approved of his Intention, he fell upon his Knees, and made his Confession in most devout Words, the beginning whereof was remarkable: *What shall I say, O God, my Lord? How shall I speak, or presume to justify myself before thee? God has found out the Iniquity of his Servant. Pardon! Pardon it, O Lord God,* &c. After having receiv'd the Holy Sacrament, he heartily returned Thanks to God in several Pious Hymns, which we recited together. At the Rising of the Sun, he look'd out of the Window and said, *Salve festa Dies*; thou art my Wedding-Day. I once thought, that about this Season I should be celebrating another sort of Wedding-Day. But this is the more happy of the two; for this Day my Soul shall be introduced into Heaven by our Lord *Jesus Christ*. Then he ask'd me once again, Whether I did not know what sort of Death was appointed him to die. And when I had answer'd him in the same Manner as I had done the Day before, he begg'd of me not to abandon him at his Death, let it be as cruel as it can be. Only, said he, pronounce aloud to me always the Name of *Jesus Christ*; that will sweeten all my Pains and all my Torments. Then looking out of the Window: Alas! says he, Monsieur *Le Pasteur*, they are putting the Horses to the Chariot; God be praised for it: I only desire that they should make haste, for my Life already seems too long to me. Presently he cast his Eyes upon the Paper, where he had begun to write his Will: This Paper, says he, will not be compleat. And when I asked him, whether he would not be pleas'd to set his Name to it as it was: No, said he, sighing, I will no more write this hateful Name of mine: My Cousins will find another sufficient Estate which I have left to them. After this he continued in his Devotions till the Lieutenant of his Guard came to carry him away: Here Sir, said I, is the Confirmation of those sad News I first brought you. Come then; let us be gone, said he, taking his Cloak; I hope at least, Mr. *Le Pasteur*, you will accompany me. Oh! do

not

not abandon me! And when I had promiſed that I would not, he went up into the Chariot, and obliged me to take the upper End. Thus we went on a very great Pace, guarded by 100 Horſe; and during all the way he embrac'd and kiſs'd me; begging me not to forget to pay his laſt Compliments for him to his dear Miſtreſs his Spouſe, and thanking me for my Company. Soon after, we arrived at the Place of Execution, which was ſurrounded by about 300 Foot Soldiers. As ſoon as he had obſerv'd the Poſts or Pales, and the Wheels which which were Erected there, he was extremely frighted at them: And embracing me very ſtraitly. Alas! Monſieur *Le Paſteur*, ſaid he, pray to God for me, that he may not ſuffer me to fall into Deſpair. I comforted him in the beſt manner I was able, deſiring him continually to fix his Thoughts upon Chriſt crucified. After this they took him out of the Chariot, and whilſt they were taking off his Chains, he prayed moſt ardently. As ſoon as he was come to the Spot where he was to be executed, the Captain of the Regiment, who that Day officiated as Major, Proclaim'd with a loud Voice; "His Majeſty our moſt Gracious "King, has expreſly commanded, *moſt rigorouſly*, that this Man, who is a "Traytor, ſhould be firſt broke upon the Wheel, and afterwards Quarter'd; "as well for his juſt Puniſhment, as to ſerve for an Example to others, that every "one may hereafter ſerve his King faithfully." At the Word *Traytor*, *Patkul* ſhrugg'd up his Shoulders, and look'd up to Heaven; and afterwards aſk'd, Where will you have me to go? And as ſoon as the Executioner had ſhewn him the Place, do your Office, Friend, ſays he, and at the ſame Time gave him a Paper full of Money; then laid himſelf flat; and whilſt they were taking off his Cloaths, he cried out to me; *Oh, pray to God that it may pleaſe him to fortify me in this diſmal Hour*: Whereupon addreſſing myſelf to the Spectators; Beloved Children, ſaid I, let us pray with Fervour and Attention for this poor Man. *Alas! Yes!* ſaid he, *pray all for me*; which we did unanimouſly, and with abundance of Devotion. And at that time, the Hangman giving him the firſt Stroke he cried out aloud, *O Jeſu! Jeſu! have Mercy upon me.* After this he receiv'd Fourteen or Fifteen Strokes; and becauſe the Hangman was but indifferently ſkill'd in his Cruel Trade, he was indeed moſt terribly tormented, and cried out moſt piteouſly, pronouncing without ceaſing, the Holy *Jeſus*; *Lord* Jeſus, *I commit and reſign my Soul into thy Hands*, &c. After having receiv'd two Blows more upon the Breaſt, he left off crying aloud, only ſpeaking in a few low and interrupted Words, *Cut off my Head, cut off my Head*: And as he found that the Hangman made no ſufficient Haſte to do it, he crept upon all Four himſelf, as far as to the Pale, and laid his Neck over it; where, after Four Blows, he was at laſt Beheaded, and his Body was put on the Wheels, there to remain.

Such was the End of the famous *Patkul*; Lord *Jeſus*, who art come into the World to ſave all Sinners, have Mercy upon his poor Soul.

WHOEVER is acquainted with the Dexterity of the common Executioners in *Germany*, and in all thoſe *Northern* Countries, which indeed is very ſurprizing, and knows that one ſound Blow on the Breaſt, called the *Coup*

de Grace, preſently diſpatches a Criminal that is broke upon the Wheel, will eaſily be convinced that the Cruel Treatment poor *Patkul* met with, as well in the breaking his Body, as afterwards in cutting off his Head, was inflicted by particular Order. The Officer who proclaim'd his Sentence juſt before his Death, ſeems to own it, and to make a ſort of Excuſe for it, as being *the King's moſt rigorous Command.* And indeed, an Executioner is ſo deteſtable a Creature in *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and all thoſe *Northern* Parts of the World, that it requires an extraordinary Dexterity in that hateful Trade, and an immediate imperceptible withdrawing, to ſave him from the unreaſonable Rage of the Spectators on thoſe Occaſions. And the Parſon who aſſiſted at this Execution, and appears all along to have been a good *Levite*, does inſinuate the ſame Thing, as far as he dare; for you muſt conſider him to have been a Native *Swede*, and Chaplain to one of the King's Regiments. But —— *ſo let him die*, (ſaid one of the moſt cruel of the *Roman* Tyrants) *ut ſe ſentiat mori*: And if ever Man felt himſelf die by Degrees, in the moſt exquiſite Torments, it was poor *Patkul*. He was all along apprehenſive of this, as you may plainly ſee by this Prieſt's Relation, knowing too well the Temper of the King of *Sweden*, not to dread a remarkable Inſtance of it in his own Caſe. And indeed, we find the miſerable Man was not at all deceived in his Expectation.

How would an *Engliſh* Crowd of Spectators, which now can hardly bear the quartering of a dead Human Body, behave itſelf on the Occaſion of ſuch an Execution as this? At firſt indeed it would alarm and terribly ſhock it. But after a little Time, I doubt, Cruelty, as well as Slavery, would become ſo habitual, as to become indifferent, if not a Paſtime, as it now is in thoſe Countries where Bigottry reigns, and where the Inquiſition frequently triumphs over the State, in a Solemn Act of Faith, (*Auto da Fe*) by which Name the Eccleſiaſticks, who preſide at thoſe deteſtable Religious Murders, have ſanctified the moſt horrid and cauſeleſs Cruelties that ever were invented by Mankind.

Tantum Religio potuit.

When will the World recover its Wits?

Thus died *Patkul*, univerſally lamented. He was, as to his Perſon, rather Tall than otherwiſe, ſomewhat inclining to be groſs and fat; of a middle Age at the Time of his Death; of a fair Complexion, but no very promiſing Countenance, which ſeemed heavy and dull. Thoſe who converſed with him, ſoon found how much his outward Appearance had impoſed upon their Judgment: For his Natural and Acquired Parts were extraordinary; eſpecially, his Eloquence was ſo great, that it was almoſt impoſſible to reſiſt the Force of his Arguments. He was Maſter of a healthful Body, and an indefatigable Diligence to employ it, of unbounded Generoſity; better ſkill'd in Negotiations, than in Military Commands, as a General; yet in the main, acknowledged even by his Enemies, to have been one of the greateſt Men this latter Age has produced, and worthy of a much better Fate.

He is often miſtaken, occaſion'd by the Likeneſs of the Names, for *Peikul*, another *Livonian* Nobleman, a Priſoner at *Stockholm*, and put to Death by the King of *Sweden*'s Order, for Crimes much of the ſame Nature with *Patkul*'s.

Some

Some Circumſtances of his Death being pretty extraordinary, it will not be amiſs to give a very ſhort Account of them, as related by Perſons of undoubted Credit.

After King *Charles* had entirely got the better of King *Auguſtus*, and the Latter was forced to comply with every Thing required of him; *Auguſtus*, in order to put the beſt Face he could upon a bad Matter, made great Entertainments for the King of *Sweden*, at a very fine Pleaſure-Houſe not far diſtant from *Dreſden*: *Peikul*'s poor Lady, and Children, had taken a great Journey from *Sweden*, on purpoſe to ſollicit for her Huſband's Pardon; and King *Auguſtus*, with his Courtiers, as well as ſeveral of the King of *Sweden*'s Officers, had promiſed her to make uſe of the utmoſt of their Intereſt in her Behalf; and had contrived the Matter ſo, that after the uſual Jollity, and good Humour, cauſed by a great Feaſt, ſhe, with her Children, ſhould unexpectedly come into the Dining-Room, and fall at the King of *Sweden*'s Feet, imploring his Mercy for her Huſband; to which King *Auguſtus*, with all the other Noble Gueſts, were to join their Interceſſion. So far Matters were well concerted; but the King of *Sweden* having by ſome Means or other, got an inkling of this Deſign, after he was come to the Place appointed for the Feaſt, and being reſolved that nothing ſhould prevent his Intention, deſired Leave to retire for a few Minutes before Dinner, into a private Cloſet, where he called for Pen, Ink and Paper, and Wrote and Signed an Order, which he ſent by Expreſs, for *Peikul*'s immediate Execution upon Sight of it. After this he came out to Dinner; which being ended, the poor Woman, and her Children, came in and flung herſelf at King *Charles*'s Feet, as it had been forecaſted, in the midſt of the Mirth: King *Auguſtus*, with all the Company, mixing their Interceſſions with her Tears: The King of *Sweden*, after ſome ſeeming Struggle, granted the Pardon which was deſired, and Signed an Inſtrument to that Purpoſe, which by *Peikul*'s Friends was preſently diſpatched away. But the King's Courier arrived firſt at *Stockholm*, and poor *Peikul* was Beheaded about Four Hours before the Second got thither.

'Tis neceſſary that the Reader ſhould be informed, that *Peikul* had a Law-Suit with an Uncle of his for a conſiderable Eſtate; which went through all the uſual Forms, and Courts in *Livonia*; and at laſt, according to the Laws of thoſe Countries, was brought to the King for Deciſion; for to him is the laſt Appeal in all Civil Cauſes. The King gave Judgment againſt *Peikul* for this only Reaſon, becauſe he was an *Alien*, and not his Natural-born Subject; taking the Advantage of *Peikul*'s being dropt by his Mother, by ſome Accident or other, in a Village within the Territories of *Poland*, about Three Miles diſtant from the Borders of *Livonia*. This was thought a very hard Deciſion of the King's, it being notorious that *Peikul*'s Family, and Eſtate, were always eſteemed *Livonian*.

However; this Determination, unjuſt as it was, afterwards was brought as a good Argument for *Peikul* againſt the King, when His Majeſty condemned him *as a Natural-born Subject of Sweden*. But it ſeems, though his being Born out of the King's Dominions, proved a good Reaſon for depriving him of his Eſtate, it proved ineffectual to the ſaving of his Life.

This

This is that King; a Bigot too: And a Bigot (in any Religion) who has Power, is a ravenous Beaſt of Prey; how much more, meeting with ſuch a Diſpoſition?

This is he, whom ſome malicious Wretches, that call themſelves *Engliſhmen*, are grown ſo fond of; whom they have choſen to be the Preſerver of our Religion, Properties and Liberties. Not that they are ignorant, that as ſoon as he has them in his Power, he would deſtroy them all: For what Man in his Senſes, can expect he ſhould uſe our Country better than his own? But becauſe, like him, they are ſo full of Revenge, they would ſacrifice their own Well-being to their implacable Hatred of the Royal Family, and the preſent Government. I ſhould not wonder, if ſome Eccleſiaſticks, and Univerſity-Monks, who are proud and cruel by Inſtitution, and have profeſſedly baniſhed all Charity, gave into this, or any other damnable Project, whereby they might hope to bring in their *Prentender*, and contributed Sums towards the Accompliſhment of it.

Theſe have made their bad Bargain, and fooliſhly depend upon its being kept. But that Laymen of Quality and Fortune, who have, or would be thought to have, ſome Remains of Humanity in their Breaſts, who know ſomewhat of the World, and Mankind; who have forgotten their Univerſity Education, and better'd their Lives and Principles, by converſing even with debauched Perſons out of thoſe Societies, who have not quite ſold themſelves to Prieſtcraft: That ſuch as theſe, I ſay, ſhoul be capable of contriving the undoing themſelves, and their Poſterity, for the ſhort Pleaſure of Revenge, is moſt amazing. After-Ages will be aſtoniſhed at their Choice; but will conclude, that ſuch a King could be only fit for ſuch a People. And would to God they could have him entirely to themſelves; and that honeſt Men, who are of a peaceable Diſpoſition, were well rid of them all. I know ſeveral who would heartily contribute their Share of the Charges for tranſplanting them and their Effects to *Sweden*; where theſe Gentlemen might fully enjoy their invincible Hero, and in a ſhort Time, have the Additional Bleſſings of feeding upon Bread made of the Bark of Birch and Fir-trees, inſtead of that ſilly Top of a Weed, as the *Eaſtern Tartars* deſpiſingly call our Wheat. But far be it from any ſober Man's Thoughts, to encourage the Entrance of ſuch a fierce Spirit here among us; in Compariſon of whom, the very Pretender himſelf would prove mild and gentle.

Two ESSAYS on the BALLANCE of *EUROPE*. The Firſt written in *French* by the Late Achbiſhop of *Cambray*, and tranſlated into *Engliſh*. The Second by the Tranſlator of the Firſt Eſſay. Printed in the Year 1720.

ESSAY. I.

NEIGHBOURING States are not only obliged to obſerve towards each other the Rules of Juſtice and Publick Faith; but they are under a neceſſity, for the Security of each, and the common Intereſt of all, to maintain together a kind of Society and general Commonwealth: For the moſt powerful will certainly at length prevail, and overthrow the reſt, unleſs they unite together to preſerve the Ballance.

It is not to be expected, among Men, that a ſuperior Power will contain itſelf within the Bounds of an exact Moderation, and that it will not employ its Force to obtain, for itſelf, what Advantages it can, by oppreſſing the Weaker. Or if this Power ſhould happen to be for ſome time harmleſs in the Hands of an Excellent Prince, who could bear ſuch Proſperity ſo well, the Wonder 'tis likely would ceaſe with his Reign: For the natural Ambition of Princes, the Flatteries of their Courtiers, and the Prejudices of Nations themſelves, will not ſuffer us to believe that a People who had it in their Power to ſubdue their Neighbours, would abſtain from it for any conſiderable time. A Reign conſpicuous for ſuch extraordinary Juſtice, would be the Ornament of Hiſtory, and a Prodigy not to be looked for again.

We are then to expect, what in reality we ſee frequently happen, That every Nation will ſeek to prevail over its Neighbours; and therefore every Nation is obliged, for its proper Security, to watch againſt, and by all means reſtrain the Exceſſive Increaſe of Greatneſs in any of its Neighbours. Nor is this Injuſtice: 'Tis to preſerve itſelf and its Neighbours from Servitude; 'tis to contend for the Liberty, Tranquillity and Happineſs of all in general: For the Over-increaſe of Power in any one, influences the general Syſtem of all the ſurrounding Nations. Thus the ſucceſſive Changes which have happen'd in the Houſe of *Burgundy*, and which afterwards raiſed that of *Auſtria*, have alter'd the Face of Affairs throughout *Europe*. All *Europe* had reaſon to dread an Univerſal Monarchy under *Charles* V. eſpecially after he had defeated and taken *Francis* I. at *Pavia*. 'Tis certain that a Nation, having no Pretence directly to meddle with the Affairs of *Spain*, had at that time a very good Right to oppoſe that formidable Power which appear'd ready to ſwallow up all.

Private Men indeed have no Right to oppoſe the Increaſe of their Neighbour's Wealth, becauſe they cannot pretend it may prove prejudicial or deſtructive to them. There are Laws and Magiſtrates to ſuppreſs Injuſtice and Violence among Families unequal in Power. But the Caſe of Commonwealths is

different; the Over-growth of one of theſe may prove the Ruin and the Enſlavement of all its Neighbours. Here are neither Laws nor Judges eſtabliſh'd for a Barrier againſt the Invaſions of the Strongeſt; they have therefore reaſon to ſuppoſe that the ſtrongeſt will invade their Liberties, as ſoon as there is no Force ſufficient to oppoſe them. Each of them may and ought to prevent that Increaſe of Power, which would endanger the Liberty of his own People, and that of all his Neighbours. For Example, *Philip* II. of *Spain*, after he had conquer'd *Portugal*, would have made himſelf Maſter of *England*. 'Tis true, he had no Right that was well founded: But ſuppoſing his Right to have been inconteſtable, it was the Intereſt of all *Europe* to oppoſe his Eſtabliſhment in *England*; becauſe ſo powerful a Kingdom, added to his other Dominions of *Spain*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, and the *Indies*, would have enabled him to ſubject by his maritime Force all the other Powers of Chriſtendom*. In that caſe the Rule muſt have taken place of *Summum Jus*, *Summa Injuria*; and any particular Right by Succeſſion or Donation, muſt have given place to the natural Law that provides for the Security of ſo many Nations. Whatever deſtroys the juſt Ballance, or tends to ſet up an univerſal Monarchy, can be no other than unjuſt, however it may be founded on the written Laws of a particular Country, which can never take Place in oppoſition to the ſovereign and univerſal Law of Nature for the Common Security and Liberty, engraven in the Hearts of all the Nations of the World.

When a Power is grown to ſuch a Pitch, that all its Neighbours are hardly a Match for it, they have an undoubted Right to unite for the reſtraining of that

* The Example our Author brings is very proper. King *Philip* had in reality deſign'd to make himſelf an univerſal Monarch; and to that Deſign did we owe the Safety of Queen *Elizabeth*, and conſequently the Proteſtant Religion: For *Philip* would not conſent to the Death of *Elizabeth*, propoſed by her Siſter Queen *Mary*, through a Zeal for the Catholick Religion; leſt *Mary Stuart*, who was marry'd to *Francis* II. ſhould become by Succeſſion Queen of all *Great-Britain*, and uniting it to *France*, ſhould thereby form a Power which might fruſtrate his Deſign of Univerſal Monarchy. This is not the only Inſtance wherein this Political Maxim of the Ballance, and the mutual Jealouſy of Catholick Powers, has prov'd the Security of the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Europe*. We have ſeldom ſeen a Popiſh Prince ſo zealous for his Religion, as to ſuffer his Rival to aggrandize himſelf by the Ruin of the Proteſtants. But we have ſometimes ſeen even the Court of *Rome* itſelf trembling for fear of being cruſh'd under the over-grown Power of a Catholick Prince. That Court, it ſeems, is no leſs concern'd than others, in maintaining a Ballance of Power in Chriſtendom. Yet this Predominancy of the Political above the Religious Views, in the Conduct of the States of *Europe*, does not make it altogether unneceſſary for the Proteſtant Powers to maintain among themſelves a kind of ſeparate virtual Union, for their Security, when there is occaſion, in the Exercife of their Religion; ſince there are ſometimes Catholick Princes weak enough to be miſled by their Clergy, and to overlook their Obligations and true Intereſts, in promoting their Faith by Perſecution. We have a preſent Example of this in *Germany*, upon which the Proteſtant Powers have in reality acted in Concert, for the redreſs of their Brethrens Wrongs; and amongſt them (as is uſual on all Occaſions when the general Intereſt is concern'd) the King of *Great-Britain* has acted a chief Part.

that Increaſe, which were it ſuffer'd to proceed, would become too great to be oppoſed in its Attempts on the common Liberty. But that ſuch Confederacies for reſtraining the growing Power of a State may be lawful, the Danger from it muſt be real and preſſing; the League defenſive, or no farther offenſive than a juſt and neceſſary Defence requires; and ſuch Bounds muſt be ſet to it, as it may not entirely deſtroy that Power which it was form'd only to limit and moderate.

We (in *France*) have now in view a poſſible * Event, when the Truth of what we have advanc'd will be apparent: It is, if the King of *Spain* ſhou'd happen to die without Iſſue. I ſuppoſe the Renunciation of the Queen to have been void, and that conſequently we have a certain Right to the Succeſſion of *Spain*. When once we are become Maſters of *Spain*, we ſhall by conſequnce have *Portugal* in our power: All *Italy* will become a Province of our Kingdom by *Naples* and *Milan*; we ſhall be abſolute Maſters of the *Mediterranean*, by *Cadiz*, and the other Ports of *Spain*, by *Final*, *Gayetta*, *&c.* We ſhall have the Key of *Holland*, and ruin their Commerce by *Antwerp*. *Holland* being ſubdued without Reſiſtance, we ſhall become Maſters of the Channel, and all the Commerce of *Germany* and the Northern Parts: Nothing could hinder us, during ſome *Turkiſh* War, from ſubduing *Germany* itſelf: *England* would be expoſed, with vaſtly inferior Force, to our Deſcents, and durſt not withſtand us: We ſhould be the Tyrants of all *Europe*. All *Europe* therefore has a Right to concur in excluding us from this Succeſſion, at the ſame time that we are entitled to it by written Laws.

This Care to maintain a kind of Equality and Ballance among neighbouring Nations, is that which ſecures the common Repoſe; and in this reſpect ſuch Nations, being join'd together by Commerce, compoſe, as it were, one great Body of Community. Chriſtendom, for example, makes a ſort of general Commonwealth, which has its Intereſts, its Dangers, and its Policy. All the Members of this great Body owe to one another for the common Good, and to themſelves for their particular Security, that they oppoſe the Progreſs of any one Member, which may deſtroy the Ballance, and tend to the inevitable Ruin of the other Members. Whatever alters the general Syſtem of *Europe*, is dangerous, and draws after it many fatal Conſequences. The Houſe of *Auſtria* began under *Charles* V. to raiſe itſelf above that of *France*. What Wars did that produce! What Deſolations in all *Europe*, until the Peace of *Vervins!* Afterwards the Houſe of *France* become ſuperior by the Miniſtry of Cardinal *Richlieu*, and then by the Reign of the preſent King. In what Troubles and Miſchiefs have we ſeen *Europe* involved above theſe Thirty Years, and of the end of which we have yet no Proſpect!

All neighbouring Nations are ſo connected together by their mutual Intereſts, that the leaſt Progreſs of any one is ſufficient to alter the general Ballance, which makes the Security of the whole; as when one Stone is taken out of an Arch, the whole falls to the Ground, becauſe they ſuſtain each other. 'Tis a Duty then as natural for neighbouring Nations to concur for the common Safety againſt one who grows too powerful, as it is for Fellow-Citizens to unite a-

* This was written before the Death of the late King of *Spain*.

gainſt an Invader of the Liberty of their Country. If there is a Duty owing by every Citizen to his particular Society or Country; every Nation, by the ſame reaſon, is obliged to conſult the Welfare and Repoſe of that univerſal Publick, of which it is a Member.

Theſe defenſive Alliances are then juſt and neceſſary, when they are in reality intended to prevent an exorbitant Power, ſuch as might be in a Condition to ſubdue all. Nor can that ſuperior Power juſtly come to a Rupture with the leſſer States, merely upon account of their defenſive Leagues, which it was their Right and their Duty to enter into. The Juſtice of theſe Leagues depends on their Circumſtances: They ſhou'd be founded on ſome Infractions of the Peace, or the ſeizure of ſome Places of the Allies, or ſome certain Ground of the like Nature: They ought likewiſe to be limited by ſuch Conditions as may prevent (what we have often ſeen) one Nation's pretending a neceſſity of reducing another which aſpires to univerſal Tyranny, only that itſelf may ſucceed in the ſame Deſign.

The Addreſs, as well as Juſtice and Faith required in making Treaties of Alliance, is to frame them as plain as poſſible, and as remote from an equivocal Meaning, and exactly calculated for procuring a certain Benefit which you wou'd immediately be poſſeſſed of. You muſt take care that the Engagements you lay yourſelf under, do not reduce your Enemy too low, and prove too beneficial to your Ally; which may lay you under a neceſſity either to ſuffer what may be ruinous to you, or to violate your Engagements. And of theſe 'tis hard to determine which is more fatal.

Let us proceed to reaſon upon theſe Principles, applying them to Chriſtendom, in which we are moſt intereſted.

There are only four Caſes, or Conditions, in which a State may be ſuppoſed to be, with reſpect to its Share of Power in *Europe*.

The Firſt is, when it has a Force ſuperior to the reſt, who nevertheleſs uniting together, make a Counterpoiſe to it: Such has been the Caſe of *France* duting the preſent Reign.

The Second is, when it has a Force abſolutely ſuperior to that of all the other united Powers: Such was that of the *Romans*, and that of *Charles* the Great.

The Third is, when it has a Force inferior to another, but ſupports itſelf by an Union with the reſt of its Neighbours againſt the predominant Power.

Laſtly, the Fourth is, when it has a Force nearly equal to that of another neighbouring State, together with which it maintains all in Peace, by a kind of Ballance which it preſerves without Ambition, and with exact Faith.

The State of the *Romans* and of *Charles* the Great, is by no means eligible.

Firſt, becauſe to arrive at it, you muſt commit all manner of Injuſtice and Violence; ſeize what is not your own, and that by the moſt bloody and continued Wars. Then, the Deſign is very dangerous: States have often periſhed by theſe ambitious Follies; *Spain* is a very lively and recent Example of this. And, laſtly, vaſt Empires, which have been form'd by means of ſo many Miſchiefs, are generally the Occaſion of others yet more dreadful, by their Fall. The firſt Minority, or weak Reign, diſſolves the over-grown Body, and ſeparates the People, yet unaccuſtomed to the Yoke of Subjection, or to an entire Union.

Then

Then what Diviſions, what Confuſions, what Anarchies; without Remedy! To be ſenſible of this, we need only reflect on the Miſchiefs brought on the Weſt, by the ſudden Downfall of the Empire of *Charles* the Great; and on the Eaſt, by the Subverſion of that of *Alexander*, whoſe Captains made greater havock in ſharing the Spoils of his Victory, than he had done in the Conqueſt of *Aſia*. This then is of all the Caſes the moſt dazzling and fallacious, and the moſt fatal in its Conſequences to thoſe who arrive at it.

The Second Caſe is that of a Power ſuperior to any one of the reſt, who altogether make a Ballance againſt it. The Advantage lies on the ſide of the ſuperior Power, in that it is united, ſimple, not ſubject to controul, uniform and certain in its Meaſures. But if it be not able to diſunite the reſt, by exciting Jealouſies among them, it muſt at length be overpower'd, and all its ſuperior Force dwindle away; 'tis expoſed to ſo many unlook'd for Accidents within itſelf, or to be ſuddenly overthrown by Invaſions from abroad. Then it exerts itſelf to no purpoſe in deſtructive Efforts for a Superiority, which can afford it no real Advantage, and which expoſes it to all manner of Diſgraces and Dangers. This is certainly the moſt wretched State of *all*, eſpecially becauſe the utmoſt the moſt ſurpriſing Proſperity can give it, is that it ſhould paſs into that Firſt Condition which we have already found to be unjuſt and pernicious.

The third Caſe is that of a Power inferior to another, which yet being united to the reſt of *Europe*, makes a Ballance againſt the ſuperior, and becomes the Security of all the leſſer States. This Condition has its Inconveniencies, but it is leſs hazardous than the former; becauſe 'tis on the Defenſive, it waſtes itſelf leſs, it has its Allies, and is generally in that State of Inferiority, void of the blind inconſiderate Preſumption which is incident to the Fortunate, and ſo often brings on the Fall of the moſt proſperous States. Provided the inferior State be diſcreet and moderate, firm to its Allies, and cautious not to give them the leaſt Ground of Miſtruſt, nor to do any thing but in concert with them, and for the Common Good; it will be able to contend with the ſuperior Power, and at length reduce it.

The Fourth Caſe is that of a Power equal to another, with which it maintains the Ballance, through a Regard to the publick Security. This Condition without any ambitious Attempts to alter it, is the wiſeſt and happieſt of *all*: You are the common Arbiter; all your Neighbours are your Friends; or *ſuch* as are not ſo, are therefore ſuſpected by the reſt: You do nothing which does not appear to have been intended for the Good of your Neighbours, as *well as of your* own People: You add daily to your own Strength; and when at length you come, as you cannot fail by a wiſe Government to do, to have more Force at home, and more Alliances Abroad than the Power which is jealous of yours, then you muſt eſtabliſh the more that prudent Moderation with which you have ever maintain'd the Ballance for the common Security, and be ever mindful of the Miſchiefs which are cauſed by great Conqueſts in the conquering State itſelf, as well as in the vanquiſh'd, of the Danger of attempting them in vain, of the Vanity, Injuſtice, and ſhort Duration of great Empires, with the Calamities which attend their Fall.

But as it is not to be expected that a Power ſuperior to all others, can long maintain itſelf at that height, it would become a wiſe and juſt Prince not to be ambitious of tranſmitting ſuch a Power to his Succeſſors, who probably will not be ſo moderate as himſelf, nor ſo able to bear a continual and violent Temptation of eſtabliſhing to himſelf a more ſenſible Superiority. For the Good therefore of his Succeſſors and his People, he ought to confine himſelf to ſome Equality with his Neighbours.

'Tis true, there are different kinds of Superiority: One is External, and conſiſts in Extent of Territories, the Number of fortified Places, and the Poſſeſſion of Paſſes into the neighbouring Countries, *&c.* This proves a Temptation to Enterprizes as fatal to the Poſſeſſor of it, as to his Neighbours; and excites againſt him Hatreds, Jealouſies, and Confederacies.

The other kind of Superiority is Inward and Subſtantial; it conſiſts in a more numerous People, better diſciplin'd, and more ſkilful in Agriculture and other neceſſary Arts. This kind of Superiority is generally the eaſieſt attained, the ſureſt, the leaſt expos'd to the Envy and Combinations of its inferior Neighbours, and more proper than numerous Conqueſts, and fortified Places, to render a People invincible. A State cannot too diligently aſpire to this Superiority, nor too carefully avoid the former, which has no other than a falſe Luſtre.

E S S A Y II.

THERE is not, I believe, any Doctrine in the Law of Nations, of more certain Truth, of greater and more general Importance to the Proſperity of Civil Society, or that Mankind has learnt at a dearer rate, than this of the *Ballance of Power*; which the Author of the preceding Treatiſe maintains by a lively Repreſentation, and proper Examples of its Neceſſity.

It may be demonſtrated to have ariſen neceſſarily, and from the Reaſon and Nature of things, as a Cure of what happen'd amiſs in human Affairs, before the Riſe, and during the Progreſs of Civil Society; and to be as agreeable to the Principles of the Law of Nations, as it is to the preſent Policy, and general Practice of *Europe*.

That ambitious Propenſity in Man, which the Author lays down as the Foundation of his Doctrine, and which makes the Ballance neceſſary, has been, in reality, extant in the World from the earlieſt times. Perhaps it would not be going too far back for its Original, to obſerve that it was an Affectation of Dignity or Excellence above his alotted Share, that was the Occaſion of Man's firſt Fall, and brought Ill into the World. This at leaſt is true, that according to one, and that not the leaſt probable Opinion concerning the Riſe of Civil Society, it was owing to this very human Frailty. For whatever may be ſaid of the natural Inclinations of Man to Society, and the many Conveniencies of Life, which he enjoys by the means of it; ſome of the moſt learned are of opinion, that though Societies were formed in different places, and at different times, for various Reaſons, yet the firſt had its riſe from the Ambition of ſome

aſpiring Spirit, who made himſelf a Sovereign by Force; and that others following his Example, or fearing to be oppreſſed by him in their ſeparate State, aſſociated for their common Safety, and choſe themſelves a Chief.

And well was it perhaps for Mankind, that they were then but rude in the Art of preſerving the Ballance: For had thoſe independent Fathers of Families, inſtead of uniting into one Society, choſen our way of Confederacy or League to protect themſelves from the Violences of their Neighbouring-Sovereign, they might have remain'd ſome Ages longer in that State of Nature, and in their primitive Ignorance of Laws and Conſtitutions, Arts and Sciences, Commerce, and all thoſe invaluable Benefits, which are the happy Effects (if the Proſpect of them was not, in many Inſtances, the Occaſion) of Man's entring into Society.

It is yet more generally agreed, that the frequent Effects of the tyrannical Paſſions among private Perſons, were the Occaſion of the firſt Civil Unions: For it ſeems, even in thoſe early times, when Luxury was yet unknown, and the Deſires and Wants of Men were few, the perverſe Diſpoſitions of ſome of the Race diſcover'd themſelves in an unjuſt Diſturbance of their Neighbours Peace, and Invaſion of his Property; which made it neceſſary, for the Security of the milder and weaker, that they ſhould unite in Society, and chuſe a Chief, who might adminiſter Juſtice among them, and ſettle their ſeveral Rights and Pretenſions, or lead them to repel the Aſſaults of their Enemies.

It may be obſerv'd on this occaſion, that 'tis from a certain univerſal Senſe of this ambitious Depravity in Man, and of the Value of whatever conduces to preſerve a Ballance, that the fabulous Heroes of ancient times have been repreſented as employing their Virtue to deliver the Oppreſs'd, and to ſubdue Beaſts, Monſters, and Tyrants, thoſe Enemies of the common Repoſe and Safety.

When Men were thus united to protect themſelves from the Violences to which they were expos'd in their defenceleſs State, they ſoon became able to make a farther Uſe of their Union. They would then confer about their Wants, and engage their Inventions to provide for the Conveniencies of many kinds they ſtood in need of. They would diſcover the rude Beginnings of Laws, Arts, and Commerce; and for ſome time reap the Sweets of Security and Conveniency in their Infant States.

But in that unexperienc'd State they foreſaw not the Miſchiefs which reſtleſs Ambition was yet to cauſe among them, in ſucceeding times; any more than the Improvements in the Art of human Life which were to be made. The Luſt of Power remain'd in the Heart of Man, and found out new ways to exert itſelf. It produced Tyrants in particular States, and Conquerors over many.

Nor could it otherwiſe fall out in thoſe earlier Ages of Society: For while the ſeveral little States, fearleſs of any Dangers, other than they had provided againſt by their late Union, were intent on their private Concerns, and the Improvement of their new Condition, without minding what paſs'd at a diſtance from their own Borders, and ignorant how far they were intereſted in the Fate of their remoter Neighbours; it was eaſy for an ambitious Prince, by unjuſt Attempts upon the Liberty, firſt of one Neighbour, and then of another, to enlarge his uſurp'd Dominion over many more of the inferiour Communities, than

than would have been able jointly to cruſh him firſt Attempts againſt them. But the Ballance of Power among Nations was then unknown. No Correſpondence was maintain'd among Neighbouring States, nor Confederacies form'd for its Preſervation. And thus came poor Mankind, for many Ages, to be held in ſubjection under the unlimited Greatneſs and tyrannical Power of ſeveral ſucceſively univerſal Monarchies; which in their Turns, brought upon the World, in their Riſe, and while they flouriſh'd, and by their Fall, the innumerable conſequent Miſchiefs of ſuch an unnatural State.

One might (if there were occaſion) here enter into a ſpacious Field of Learning, to bring from Hiſtory the particular Proofs of theſe Reflections; and to inquire into the Attempts which were ſometimes made towards maintaining a Ballance of Power, eſpecially in *Greece*. But that would exceed the deſign'd Compaſs of this ſhort Eſſay. 'Tis certain however, that the Doctrine was never brought to its Perfection, nor fully eſtabliſh'd, till in the laſt Ages, after the Experience of ſo many former, among the *European* Nations.

Now the Caſe is the ſame among neighbouring States, which are with reſpect to each other in a State of Nature, that it was among the independent Fathers of Families before Society. The only Security againſt the Ambition of the Powerful, is the Confederacy and Union of the Weaker. As in both Caſes the Diſturbance and Breach of the Ballance ariſes from the ſame Cauſe, the Remedy and Preſervation muſt be found in the ſame manner. And thus we are brought, by a View of the natural and uniform Courſe of things, to diſcern the Juſtice of our Author's Sentiments, and to acknowledge the naturally civil and political State of Mankind, with the neceſſity of a general Society of the particular States, for the Security of all.

And as the firſt Societies of ſingle Men afforded them not Safety only, but many Advantages and Conveniencies of Life, of which they were deſtitute in their ſeparate State; ſo, in this general Society of Mankind, by a continually Intercourſe of Nations, and an univerſal Commerce, every one reaps the Benefit of the Inventions and Products of all, and the Art of human Life is brought to Perfection. Which ſince, without ſuch Commerce, it had never been, we might from hence alone argue for our Union of diſtinct Societies: No Country being abſolute and compleat in itſelf, but abounding with a ſuperfluity of certain Commodities, and wanting others equally conducive to its Walfare; which plainly diſcovers the Relation it bears to other Countries, or to the States by whom they are inhabited.

Nor is this Aſſemblage of ſeperate, independent States, the leſs to be accounted one Society, or connected Syſtem, becauſe there is no actual Union among them, as by an univerſal Alliance, or common Head; that being by no means neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſuch a national Brotherhood, or general Publick, as we are endeavouring to diſcover in the World. 'Tis ſufficient that the neighbouring Societies are of one common Nature, and are provided for by one Order or Conſtitution of things ſubſiſting together, and cooperating towards the Conſervation and Support of them all. There is one common Rule, as certain as the written Laws of any particular Country, by which their Nature, and their Conduct towards each other, may be clearly determin'd. They cannot ſubſiſt or be provided for compleatly, without a continual Intercourſe and Communication

of

of Benefits: And they can be no otherwiſe ſecur'd from the Effuſion of Blood, the Devaſtations of Provinces, the Shock and Ruin of Kingdoms, which have been occaſion'd, in former Times, by thoſe ambitious Attempts upon the Liberty of the World, which ended in the univerſal Monarchies.

Here is then our general Society eſtabliſh'd, in the ſame Manner that were the firſt ſingle ones, by a ſocial Ligue, Confederacy, and mutual Conſent, founded in a common Good or Intereſt, which joins the Members of the Community, and makes them one.

All the Members of this great Body are oblig'd to promote the common Intereſt, and as much as in them lies, to prevent all Damages and Inconveniencies to each other; and therefore to act in concert againſt ſuch a Power of any one as would enable him to tyrannize over the reſt. And that they may do this, when the dreaded Power is unlawful, or in reality abus'd in any of the Inſtances mention'd by our Author among the Limitations of his Doctrine, (as by the Infraction of the Peace, the Seizure of ſome Place not his own, or the like) no one will deny. But whether the bare Suſpicion of Ill from a Power capable by a rightfully acquired Strength to inflict it, be a juſt cauſe of uſing Force to prevent its farther Growth, or future Injury, may be juſtly called in queſtion. For the moſt celebrated Writers on the Law of Nations agree in this, (as in the Caſe of private Perſons in the State of Nature) the Fear of Harm from the too great Power of a State, gives the reſt no right to take Arms for reducing it, unleſs there be ſuch evident Signs of a real intention of injuring them as amount to a moral Certainty of their Danger; that they are to ſupport the ſuperiour Power will contain itſelf within due Bounds, till the contrary appear; and that they are to provide againſt uncertain Dangers, not by Force, but by allowable and harmleſs Cautions, as by fortifying themſelves, and uniting together. And this is moſt certainly true in all ordinary Caſes, when there is no very exorbitant Superiority of one above the reſt; yet it may not be utterly repugnant to our Author's Opinion in this latter Caſe.

He aſſerts that when a State is grown to ſuch a Pitch, that all its Neighbours are hardly a Match for it, tho' it was not without a Title to that dangerous Acceſs of Power, yet the reſt have a right by force to oppoſe the Proſecution of that Title, and to retrench that Power, which would otherwiſe be in a Condition to enſlave them all, or make them hold their precarious Liberty at its Diſcretion. He ſeems to think that in Caſes of ſuch Extremity as thoſe of the Examples he produces, when a State becomes formidable to its Neighbours by a great Acceſſion of new Dominions, the frequent Experience of Mankind's being ambitious and enterprizing in proportion to their Power, is alone a ſufficient moral Certainty of their Danger, to juſtify the uſe of Force, and the Violation of the ſubordinate private Right, in providing for their common Security. He adds many neceſſary Limitations of this bold Opinion: That actual Combinations of this kind, are not to be made without juſt Ground, a real and imminent Danger; that they are not to proceed to offenſive Violence againſt the dreaded Power, unleſs it be neceſſary for their own Defence; nor to retrench it further than the Care of their common Safety requires.

His Opinion thus ſtated, may perhaps be defended upon that Principle on which he places it, to wit, the ſovereign Regard which is due to the Good of the whole Body, of which every particular State is a Part. 'Tis evident that any Member which is in a Condition that may be deſtructive to the reſt, is, with reſpect to this Order or Oeconomy of neighbouring States, a publick Calamity, which needs Redreſs for the Good of the whole. Such a one cannot more juſtly complain of the retrenching his Exorbitancy, than could that Man who abounded in Plenty, on his being robb'd of a Morſel of Bread by a Perſon ready to ſtarve for Hunger, and who was compell'd to uſe that Violence for his own Preſervation. Nor can he more juſtly claim the Exerciſe of his pernicious Title, than a Madman can claim the Reſtitution of an Inſtrument of Death which he had depoſited in the Hands of another Man; ſince in both Caſes equally, the Poſſeſſion of the private Right may prove hurtful and deſtructive to the Publick. 'Tis as reaſonable in this Caſe, as we ſee it in many Inſtances in Nature, that there ſhould be a Sacrifice of Intereſts; that the Part ſhou'd be ſubjected to the Whole; and that one Member ſhould be reſign'd to the Advantage of the whole Body, and contribute by its private Injury to the Preſervation and Happineſs of all in general.

Thus we ſee how the juſtifiable Practice of our Author's Doctrine depends on a diſcreet Juſtice to the private Right, and a moderate Zeal for the publick Good; that neither any needleſs Violation of the firſt be committed, nor any thing deſtructive of that Ballance by which the general Society is upheld, may on any account, or under any pretence of private Right, be advanc'd or proſecuted, which can be no other than unjuſt in the Whole, however it may be founded in the particular Rights of a certain Part.

The Doctrine of the Ballance being eſtabliſhed, our Author examines, by theſe Principles, the Condition of any *European* Nation in the various Degrees of Power it may be poſſeſſed of. His Caſe may be conſidered as ſeveral Diſpoſitions of Power in the Whole, as well as ſo many Conditions of any other Nation. And in this View, his Explanation of his fourth Caſe is ſomewhat obſcure; for it does not appear at firſt ſight, that he ſpeaks of two Powers (as the Houſe of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon*) of conſiderable Force in *Europe*, that are jealous of each other, and watchful to prevent the leaſt Acceſſion of Greatneſs to its Rival; and ſo prove the Security of the reſt by their mutual Emulation. While they continue thus nearly equal, and neither is ambitious to become Greater, they are not only themſelves in a happy Condition, but make their Neighbours ſafer, during that Diſpoſition of Power, than they could be by a Union againſt a mighty Potentate equal to them all together. The Reaſon is that the inferior united Powers are not always diſcreet and faithful and zealous for the common Good. There may be one of them guided by evil Counſellors, who will for their private Intereſt hinder their Prince to concur with his Neighbours for the general Good; or a Prince may find it difficult to raiſe the neceſſary Supplies for his Proportion of the united Strength; or he may be weak enough to neglect the Danger, becauſe 'tis at ſome Diſtance from his own Countries; or he may be prevail'd on by the Practices of the predominant Power to break off from the Alliance. Now while there happens to be in *Europe* two ſuch great Powers, from either of which alone the reſt would be in Danger, but which are thus watchful over one another; the Liberty of the inferior States

is eaſily and effectually ſecur'd. But when one of them becomes conſiderably ſuperiour to the other, or ambitiouſly diſturbs the publick Tranquility, the reſt muſt come in to aid the Weaker, and reſtore the Ballance.

Our Author, in his Reflections on theſe Caſes as of one certain Nation, concludes that to be the happieſt, when its Power is moderate, employ'd for the common Good, and ariſes from the inward Proſperity of its own People, without attempting on the Liberty of its Neighbours,

And from hence there ariſes a further Reſemblance between the Caſe of ſingle Perſons, and that of Commonwealths; and there is a virtuous and vicious Conduct in the State, as well as in the private Man, which influences alike their Condition by its natural Operation, in cauſing Happineſs or Miſery. This Propoſition may appear over-refin'd and philoſophical; but after what has been already examin'd may be eaſily explain'd. We have ſeen above, many Inſtances of this Reſemblance: That, as every ſingle Man, ſo a Community of Men is naturally oblig'd to uphold a Union and Correſpondence with its Followers: That it has it's Intereſts, and its Duties, in this great Society, to be car'd for, and perform'd: That it may be diſcreet or imprudent in its Conduct towards the reſt. In the ſame manner, it may be juſt or unjuſt, a good Neighbour and Member, which obſerves exactly that Law, and thoſe Orders on which this extended Correſpondence and common Intereſt is eſtabliſh'd; or ſuch a one as ſeeks rather the Harm than the Good of that Whole in which it is included. Now if what our Author advances be true, in his Preference of what he makes his Fourth Caſe of a Nation, the juſt and virtuous State, we ſee, is the only happy one. And there will hence appear a very remarkable Harmony with that Fundamental Truth in Morality. "That Virtue is the natural Good, and Vice "the Miſery and Ill of every Man." And the Reaſon and Ground of this Truth, aſſign'd by the great Maſters in Morality, will not be a leſs proper and delightful Conſideration, with reſpect to our Subject. It is, That Man being by his particular Oeconomy fitted to the ſtricteſt Society, and Rule of common Good, the Wiſdom of that which rules in Nature, has ſo diſpos'd, that for him to operate, as is by Nature appointed him, toward the Good of ſuch his Society or Whole, is in reality to purſue his own natural and proper Good; and that to operate contrariwiſe, or by ſuch Affections as ſever from that common Good or Publick Intereſt, is, in reality, to work towards his own natural and proper Ill. Such likewiſe is the Nature, and ſo it happens in the Caſe of a whole Nation.

And if at all times the Obſervation would not hold good, 'tis true at leaſt as the Affairs of *Europe* are now conſtituted. For we are now in an Age when our Society at large is fram'd, a Connection of the whole preſerv'd, and the Ballance and Liberty of *Europe* univerſally regarded with the greateſt Caution. And we ourſelves the happy Nation, who ever ſince the firm Security of our own Liberties by ſettling a Ballance of Power between our Prince and People, have not only enjoy'd thoſe Bleſſings at home, but by our Greatneſs and Power given Life and Vigour to their Cauſe abroad. We were the Head and Chief of the *European* League, founded on this common Cauſe, to reduce the Exorbitancy of an neighbouring Prince, who threatned the World with an univerſal Monarchy. Now can we loſe this noble Ardour, or quit the glorious Toil, whilſt

we are under the wiſe Government of a King, whoſe chiefeſt Care is to make his People happy; and yet with an extenſive Goodneſs ſeeks the Benefit of all, and affects the Intereſt and Proſperity of the World.

He ever carefully applies himſelf to purſue the Maxims of his Predeceſſors, eſpecially thoſe which tend to keep him in Peace and Friendſhip with the other Powers of *Europe*, and to cultivate Commerce with them for mutual Advantage. He acts in concert with his Neighbours, to bring about the great Schemes he has form'd for the Tranquillity of *Europe*; and has already, to this noble Purpoſe, form'd a mighty Alliance, and engag'd in it the ſame Power which was, not long ago, ſo formidable to all *Europe*, and might ſoon, with recruited Strength, prove ſo again. He now provides for an effectual Security againſt its Union with another Power, which appear'd lately capable of being alone dangerous to the reſt, and might have prov'd ſo, had it not been prevented, and reduc'd by his timely Interpoſition. Nor is he leſs ſollicitious to quit the Troubles in the Northern Parts, occaſion'd chiefly by a powerful Prince, who has but newly rais'd his People from Barbarity, and brought them into the general Society of *Europe*; and yet has already made ſuch ambitious Attempts on every ſide, as prove ſufficiently what a watchful Eye the reſt muſt keep upon him. The King has wiſely ſav'd from his Oppreſſion the poor Remains of a once flouriſhing Proteſtant Kingdom; and will, we hope, ſucceed in his Endeavours to reſtrain within due Bounds the Power of that Monarch, and ſettle a general Peace.

In fine, one cannot read our Author's Deſcription of his fourth and happieſt Caſe of a Nation, and not obſerve with Pleaſure, that our King's Character and Conduct are perfectly adapted to make Him that glorious Prince, and us that happy People; while, at the ſame time, his Moderation, and our own Situation and excellent Conſtitution, give us a full Security from the only Danger of ſuch a proſperous State, the Abuſe of it by oppreſſing our Neighbours. For we who taſte the moſt of Liberty at home, and are the chief Maintainers of the Ballance abroad, are of all People the moſt ſenſible, that a Nation who ſhould go about to make itſelf abſolute over its Neighbours, would ſeek a State of all other the moſt horrid, oppreſſive and miſerable; that every Step towards it is unjuſt, a Breach of Intereſt, and leads to the greateſt Ills: As on the other ſide, every thing which is an Improvement of Commerce, or an Eſtabliſhment of Liberty and the Ballance, is an Advancement of the common Intereſt, and leads to the greateſt and moſt ſolid Happineſs of Civil Society.

The

Two LISTS; ſhewing the Alterations that have been made in the Houſe of Commons, from the Beginning of the Reign of King *Henry* VIII, to the End of that of King *James* I. and in the Houſe of Peers, from the Acceſſion of King *James* I. to this Time; with ſome Obſervations. Printed in the Year 1719.

GREAT Induſtry being uſed to prejudice the Publick againſt the Bill now depending in the Houſe of Peers, for ſettling the Peerage of *Great Britain*, by Repreſentations and Inſinuations equally falſe and malicious; it will at leaſt be pardonable in one who is no leſs concern'd for the Preſervation of our happy Conſtitution, than deſirous that the Publick ſhould have a juſt Opinion of the preſent Adminiſtration, to reprint a Liſt already publiſh'd, ſetting forth the Number of the Peerage at the Acceſſion of King *James* I. and the Alterations it has ſince undergone; and to ſubjoin to it a Liſt ſhewing the State of the Houſe of Commons when King *Henry* VIII. came to the Crown, and what Counties and Boroughs were by him and his Succeſſors privileg'd to ſend Members to Parliament; and add to theſe Liſts ſome few obvious Remarks, which may perhaps contribute to ſet this Matter in a true Light.

A LIST of the Peers exiſting at the Time of King *James* the Firſt his Acceſſion to the Crown, and of thoſe who have ſince been advanced to the Peerage by Claim of ancient Right, by Writ, or by Patent; as alſo of the ſeveral Peers Extinct in his and the ſucceeding Reigns.

N. B. *Thoſe Printed in Capitals, are the preſent Peers.*

LIST of Peers, as it ſtood at King *James* the Firſt His Acceſſion to the Crown, the Twenty Fourth of *March*, 1602-3.

MARQUIS.

WInchester, D. of BOLTON.

EARLS.

OXford.
Northumberland.
SHREWSBURY [†]
Kent, D. of KENT.
DERBY.
Worceſter, D. of BEAUFORT.
Rutland, D. of RUTLAND.
Cumberland.
Suſſex.

HUN-

EARLS.

HUNTINGDON.
Bath.
Southampton.
Bedford, D. of BEDFORD.
PEMBROKE.
Hertford, D. of SOMERSET.
LINCOLN.

VISCOUNTS.

MONTACUTE [†]
Bindon.

BARONS.

AUDLEY, *E. of Caſtelhaven* [†]
Willoughby of Eresby, D. of ANCASTER.
DE LA WAR.
Berkeley, E. of BERKELEY.
Stafford.
Morley.
Darcey.
DUDLEY.
Zouche.
Scroop, *E. of Sunderland.*
Grey of Wilton *(Attainted.)*
Lumley.
STOURTON [†]
Ogle.
Mountjoy, *E. of Devonſhire.*
Cobham *(Attainted)*
Monteagle (*merged in Morley.*)
Sandys.
Vaux.
Windſor, E. of PLYMOUTH.
Wentworth, *E. of Cleveland.*
Mordaunt, E. of PETERBOROUGH.
Cromwell.
Eure.
Wharton, D. of WHARTON.
Sheffield, D. of BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.
Rich, EARL of WARWICK.
WILLOUGHBY of PARHAM.
Paget, E. of UXBRIDGE.
Darcey of Chiche, E. RIVERS. [†]
HOWARD of EFFINGHAM (*then E. of Nottingham.*)
NORTH and GREY.
Chandois, E. of CARNARVAN.
HUNSDON.
St. JOHN of BLETSO (*afterwards E. Bolingbroke.*
Buckhurſt E. of DORSET.
Burleigh, E. of EXETER.
Compton, E. of NORTHAMPTON.
Norris, E. of Berkſhire.
Walden, E. of SUFFOLK.

J. I.	Created, *&c.*	Extinct.

King JAMES I.

1 E. of Arundel, *reſtored and placed as firſt Earl.* D. of NORFOLK.
Viſcount HEREFORD *then E. of* Leiceſter, *reſtored, takes Place as firſt Viſcount.*
SAY and SEALE *Claim allowed and placed after V.* Montacute.
Bar. ABERGAVENNY *Claim allowed, as firſt Baron.*

B. Grey of Wilton.
B. Cobham.

Cecil,

J. I.	Created, &c.	Extinct.
1	Baron Cecil, *E. of* SALISBURY.	
	Sidney, *E. of* LEICESTER.	
	Knolles, *E. of* Banbury.	
	Wootton.	
	Thornaugh, *merged in* Bedford.	
	Grey *of* Groby, *E. of* STAMFORD.	
	PETRE. [†]	
	Harrington.	
	Danvers, *E. of* Danby.	
	Gerard Bromley.	
2	Spencer, *E. of* SUNDERLAND.	
3	Ellesmere, *E. of* BRIDGEWATER.	
	Marnhill, *E. of* Northampton.	B. Ogle.
	Hume, *E.* Dunbar *in* Scotland	B. Lumley.
	Stanhope *of* Harrington.	B. Zouche.
	ARUNDEL *of* WARDOUR. [†]	
	Cavendish, *D. of* DEVONSHIRE.	
	Denney, *E. of* Norwich.	
	Carew *of* Clopton, *E. of* Totnes.	
	Earl Montgomery, *merg'd in* Pembroke.	Earl of Devon.
5	Baron Knivet *of* Escrick.	
6	Clifton.	
9	Earl of Somerset, *attainted.*	B. Hume.
11	Baron Settrington, *D. of* Richmond.	B. Harrington.
12	Dacres, of Herstmonceaux, *E. of* Sussex, *Claim allowed and placed next Lord* Morley.	
13	Hay of Sawley, *E. of* Carlisle.	E. of Northampton.
	DORMER of WENGE. [†]	
	Whaddon, *D. of* Buckingham.	
14	Houghton, *D. of* Newcastle.	E. of Somerset.
	TENHAM.	
	Stanhope, of Shelford, *E. of* CHESTERFIELD.	
	Noel, *E. of* GAINSBOROUGH.	
16	Digby, *E. of* Bristol.	
	Verulam, *V.* St. Albans.	B. Monteagle.
17	Eaversdale, *E. of* Camb. *M.* Hamilton *in* Scotland.	B. Clifton.
	Baron Leighton, *D. of* Richmond.	Viscount Bindon.
	Viscount Purbeck.	

Baron

J. I.	Created, &c.	Extinct.
18	Baron Newenham, *E. of* DENBIGH.	
	Kingſton, *E. of* Holderneſs.	
	Ogle, *D. of* Newcaſtle.	
	Montague, *E. of* MANCHESTER BROOK.	
	Hicks, *V.* Cambden.	
19	Montague, of Boughton, *D. of* MONTAGUE.	Earl of Berkſhire.
	Howard of Charlton, *E. of* BERKSHIRE.	
	Lepington, *E. of* Monmouth.	
	Cranfield, *E. of* Middleſex.	
	Viſcount Faulkland.	
20	Baron Kenſington, *E.* Holland, *mer. in* Warwick.	B. Knivet of Eſcrick.
21	Eaſtwell, *E. of* WINCHELSEA. [†]	
	Grey of Werk, *E. of* Tankerville.	
	Daventree, *E. of* Angleſea.	
22	Somerhill, *E. of* St. Albans.	
	Deincourt, *E. of* SCARSDALE.	E. of Holderneſs.
	Fane, *E. of* WESTMORLAND.	D. of Richmond.
	Ley, *E. of* Marlborough.	
	Roberts, *E. of* RADNOR.	
	Earl of Conway.	

King CHARLES I.

1	BAron St. John Tregoſe,	Viſcount St. Albans.
	Carleton, *V.* Dorcheſter.	
	Tufton, *E. of* THANET.	
	Craven, *E.* Craven.	
	Cecil, *V.* Wimbleton.	
3	Mountjoy, *E. of* Newport.	B. Thornaugh.
	Faulconberg, *Viſ.* FAULCONBERG. [†]	
	LOVELACE.	
	Poulet, *E.* POULET.	
	Harvey *of* Kidbrook.	
	Brudenell, *E. of* CARDIGAN.	
	Pierrepoint, *D. of* KINGSTON.	
	Viſcount Bayning *of* Sudbury.	
	Baron MAYNARD.	

Baron

	Created, &c.	Extinct.
4	Coventry, *E. of* COVENTRY.	
	Howard *of* Eſcrick.	
	Weſton, *E. of* Portland.	
	Goring, *E. of* Norwich.	
	Mohun.	
	Savile, *E. of* Suſſex.	
	Wentworth, *E. of* Strafford.	
	Dunſmore, *E. of* Chicheſter.	E. of Totneſs.
	Boteler *of* Bramsfield.	V. Campden.
5	Powys, *Marquis of* Powys.	B. Wootton.
	Baron Herbert of Cherbury.	E. of Montgomery.
		B. St. John Tregoſe.
7	Cottington.	E. of Sunderland.
		Viſc. Dorcheſter.
		E. of Banbury.
16	Littleton.	B. Darcy.
	Fordwiche.	Viſc. Wimbleton.
	Trowbridge, *merg'd in* Somerſet.	Viſc. Sudbury.
		B. Stafford.
	Viſcount Stafford.	E. of Norwich.
17	Baron Bruce, *E. of* AYLESBURY.	E. of Suſſex.
	Capel, *E. of* ESSEX.	B. Harvey of Kidbrook.
	Darcy, *E. of* HOLDERNESS.	
	Claim allow'd and plac'd next Lord Dacres.	
18	Newport, *E. of* BRADFORD.	
	Craven of Ryton.	
19	Wilmot, *E. of* Rocheſter.	
	LEIGH.	
	Hatton, *V.* HATTON.	
	Hopton.	
	Loughborough.	
	Jermyn, *E. of* St. Alban's.	E. of Cumberland.
	BYRON.	Viſc. Faulkland.
	Vaughan, *E. of* Carbery *in* Ireland.	E. of Danby.
	Carrington.	
	Widdrington, *attainted.*	
20	Duke of Cumberland, *Prince* Rupert.	
	Baron Ward, *merged in* Dudley.	
	Earl of Brainford, *E. of* Forth *in* Scotland.	
	Baron COLEPEPER.	
	Aſtley.	
	Clifford, *E. of* BURLINGTON.	
	Lucas.	

	C. I. Created, &c.	Extinct.
20	Baron Bellasyse.	
	Rockingham, *E. of* ROCKINGHAM.	B. Littleton.
	Cobham.	
	Cholmondeley *of* Wichmalbank.	
21	Gerard Brandon, *E. of* Macclesfield.	
	LEXINGTON.	
	Newbury, *E. of* Litchfield, *merged in* Richmond.	

C. II. King CHARLES II.

2	BAron Wootton.	B. Craven of Ryton.
		B. Cobham.
		E. of Cambridge, M. Hamilton.
		B. Cottington.
		E. of Brainford.
		B. Hopton.
		E. of Chichester.
		E. of Bath.
		Vis. Purbeck.
10	LANGDALE. [†]	
	Crofts.	
	BERKELEY *of* STRATTON.	
11	*Duke of* York.	
	of Glouceſter.	
	Baron Mordaunt, *E. of* Monm. *m. in* Peterborough.	E. of St. Alban's.
12	Potheridge, *D. of* Albemarle.	B. Cholmondley of Wichmalbk.
	Butler, *D. of* Ormonde, *Attainted.*	E. of Carliſle.
	Hyde, *E. of* CLARENDON.	E. of Litchfield.
	Montague, *E. of* SANDWICH.	E. of Angleſey.
		B. Fordwiche.
		D. of Glouceſter.
13	Anneſley, *E. of* ANGLESEY.	B. Vaux.
	Granvile, *E. of* Bath.	E. of Monmouth.
	Holles *of* Ifield.	
	CORNWALLIS.	
	Delamere, *E. of* WARRINGTON.	
	Townſhend, *V.* TOWNSHEND.	
	Aſhley, *E. of* SHAFTSBURY.	

Baron

C. II.	Created, &c.	Extinct.
	Baron CREW.	
	Dacres of Gilleſland, *E. of* CARLISLE.	
15	Tindale, *D. of* Monmouth, *Attainted.*	
16	Arlington, *E. of* Arlington.	
	Fretcheville.	
	Botetort, *E. of* Falmouth.	
	ARUNDEL *of* TRERICE.	
		E. of Falmouth.
		B. Loughborough.
18	Butler *of* Moor Park.	E. of Southampton.
		E. of Cleveland.
19	Saville, *M. of* Hallifax.	B. Boteler, of Bramsfield.
21	Howard *of* Caſtleriſing, *E.* Norw. *m. in* Norf.	
22	FITZWALTER, *Claim allowed, and placed next Lord* Darcey.	E. of Northumberland.
	Nonſuch, *D. of* CLEVELAND.	
24	Sudbury, *D. of* GRAFTON.	E. of Suſſex.
	CLIFFORD *of* CHUDLEIGH, †	D. of Richmond.
	Duras *of* Holdenby, *merged in* Feverſham.	E. of Norwich.
	Butler *of* Weſton.	
25	Oſborn, *D. of* LEEDS.	E. of Holland.
	Grey, *merged in North.*	
	Paſton, *E. of* YARMOUTH.	
	Daventry, *E. of* NOTTINGHAM.	
26	Spelbury, *E. of* LITCHFIELD.	E. of Middleſex.
	Peterſham, *E. of* Guilford, *D.* Lauderdale.	
	Pontefract, *D. of* Northumberland.	
27	Dartmouth, *E. of* Plymouth.	B. Trowbridge.
	Settrington, *D. of* RICHMOND.	
	Cranfield, *E.* Middleſex, *merged in* Dorſet.	
28	Norris *of* Ricot, *E.* ABINGDON, *Claim allowed by Deſcent from E.* Berks, *and placed accordinly.*	
	Heddington, *D. of* St. ALBANS.	B. Stanhope of Harrington.
29	Throwley, *E. of* Feverſham.	B. Grey.
	Ferrers, E. FERRERS, *Claim allowed, and placed next to Lord* Morley.	B. Crofts.

C. II.	Created, &c.	Extinct.
	Baron Mowbray, *merg. in D.* Norfolk.	E. of Norwich.
		E. of Middleſex.
31		B. Duras.
	Grey *of* Ruthen, *E. of* SUSSEX,	E. of Newport.
32	*Claim allowed, and placed next Lord* Fitzwalter.	B. Manners.
	Manners, *merged in E.* Rutland.	E. Marlborough.
	Deincourt, *merged in E.* Scarſdale.	V. Stafford.
33	Conyers, *merged in E.* Holderneſs.	
	Noel, *merged in E.* Gainſborough.	E. of Plymouth.
	Wootton Baſſet, *E.* ROCHESTER.	B. Mowbray.
	Lumley, *E. of* SCARBOROUGH.	B. Deyncourt.
34	CARTERET.	E. of Rocheſter.
	Oſſulſton, *E.* TANKERVILLE.	B. Fretchville.
	Dartmouth, *E.* DARTMOUTH.	E. of Guilford.
	Alington.	D. Cumberland, Prince Rupert.
	Thynne, *V.* WEYMOUTH.	B. Noel, *merged.*
35	STAWELL.	
36	GUILFORD.	E. of Conway.
	Godolphin, *E. of* Godolphin.	B. Sandys.
		B. Butler of Moor Park.
		B. Wootton.
		D. of York came to the Crown.

J. II.	King JAMES II.	
1	BAron Dover.	D. of Monmouth.
	Churchill, *D. of* MARLBOROUGH.	E. of Arlington.
	Jefferyes.	B. Butler of Weſton.
	WALDEGRAVE. [†]	B. Cromwel.
	Tindal, *E. of* Derwentwater, *Attainted.*	E. of Portland.
3	Boſworth, *D. of* Berwick, *Outlawed.*	D. of Buckingham.
4	*E. of* STAFFORD. [†]	D. of Albemarle.
	Griffin, *Outlawed.*	B. Aſtly.

Wm. and *Mar.*	King WILLIAM and Q. MARY.	
1	BAron Oking, *D. of* Cumberland, *Prince* George *of* Denmark.	B. Bellaſyſe.
	Cirenceſter, *D. of* PORTLAND.	Conyers.

Wm. and *Mar.*	Created, &c.	Extinct.
	Baron Milton, *E. of* Rumney.	
	Cholmondeley, *E. of* CHOLMONDELEY.	
	Teyes, *D. of* SCHOMBERG.	
	Herbert, *E. of* Torrington.	
	ASHBURNHAM.	
2	Willoughby *of* Eresby, *merged in* Linsey.	
	Berkeley, *merged in E.* Berkeley.	
	Sidney, *merged in E. of* Leicester.	
	Granville, *merged in E. of* Bath.	
	Osborn, *merged in D. of* Leeds.	
	Clifford, *merged in E. of* Burlington.	B. Herbert of Cherbury.
3	Villiers, *E. of* JERSEY.	D. of Newcastle.
4	Capel.	B. Alington.
	LEMPSTER.	E. of Strafford.
5	WESTON, *E. of* Arran *in* Ireland.	
	Raby, *E. of* STAFFORD, *by Descent from E.* Strafford, *and placed next Lord* Mohun.	B. Holles.
7	HERBERT *of* CHERBURY.	D. of Berwick.
	WILLOUGHBY *of* BROOK, *Claim allowed, and placed next to Lord* Stourton.	E. Craven.
	CRAVEN, *by Descent from E. of* Craven, *and placed before Lord* Clifford *of* Chudleigh.	
8	HAVERSHAM.	B. Clifford.
		B. Morley.
		E. of Monmouth.
9	Enfield, *E. of* ROCHFORD.	B. Capel.
	Ashford, *E. of* ALBEMARLE.	
	Lowther, *V.* LONSDALE.	
	Russel, *E. of* ORFORD.	
	Summers.	
10	BARNARD.	E. of Bristol.
		B. Ward.
		B. Sidney.
		B. Berkeley.
	Alford, *E. of* GRANTHAM.	M. of Hallifax.
12	Hallifax, *E. of* HALLIFAX.	B. Willoughby of Eresby.
		E. Macclesfield.
		B. Granville.

Created,

Ann.	Queen ANNE.	Created, &c.	Extinct.
1		BAron Granville.	M. Powys.
		Gernſey, *E. of* AYLESFORD.	B. Jefferyes.
		GOWER.	E. of Oxford.
		CONWAY.	B. Dover.
		Harvey, *E. of* BRISTOL.	B. Griffin.
3		Berkeley, *merged in E.* Berkeley.	E. of Rumney.
4		Chatham, *D.* Argyle *in* Scotland, *E. of* GREENWICH.	B. Carrington.
			B. Lucas.
		Duke of Cambridge, PRINCE *of* WALES.	B. Grey of Werk.
		Cowper, *E.* COWPER.	B. Eure.
		Pelham, *D. of* NEWCASTLE.	B. Jermyn and Dover.
			D. of Cumb. Pr. Geo. of Denmark.
		Cheſterford, *E. of* Bindon, *merged in E.* Suffolk.	B. Granville.
10		Harley, *E. of* OXFORD.	
		[COMPTON, *will merge in E.* Northampton.]	B. Gerard Bromley.
		Clifton, *Claim allowed, and placed next Lord* Dormer.	E. of Feverſham.
		[BRUCE, *will merge in E.* Aylesbury.]	
		HARCOURT.	
		BOYLE, *E.* Orrery *in* Ireland.	
		HAY, *Lord* Duplin *in* Scotland.	
		MOUNTJOY, *V.* Windſor *in* Ireland.	
		Burton, *merged in E.* Uxbridge.	
		MANSEL.	
		MIDDLETON.	
		TREVOR.	
		LANSDOWN.	
		MASSAM.	
		BATHURST.	E. Bindon.
11		St. John, *V.* Bolingbroke, *Attainted.*	B. Berkeley.
		[OSBORN, *will merge in D.* Leeds]	D. of Newcaſtle.
			E. of Bath.
12		BINGLEY.	B. Mohun.
		FOLEY.	B. Vaughan.
			B. Oſborn.

Created,

Created, &c.	Extinct.
	B. Clifton.
	B. Burton.
Geor. King GEORGE.	
1 VIS. TADCASTER, *E.* Thomond *in* Ireland.	E. of Suſſex.
Baron Sanderſon, V. CASTLETON.	B. Eſcrick.
Harborough, V. SHERARD.	D. of Ormonde.
Pierrepoint.	Viſc. Bolinbroke.
CARLETON.	B. Pierrepoint.
Cobham, V. COBHAM.	
[WILLOUGHBY *of* ERESBY, *will merge in D. of* Ancaſter.]	
[LUMLEY, *will merge in E. of* Scarborough]	
2 PARKER.	E. of Derwenwater.
CONINGESBY.	B. Widdrington.
	E. of Torrington.
	B. Somers.
ONSLOW.	D. of Northumberland.
TORRINGTON.	
Cadogan, *E. of* CADOGAN.	
ROMNEY.	
NEWBURGH.	
Batterſea, *V. St.* JOHN.	
DUKE of YORK.	
3 Baron Stanhope, E. STANHOPE.	
4 [St. JOHN *of* BASING, *will merge in D. of* Bolton.]	
5 [LUCAS *of* CRUDWELL, *will merge in D. of* Kent.]	

King JAMES the First found the

	Peerage 59		
	Created, &c. 62	Extinct 17	Added 45
K. Charles I.	59	21	38
K. Charles II.	64	53	11
K. James II.	8	8	0
K. William *and* Q. Mary.	30	21	9
Q. Anne.	30	24	6
K. George.	20	10	10
	332	154	119
Deduct Ext.	154		
Remains	178		

The preſent LIST.

The Prince and the Duke.	2
Dukes.	22
Earls.	73
Viſcounts.	13
Barons.	68
	178
Archbiſhops *and* Biſhops.	26
Peers on the Part of Scotland.	16
	220

A LIST of Counties and Boroughs which returned Members to Parliament, at the Time of the Acceſſion of King *Henry* VIII. to the Crown.

Bedfordſhire.
Bedford
Berkſhire
New Windſor
Reading
Wallingford
Bucks
Chipping Wicomb
Cambridgeſhire
Cambridge Town
Cornwall
Dunhivid, *alias* Launceſton
Leſkard
Leſtwithiel
Truro
Bodmin
Helſton
Cumberland
Carliſle-City
Derbyſhire
Derby

Derby
Devonſhire
Exeter-City
Totneſs
Plymouth
Barnſtaple
Plympton
Taviſtock
Clifton Dartmouth Hardneſs
Dorſetſhire
Pool
Dorcheſter
Lyme-Regis
Weymouth
Welcomb-Regis
Bridport
Shafton, *alias* Shafteſbury
Wareham
Eſſex
Colcheſter
Malden
Glouceſterſhire
Glouceſter-City
Herefordſhire
Hereford-City
Lempſter
Hertfordſhire
Huntingdonſhire
Huntington
Kent
Canterbury-City
Rocheſter-City
Lancaſhire
Leiceſterſhire
Leiceſter
Lincolnſhire
Lincoln-City
Great Grimſby
Stamford
Grantham
Middleſex
City of London

Norfolk
Norwich-City
Lynn-Regis
Great Yarmouth
Northamptonſhire
Northampton
Northumberland
Necaſtle upon Tyne
Nottinghamſhire
Nottingham
Oxon
Oxon-City
Rutlandſhire
Salop
Salop Town
Bruges, *alias* Bridgnorth
Ludlow
Great Wenlock
Somerſetſhire
Briſtol-City
Bath-City
Wells-City
Taunton
Bridgwater
Southampton
Wincheſter-City
Southampton Town
Portſmouth
Staffordſhire
Stafford
Newcaſtle under Line
Suffolk
Ipſwich
Dunwich
Surry
Southwark
Blechingly
Ryegate
Guildford
Gatton
Suſſex
Chicheſter-City
Horſham

Midhurſt
Lewes
New Shoreham
Bramber
Steyning
Eaſt-Grinſted
Arundel
Warwickſhire
Coventry-City
Warwick
Weſtmoreland
Apulby
Wiltſhire
City of New Sarum
Wilton
Downeton
Hindon
Heiteſbury
Weſtbury
Calne
Devizes
Chippenham
Malmeſbury
Cricklade
Great Bedwin
Lurgerſhall
Old Sarum
Wotton-Baſſet
Marlborough
Worceſtrſhire
Worceſter-City
Yorkſhire
York-City
Kingſton upon Hull
Scarborough
(Cinque Ports)
Port of Haſtings
Port of Dover
Port of Sandwich
Port of Hyeth
Port of New Romney
Town of Rye
Town of Winchelſea.

Counties and Boroughs 147, Members 296.

A LIST of Counties and Borroughs to whom the Privilege of ſending Repreſentatives to Parliament was granted or reſtored by,

King *Henry* VIII.

Buckingham Town
Cheſhire
Cheſter City
Monmouth
Monmouth Town
Berwick upon Tweed
Orford
Angleſey
Beaumaris
Brecon
Town of Brecon
Cardigan
Town of Cardigan
Carmarthen
Town of Carmarthen
Carnarvan
Town of Carnarvan
Denbigh
Town of Denbigh
Flint
Town of Flint
Glamorgan
Town of Cardiffe
Merioneth
Montgomery
Town of Montgomery
Pembroke
Town of Pembroke
Town of Haverford Weſt
Radnor
Town of New Radnor
Calais in France
Counties and Boroughs 32
Members 38

King *Edward* VI.

Saltaſh
Camilford
Portpigham, *alias* Weſtlow
Grampound
Boſſiney
St. Michael
Newport
St. Albans
Maidſtone. (*Which forfeited its Privileges under Queen* Mary, *by adhering to* Wyat's *Rebellion.*
Preſton
Lancaſter
Wigan
Liverpool
Boſton
Weſtminſter
Thetford
Peterborough
Brackley
Petersfield
Litchfield
Heydon
Thirſk
Boroughs 22
Members 44

Queen *Mary*

Abingdon
Aileſbury
Penryn
St. Ives
Caſtleriſing
Higham Ferrars
Morpeth
Woodſtook
Banbury
Droitwich
Knareſborough
Rippon
Borroughbridge
Alborough
Boroughs 14
Members 25

Queen *Elizabeth.*

Eaſtlow
Tregoney
Fowey
St. Germains
St. Mawes
Kellington
Beralſton
Corfe-Caſtle
Maidſtone
Queenborough
Newtown
Clithero
Eaſt Redford
Biſhops Caſtle
Minehead
Yarmouth
Newport in the Iſle of Wight
Stockbridge
Newton
Chriſt-Church
Lymington
Whitchurch

An-

Andover
Tamworth
Aldborough
Sudbury
Eye
Haſlemere
Richmond
Beverly
Boroughs 31
Members 62

King *James* I.

AGmondeſham
Wendover
Great Marlow
Cambridge Uuniverſity
Tiverton
Harwich

Tewkeſbury
Hertford
Oxford Univerſity
Ilcheſter
St. Edmondſbury
Eveſham
Bewdley
Pontefract
Boroughs 14
Members 27

From a bare Inſpection of the LISTS the following Obſervations will naturally ariſe.

THAT King *Henry* the VIIIth, who had great Oppoſition to ſtruggle with in eſtabliſhing the Reformation, firſt thought of ſtrengthning his Hands by either reſtoring or granting (moſtly by Act of Parliament) to Counties and Boroughs, the Right of ſending Repreſentatives to Houſe of Commons, whoſe Numbers till then had continued much the ſame.

That this Method was purſued by his Sueceſſors, and acquieſced in upon the evident Neceſſity there was to recur to extraordinary Means for carrying on the great Affairs then in Agitation till ſuch time as that Neceſſity ceaſing, the Nation was alarmed by the Continuance of the ſame Practice under King *James* the Firſt, who beſides took an unuſual Liberty in erecting Boroughs of his own Authority, that never had enjoyed any Right of ſending Members to Parliament.

That this Prince perceiving likewiſe this Practice of erecting Boroughs was not entirely to be relied on, ſince he could have no Certainty of their returning always ſuch Members as might be agreeable to him, made uſe of another Expedient to influence Parliaments by creating new Peers, having in a Reign of 22 Years created 62 which is about nine times as many as Queen *Elizabeth* had done, whoſe Reign was twice as long.

That as our Conſtitution cannot be preſerved unleſs a Ballance of Power is maintained between the ſeveral Branches of our Government, there is a Neceſſity of reſtraining this Practice of conferring Honours with ſo liberal a Hand, which in a late glaring Inſtance we have ſeen uſed to very bad Purpoſes; and if this Method be purſued by Miniſtries to overturn the Meaſures of their Predeceſſors, their frequent Changes will occaſion ſuch a Number of Creations that no Man can tell where it will end, unleſs the King's moſt gracious Offer be accepted, which is the firſt Inſtance that Perhaps was ever known of a Prince's freely the conſenting to a Limitation of his Prerogative, in order to ſecure the Liberty of his Subjects.

That notwithſtanding theLimitation propoſed,yet the frequent Extinctions of Families will ſufficiently make Room for the Crown to beſtow Honour upon Commoners of diſtinguiſhed Merit.

The learned and ingenious Author of a Pamphlet entituled, *The Plebeian*, would oblige the Publick by exhibiting a Catalogue of the Corporations which Queen *Elizabeth* exonerated from ſending Members, and by ſhewing the Wealth of many of thoſe ſhe reſtored.

A LETTER to the *Right Honourable* the Lord Chief Juſtice *KING*, on His Lordſhip's being Deſign'd a PEER. Printed in the Year 1726.

My LORD,

WHEN I firſt preſum'd to make publick the following private Letter *to your Lordſhip, it was at the Inſtigation of a few Friends, who think, that the Newneſs of the Subject, and Manner in which it was treated, might give ſome Amuſement to the Publick, and no juſt Offence to your Lordſhip. In ſearching after a* Motto *for your Lordſhip (which is the* Subject *of it) I was naturally led to have the* Outlines *and* principal Strokes *of your* great Character *before me. And if, in return to the kind Reception the World gave it, I now further preſume to publiſh it a ſecond Time, I do it as an Acknowledgment, which I, as one of the great Community of the Nation (whom You have ſo highly oblig'd, and are daily obliging in the conſtant Diſplay You make of your exalted Character for its Service) owe You.* My Lord, Honours *and* Stations, *however great they may reſpectively be, are not an adequate Recompence for great Merit. Experience in all Ages ſhews us, that* Honours *in themſelves are not always* honourable; *they are of an equivocal Nature, and add no* Merit, *where they find* none. *Then only do they yield real Dignity to the Perſon on whom they are confer'd, when they will admit of* Reaſons *for conferring them. Hence it was, that* Preambles *to Patents of* Creation *were firſt introduc'd. Which ſtill remain the nobleſt Decoration of true Merit, and at the ſame Time (it muſt be own'd) the ſureſt Indication of that which Counterfeit. This Juſtice (I mean of a* particular *Preamble) which You ow'd your* other *Virtues, your Lornſhip was pleaſed to ſuffer the ſuperior Influence of* one *to prevent. But you will,* My Lord, *I hope pardon me (I am ſure the Publick will) if I am humbly of opinion, that your Lordſhip ſhould not have exerted this* ſingle *Virtue in ſo eminent a manner, to the prejudice of the Reſt that conſtitute your noble* Character. *A Detail, as is uſual, drawn up by a maſterly Hand, of the great Ingredients in your Lordſhip's Character (whilſt the World knew you poſſeſs'd them) would have been of Uſe, as it would have been of Example, to Mankind, and no poſſible Diſſervice to your Lordſhip. And ſince this was not done, by your own leave in its proper place, I truly think it ought (for the Honour of our Country) to be done without it. I own myſelf abſolutely unequal for ſuch a Taſk. To expreſs that which ſo ſtrongly ſtrikes the Obſervation of every body with a ſuitable Luſtre, (however deſirous I might be of it,) is far beyond the reach of my Pen. But, as in the Purſuit*

of

of the Subject of the following Letter *I was naturally led to touch on ſome of the principal Virtues, which have rendred* You, *what you are, and however imperfect the Sketch may be, thinking it ſome Merit to the Publick, to have the* Will *to do ſo great an Ornament of it Juſtice, I have conſented to the publiſhing it a* ſecond *Time. If in ſo doing I ſhall be thought* to have err'd; *whilſt it was the* honouring *your Lordſhip I had in View, I have the Comfort at leaſt of knowing*, I have err'd with the People.

Serus in cœlum redeas, diuque,
Lætus *interſis* populo *Britanno*,

Will ever be the unfeigned Prayer of,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

London,
Feb. 14.
1725-6.

Moſt Obliged, and moſt
Obedient, Humble Servant,

Robert Whatley.

Chriſtmas-Eve, 1724.

My *Lord*,

IT would argue very great Inattention in me towards the Publick, ſhould I let paſs any thing unobſerved which regards Your Lordſhip; who make ſo conſiderable a Figure in it, and to whom nothing can really happen that does not conſiderably affect it. And to find myſelf no ways concerned in what paſſes, with reſpect to Your Lordſhip, would argue an Indifference, altogeter inconſiſtent with ſincere Devotion, wherewith I have had my Heart fill'd for You, ever ſince I have had the Honour of Your Acquaintance.

Beſides the general Talk of the Town, I have two ſo good Authorities for Your Lordſhip's being to be made a Peer, from two of your very good Friends, that I can no longer doubt it, and it was not long I was convinc'd of the Truth of it, before a Thought came into my Mind, by purſuing which, I perceived I might poſſibly be of ſome Uſe to You, and at the ſame time give Your Lordſhip an Inſtance in little, of what I ſhould be very ready, were I able, to do in greater Matters. My Lord, The Thought which came into my mind on this Occaſion, was to find out a Motto for your *Coat of Arms*, which Cuſtom has now made very near as neceſſary to write under them, as the Diſtinction of your new Quality will oblige You to ſet over them a Coronet. This I conceiv'd too

trifling

trifling a Subject for Your Lordſhip's Thought, and therefore have I preſumed to make it the Employment of my own.

I have, on this Occaſion, run over moſt of the Motto's of our Nobility, in order to ſee whence they have been uſually taken, as well as conſidered the Nature of a Motto in itſelf. A Motto was originally deſign'd to contain an Alluſion to the real or aſſumed Character of the Perſon that wore it; taken either from the Offices he bore, or the Circumſtances of them, or the particular Sentiments of his Mind, or Manner of Life, which he either was, or deſired to be moſt noted for. In looking over thoſe of our Nobility, I have found them of a very various Nature, and of as different an Excellency. And I can't avoid giving Your Lordſhip a Sketch, with a very ſhort Comment, of them, as I go along. And the firſt which I ſhall inſtance in, will be ſuch, which, taken from the Names of the Great Perſons who bear them, and terminating in Pun or Quibble only, ſhew a very bad Taſte in thoſe who firſt aſſumed them. Such are,

(*a*) *Cavendo Tutus*———Cavendiſh.
Piè reponte Te———Pierrepoint.
Ne vile Fano ———Fane, deſcended from the Nevils.
Ne vile velis ——— Nevil.
Forte ſcutum Salus Ducum——Forteſcue.
Manus juſtà nardus——Maynard.
Templa quam dilecta——Temple, *Lord* Cobham.

And ſuch a one might eaſily be framed for Your Lordſhip from the Equivoque of your Name in *Latin*; as,

A Rege pro Rege.

But I look on theſe, as I have ſaid, to favour of a very bad Taſte; there being nothing more decay'd, as to Matters of Writing or Speaking, in the preſent Age, nor I think more juſtly, than any Thing founded on a Pun. They may indeed, for ought I know, ſerve to ſhew the Antiquity of the Families of thoſe who bear them, but I am ſure they do not the Antiquity of their Senſe.

Another Sort, not much better than theſe, *plain ſimple Expreſſions of ſome one particular Virtue*, which does no more peculiarly belong to the Owners of it, than to any other Perſon whatſoever. Such are,

(*b*) *Sola Virtus invicta.*——Norfolk.
(*c*) *Aut nunquam tentes aut perfice.*——Dorſet.

(*d*) *Virtus*

(*a*) *i. e.* My Name is *Cavendiſh*, and I have choſen *Cavendo Tutus* for my Motto, not becauſe I really think there is any more Safety in being wary (which is its meaning) than in any other Virtue; but becauſe *Cavendo* and *Cavendiſh* found alike. And ſo of all the reſt.
(*b*) True Virtue alone unconquerable.
(*c*) Reſolve to finiſh what you take in hand, or not ſet about it at all.

(*d*) *Virtus in Actione conſiſtit.*——Craven.
(*e*) *Je me fie en Dieu.*——Plymouth.
(*f*) *La Vertu eſt la ſeule Nobleſſe.*—North *and* Grey.

Another Sort, not much ſuperior to theſe, are a ſhort Recommendation of ſome particular Virtue either to the World in general, or to their Poſterity in particular, without any Point in them. As

(*g*) *Aymez Loyaulté*———Bolton.
(*h*) *Maintien le Droit.*———Chandos.
(*i*) *Garde la Foy.*———Paulet.
(*k*) *Suivez Raiſon.*———Montacute.

Not to trouble *Your Lordſhip*, with too many of a Sort, the next which I ſhall inſtance in, are ſuch as are barely expreſſive of ſome *particular favourite Sentiment* of the Perſon who gave it: And ſuch was the late Duke of *Marlborough*'s, who thought fit to expreſs it in *Spaniſh*, to give it, I ſuppoſe, an Elevation it had perhaps wanted in any other *Tongue*.

Fiel pero Deſdechado.

Which ſignifies as much, if I am rightly inform'd, "That he would continue "faithful, altho' he ſhould have reaſon to be diſguſted, or to think his Services "ſlighted." I am ſorry, by the way, *His Grace* was put to the Trial of it.

Others of this ſort, are,

(*l*) *Comiter ſed fortiter.*——— *late* Bucks.
(*m*) *Vicit amor Patriæ.*——— Newcaſtle.
(*n*) *Stemmata quid faciunt.*——— Windſor.
(*o*) *Semper fidelis.*——— Your Lordſhip's Neighbour, *Lord* Onſlow.

There are many more of this Sort, ſome of which are very good, and others very ordinary.

But

(*d*) Virtue is active.
(*e*) My Truſt is in God.
(*f*) 'Tis Virtue only that truly ennobleth.
(*g*) Be Loyal.
(*h*) Defend what is Right.
(*i*) Be Faithful.
(*k*) Let Reaſon be your Guide.
(*l*) I am reſolved always to appear civil, eaſy, and obliging; but however, to ſee that I have my own Will.
(*m*) The Love of my Country has been Superior.
(*n*) *What ſignifies an empty Word,*
His Grace, *His* Highneſs, *or* My Lord?
'Tis Virtue ſtamps the Character.
And gives a Luſtre to the Star.
(*o*) I will never ſwerve from my Duty.

But the beſt of all, are ſuch as convey to the Mind, ſomething of the *Character* of the *Perſon* who bears it, or firſt aſſum'd it; and the more it has of *this*, both of his *general* and of his *particular Character*, the *clearer* and *conciſer* it is expreſs'd, the better it will be. It has been likewiſe thought, that it would be ſtill better, if the Words made a *part* of a *Verſe*. But this is not ſo very neceſſary to its being good, but that if it be very *clearly* and *emphatically* expreſs'd, and *conciſe*, it will do without it. I have found few or none expreſſive of the *general* and *particular* Character. Thoſe which follow are of the *latter* ſort *only*.

Pax in Bello.

This was the late Duke of *Leeds*'s, and no doubt deſign'd by him to expreſs the Situation of Affairs when he was *Prime Miniſter*, and had the Dignity firſt conferr'd on him: which was our *being at Peace*, and our Neighbours *in War*.

(*p*) *Soyez ferme.*——— late Lord Rocheſter's.
(*q*) *Otium cum Dignitate* ——— late Lord Hallifax's.
(*r*) *Frangas non flectes.* ——— late Lord Gower's.
(*ſ*) *Nec quærere nec ſpernere honorem*———a very good one of the preſent *Lord* St. John, but that it is too long. Of this Sort, but conſidered in another Light, is that *My Lord* Walpole bears, with Alluſion to his Great Father's maſterly Talent.

Fari *quæ ſentiat.*

But the *beſt of all*, are thoſe which as I have ſaid, allude to both the *general* and *particular Characters* of the Perſons that wear them, with *Elegance*, *Perſpicuity*, and *Conciſeneſs*. And this I have had in View, in thinking on one proper for Your Lordſhip. And in order to arrive at this the better, I have more particularly obſerved thoſe which have been aſſumed by ſuch whoſe Eminence in Your Lordſhip's Profeſſion, procured them their *Peerage*. But I have ſcarce found *One* that comes up as I would have it, to the Deſcription I have given of the beſt Sort.

Lord *Lechmere*'s is,

Ducet Amor Patriæ.

A Motto worthy Hls Lordſhip, and excellently good, as far as it goes in expreſſing his great *Character*. But it is imperfect. One may ſee in it indeed his Lordſhip's great Spirit of *Patriotiſm*, and *Love to his Country*, very emphatically expreſs'd. And there's a Refinement in the Words, by which a *Common Thought* has great Force and Energy added to it, and quite a *new Motto* is conſtituted of the *ſame Sentiment*, uſed by others. Not *Vicit*, not *Ducit Amor Patriæ*; the firſt of theſe implying a Poſſibility of a Man's having entertain'd a Doubt, Whether any other *Conſideration* ſhould not come in competition with his

(*p*) Be ſteady, *or* reſolv'd.
(*q*) I have obtain'd what I long'd for, an honourable Leiſure.
(*r*) Break me you may perhaps, but you ſhan't make me bend.
(*ſ*) I deſpiſe not the Honour I am now poſſeſs'd of, no more than I was over-ſolicitous about it before I had it conferr'd on me.

this *Love to his Country*; and the latter anſwering for a Man's being influenc'd by it for the Preſent only. Wherefore my Lord has moſt appoſitely made uſe of the Word in the future Tenſe, *Ducet Amor Patriæ*. *The Love* of one's Country and Conſtitution will carry *a Man forth to exert himſelf with his utmoſt Eloquence—Force*—and *Spirit* in the Service of ſo glorious Cauſe. It will, my Lord, conſtrain him to do ſo. But notwithſtanding theſe are Beauties, it is defective. It carries in it no manner of Alluſion to the honourable Profeſſion of which His Lordſhip was ſo very great an Ornament. And his Eminency in which, was at firſt the Foundation of his Lordſhip's Grandeur, as the extenſive Knowledge of the Laws and Conſtitution of his Country, muſt be acknowledg'd to be, at preſent, its greateſt Support.

The preſent Lord Chancellor's is

Sapere aude.

Which is put for, *Dare to be Honeſt:* implying, by a pretty hard Conſtruction, I think, as the World goes, that to be Wiſe, is to be Honeſt. Such a Motto, I muſt own, is no great Compliment to the Age in which it is aſſumed. As if Difficulties lay in a Man's Way to be Honeſt, that he muſt exert an extraordinary Degree of Courage to be ſo. Neither is it any great Compliment to the Perſon who aſſumes it, if he lives in an Age where he incurs no Danger if he be Honeſt. But, perhaps, his Lordſhip aſſumed it, with a Retroſpect to his Behaviour in the late Queen's Time.

Lord *Trevor*'s is a *Family Motto*, and ſo is Lord *Harcourt's*, only I can't but obſerve as I go along, that the Lord *Harcourt* was in the right to keep to that of his Anceſtors: For it contains a very happy Alluſion to what will make a very ſhining part of his Lordſhip's Character. It is, *Le bon Tems viendra*. It teem'd for many Years with a Prophecy, which we ſee very happily accompliſh'd in his Lordſhip's Perſon.

Tuum eſt.

A Motto that had no manner of reference to his Lordſhip's publick or private Character; and a Man muſt have a particular Acquaintance with *Horace* to know it has any meaning. But what that meaning was, which was deſign'd for it by his Lordſhip when he fix'd it under his Shield, whether he deſign'd to make his Acknowledgments to *God*, the *Queen*, or Himſelf, whatever the Preſumptions may be, is to me uncertain.

(*t*) *Prodeſſe quam Conſpici.*

of Lord *Somers*, is a very good one, but not compleatly ſo, becauſe however expreſſive of a famous part of his private Character, there's no Eye in it to what his Lordſhip's Riſe was owing to. (*u*)

(*t*) I take more Delight in *being* uſeful to Mankind, than in being *ſeen* to be ſo.

(*u*) Of the ſame Nature as this of Lord *Somers*, his Lordſhip's great Predeceſſor is that which My Lord Chancellor has choſen,——*Labor ipſe Voluptas*.——They are both very good as far as they go, but labour both under the ſame Imperfection, of containing but a very *Synecdochical* Alluſion to the Greatneſs of their Lordſhip's reſpective Characters.

" and thoſe that uſe them are as much ſuppoſed to expreſs what they are go-
" vern'd by themſelves, as what they would recommend to be practiſed by
" others."

I Submit all this humbly to Your Lordſhip, not doubting of your kind Acceptance of the Good Will I have ſhewn of a Readineſs to be at Your Lordſhip's Devotion.

In This, My Lord, You will never be miſtaken. And give me leave to ſay it, (and God knows my Heart that it is true) that I ſhall ever think myſelf happier in being any ways ſubſervient to Your Lordſhip, from the Pleaſure I ſhall have in being ſo, out of the great Obſervance I bear You, than from any temporary Intereſt your Favour may ever occaſion me. Should your Advancement, My Lord, terminate on your being made a Peer, or ſhould the World be miſtaken in thinking this a Prelude to ſomething greater ſtill, You are by being made a *Peer*, *ipſo facto*, a *Miniſter of State*, and will have it, in ſome meaſure, as well in your Power, as in your Will, to ſerve your Friends.

As for Myſelf, My Lord, (for whom I hope You will indulge me one word in ſo long a *Letter*) I beg leave to acquaint You, That the Continuance of Your Lordſhip's particular Favour (and Friendſhip, I had almoſt ſaid) is what is uppermoſt in my Thoughts, when I think on this Subject. And no Expreſſion of your Kindneſs in any way of Intereſt, without That be ſtill ſubſiſting, will ever be in my Thoughts a ſufficient Compenſation for the Loſs of it. For, as for any Profit or Honour that might accrue to Me on This, or any future Occaſion, I ſhould look no further on it, than as it would be ſuitable or becoming to one whom Your Lordſhip might not think altogether unworthy of your Countenance; and, as it might enable me to exert in the Courſe of my Life thoſe Qualifications, (ſuch as they are) which my Genius, and Education, may, more particularly, have furniſh'd me with. I have a much greater Fondneſs for a great and a good Character, than for a great, or (what is uſually ſo call'd) a good Fortune. A Good Character, I am ſenſible, is only to be attain'd by Myſelf, by a cloſe Atttention to my own Actions; and a Great one, will be the natural Conſequence of Your Lordſhip's Favour, to any one on whom You ſhall be pleas'd diſtinguiſhingly to confer it. But I beg leave to aſſure You, That I ſhall ceaſe to deſire a great one by Your Lordſhip's means, whenever I ſhall ceaſe to deſerve a good one by my own.

My Lord,

Though the News which gave occaſion to this Letter, was known to me before I left the Town, yet I have deſignedly defer'd the writing it, till I came into the Country. And that not only becauſe I would write it with more Leiſure, but that You might receive it, as I deſign You ſhall, on *Chriſtmas-Day* in the Morning. Times and Seaſons ſtamp a Memory on Things which would otherwiſe go without it. And if Your receiving this Letter on that Day ſhould have the deſigned Effect, I deſire it may be always accompanied in Your Lordſhip's

ſhip's Mind, with the Remembrance of a conſtant unfeigned Devotedneſs in the Writer of it to Your Lordſhip's Perſon and Service.

With theſe Sentiments, I humbly take leave, and ſubſcribe myſelf,

MY LORD,

Shepperton, Chriſtmas-Eve, 1724.

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Obliged and moſt Obedient

Humble Servant,

R. W.

The following Lines appearing to me to be a very beautiful as well as juſt Paraphraſe on the Motto.

Labor ipſe Voluptas.

I have thought fit to give them a Place in this vacant Page. I am ſorry I don't know who writ them, that I might give the right Owner the Honour of them.

On the Lord CHANCELLOR's *Motto.*

'Tis not the Splendor of the Place,
The gilded Coach, the Purſe, the Mace,
Nor all the pompous Train of State,
With Crowds that at your Levee wait,
That make You happy, make You great.
But whilſt Mankind You ſtrive to bleſs
With all the Talents You poſſeſs,
Whilſt the chief Joy You do receive
Ariſes from the Joy You give;
This takes the Heart, and conquers Spight,
And makes the heavy Burthen light:
For *Pleaſure* rightly underſtood
Is only *Labour to do Good.*

MONEY

" Your Lordſhip, and all the World, know how his Majeſty's ſuits his own " Character; and I learnt Abroad how fitly choſen thoſe were, of his ever re- " nowned Uncle and Father: Two Princes, whom even his Majeſty's amiable " Character ſcarce hinders thoſe People from remembering with Pleaſure and " Regret.

" But, taking Leave of this agreeable Digreſſion, with congratulating my " Country, (if it be true, what I have ſomewhere read, *That it is a much greater* " *Compliment to the Characters of Princes*, becauſe more rare, for *them* to poſſeſs " the *Virtues* of *private Perſons*, than thoſe *Royal ones* which are peculiar to their " exalted Stations) I ſay, congratulating my Country, that we have a Prince on " the Throne, in his perſonal Integrity, ſo like your Lordſhip, as that the ſame " Motto, in this Reſpect, would, by the Conſent of all Men, fit you both: I " take Leave of this Digreſſion, and return to propoſe to your Lordſhip the " next which has offer'd itſelf to my Thoughts, while I was employing them " on this Subject; which, as it comes not much behind the former, in an ap- " plicable Fitneſs to your Character, ſo one may the better bear the Diſappoint- " ment, in offering that to your Lordſhip's Uſe on this Occaſion. It is

(*k*) *Eſt modus in Rebus*——

" The following Words

(*l*) ——*Sunt certi denique Fines,*
Quos ultra citrâque conſiſtere Rectum,

" explain the former, and confine their Meaning. And this, I think, muſt " be allow'd a very good one. It has even a Beauty in it which the other " wants, as it is Part of a known Verſe; and it falls but little ſhort of it in " expreſſing your excellent Character, which has made you ſo diſtinguiſh'd " among the great Men your Contemporaries; I mean, your known Modera- " tion and Impartiality, that you never went, nor have it in your Nature to go " to any Extremes: But it has no Relation to your publick Character, with " Reſpect to the Place you are now in; though I can't but ſay it would have " a very apt one in a more exalted Station; where, leſs confin'd to a ſet Rule, " your Determinations muſt be moderated by the Equity of your own Mind.

" My Third is a Couple of Words of my own putting together, and which, " in their Meaning, are very near akin to the former, *viz.*

(*m*) *Vincit Ratio.*

" This is likewiſe very appoſite to your Lordſhip, as you are known to have " ſuffer'd yourſelf, at all times, to be govern'd by Reaſon. This is ſhort, clear, " and expreſſive of your private one. Both theſe will do very well, if none " could be lit on, that will expreſs both it, and your publick Character, of a " Judge, or a Lord Chancellor, ſhould it be written in the Book of Fate, or be " the

(*k*) There's a *Mean* in all Things.

(*l*) What is *Juſt* and *Honeſt*, is *ſo* only at a certain Extent; if you go beyond, or come ſhort of which, the Nature of your Action is alter'd.

(*m*) *Reaſon* rules me.

" the Will of Heaven, for the Good of your Country, that you ſhould ever " honour that Dignity. And I think there has occur'd to my Thoughts One " which has all the foregoing Excellencies in it; it is ſhort, clear, expreſſive " of your private Character, and no Party-Man; and of your judicial Character " too; it has a meaning both for the Wiſe, and for the Simple, and is part of " a *Latin* Verſe: It is

(*n*) *Diſcite Juſtitiam.*

" It is part of a noted Verſe in *Virgil*'s *ſixth Eneid:* That expreſſes at once to " the Eye of the World Your Lordſhip's known Character of being inviolably " diſpoſed to do Juſtice to every body; which has made you ſo much the " Darling of your Country, in the Poſt You are in, and has excited ſuch an " univerſal Longing, as is known to every body, but yourſelf, to ſee You " Lord *Chancellor.* It bears likewiſe a manifeſt Alluſion, implying an Admo- " nition to your lateſt Poſterity to mind the Law; which Profeſſion was the " Foundation of their Great Anceſtors Honour. And it moſt aptly expreſſes " your Character as a Member of the Legiſlature to all thoſe, at leaſt, who " know that Juſtice is the great Cardinal Virtue on which all other, but par- " ticularly Political Matters, ought to turn: The Love of which muſt have " alone given Birth to that known Integrity of Judgment and Action which " Your Lordſhip has been ever famous for through the whole Courſe of your " Life: and which, join'd to a great Amiability of Manners, muſt have chiefly " occaſion'd that unfeign'd Union of all Men's Minds in taking part, and in " rejoicing in Your Lordſhip's Honour. It has my Choice preferably to the " Reſt, for a further Reaſon, which is, becauſe altho' two Words compoſe " the *Motto*, and fix the Senſe; yet moſt People who know any thing, will " thereby be put in mind of the remaining part of the Verſe, which refers to " an admirable, and, as the Age goes, a very diſtinguiſhing part of Your " Lordſhip's great Character, and that is, your open and avowed Piety and " Reverence for your Maker.

(*o*) *Diſcite Juſtitiam, moniti*, & non temnere *Divos.*

" Finally, I know but two Objections can be made againſt it: The firſt of " which is, That the Expreſſion is too naked, and has neither Point nor " Spirit in it. The Other, as if it carried with it an Air of haughty Superio- " rity; which if it did, I muſt own would be very unnatural to your Lorſhip's " Character.

" As to the Firſt, give me leave, My Lord, to tell You, that the Gravity " and Dignity of Your Lordſhip's Character is above the Air, and Fancy of a " Point. And nothing can, I think, ſuit You more on this Occaſion, than to " make uſe of ſome valuable plain Precept; which while your Shield bears as " a Precept, Your Lordſhip in your own Perſon is a living Example of. As " to the other Objection, That it would look as if You aſſumed to Yourſelf an " Elevation above the reſt of Mankind, by bearing it, and as it were dictated " ſomething to your Inferiors.——There are many Motto's in the Imperative,

" and

(*n*) Learn to be Juſt.

(*o*) Learn Juſtice, and deſpiſe not Powers above. *Lauderd.*

(x) *Animo & fide.*——— Guilford.
(y) *Nil conſcire ſibi.*——— Nottingham.
(z) *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*——— Clarendon.

I ſhall go no higher than the Reſtoration; and not to lengthen my Letter unneceſſarily, I leave your Lordſhip to obſerve how far theſe latter are expreſſive, or fall ſhort of the *general* and *particular* Character, or both, of the noble Perſons who aſſum'd them.

The beſt I have met with, or at leaſt that have pleas'd me moſt, in the whole Liſt that I have ſeen of thoſe of our *Nobility* in general, are three very modern ones: *One*, of the late Earl of *Oxford*,

(a) *Virtute & Fide.*

Another the preſent Earl *Cadogan*'s.

(b) *Qui invidet minor eſt.*

Theſe two have not the Advantage of being part of a Verſe, and yet are excellent. The Firſt, with ſome Abatements to his wilful Demerits, very properly expreſſive of the Foundation on which ſo great a Man might deſire to be thought to build up his Fortunes. And the other a very happy Admonition on account of the Sentiments which the ſeeing his Lordſhip among the Peers of his Country might raiſe in the Mind of many of the Beholders.

The *Third* is of the late Viſcount *Bolingbroke.*

(c) *Nil admirari.*

A moſt excellent Sentiment for a *Young Stateſman* to ſet out with, tho' I am afraid little underſtood at that time by the *then* Noble Perſon who wore it. But his *late* Lordſhip was not the only Perſon who in thoſe Times to expreſs myſelf in a noble (d) Author's Words, gave that Admiration to "Equipages, Titles, Pre-"cedencies, Staffs, Ribbons, and other ſuch glittering Ware, which is alone "due to inward Merit, Honour and a Character." Tho' he happen'd by his Motto profeſſedly to avow he would not. (e)

And as there are favourable Motto's, ſo likewiſe may there be ſatyrical ones; two of which Sort I ſhall lay before your Lordſhip, as they have a Tendency to

(x) Courage and Fidelity.
(y) To be conſcious of no Guilt.
(z) We owe our preſent happy Circumſtances to God.
(a) Through Faith in God's Bleſſing and my own Endeavours. (*To give any other* Senſe *to this Motto would be diveſting it of its greateſt Beauty.*)
(b) Whoever envies me my Honours, that very Envy makes him my Inferior.
(c) To have no more Eſteem for any Thing, than the Thing deſerves.
(d) Lord *Shaftbury*'s Characteriſticks, vol. 3. p. 169.
(e) To the foregoing three I ſhall add a fourth, which was unknown to me at the writing this Letter; and that is,

Spectemur agendo ——— the preſent Duke of *Montagu*'s.

Which, whatever Light we conſider it in, whether of *Expreſſion*, *Senſe*, or *Fitneſs* to he due or real Character of the great Perſon who wears it, is truly excellent.

to expreſs my Notion of good ones, and carry in them the beſt Explanation of my Meaning.

The Firſt is one, as I remember, applied to the late Earl of *Oxford*, in the Height of his Lordſhip's Glory,

(*f*) *Oderint dum metuant.*

The Other,

Optat Ephippia Bos.

As both theſe carry a Sting along with them, and repreſent the Perſons they were deſign'd for, in a bad Light; ſo ought the contrary Sort to repreſent, in as agreeable a manner, the Party in a good one.

" I come now to offer to your Lordſhip, what has occurr'd to my Thoughts " in relation to yourſelf: And I ſhall mention Four Sentences, though, I am " afraid, from ſomething that will lie in the Way of one of them, I ſhall leave " you the Choice but of Three. The Firſt then that I ſhall propoſe, is,

(*g*) *In Recto Decus:*

" A Motto that muſt be univerſally allow'd to be moſt worthy of your Lord- " ſhip, and moſt ſuited to your great Character, of any that can be thought " on. There's a Beauty in the Expreſſion that is inimitable; and there is none, " no, not even yourſelf, that can deny the Senſe of it to have been the govern- " ing Principle of your Life. I was wonderfully delighted with it, as it oc- " curr'd to my Thoughts: But the Words not appearing new to me, and not " recollecting any Author where I had read them, it came into my Mind, that " it was an Inſcription I had met with on his Majeſty's Electoral Coin. And " this, tho' little known in *England*, I thought an Objection that would, when " known, prevent its being a Candidate with the reſt I have to propoſe, for " your Lordſhip's Choice.

" And here, my Lord, I can't avoid going a little out of my Way, while I " obſerve to you, as well this, as two other very lovely Motto's, which I found " his Majeſty's Electoral Coin graced with, while I was in his *German* Domi- " nions. This, which I have inſtanced in, is peculiar to his Majeſty's own Coin, " and which bears his own Image. And how, my Lord, does it ſpeak the " Man? *In Recto Decus.* Was there ever an honeſter Man, or a juſter Appli- " cation! That on the King's Father's Coin, the late Elector's, was

(*h*) *Sola bona quæ honeſta.*

" And that on his Uncle's, the late Duke of *Zell*'s,

(*i*) *Quo Fas & Gloria ducunt.*

(*f*) Let them *hate* on, ſo as they do but *fear* me, too.
(*g*) The *higheſt* Grace is *Integrity.*
(*h*) That is only *lawful* which is *juſt.*
(*i*) I am ready to follow *Glory* wherever it lies, provided it be within the Boundaries of *Juſtice* and *true Honour.*

MONEY and TRADE Conſider'd: With a Propoſal for ſupplying the Nation with Money. By Mr. JOHN LAW, now Director of the Royal Bank at *Paris*. Printed in the Year 1720.

The *BOOKSELLER* to the *READER*,

IT is humbly hoped, That the Publick will favourably receive the following Pages, which conſiſt of ſome Heads of a Scheme, which Mr. Law *propos'd to the Parliament of* Scotland *in the Year* 1705: *Which though it was favoured by the High Commiſſioner, (who now ſerves his Majeſty in a Great Office,) and by ſeveral Members of Parliament; yet ſuch were the Prejudices againſt it which prevailed, that the Propoſal was wholly laid aſide. Having had ſo little Succeſs in that Part of* Great Britain *which was his Native Country, he applied himſelf to the Lord-Treaſurer of* England, *and tranſmitted to his Lordſhip another Propoſal for the Increaſe of Trade and Credit, with Explanations at large, and adapted to the Conſtitution and Uſages here; but meeting with no more Encouragement than before, and not being able even to get his Pardon (having kill'd the Famous Mr.* Wilſon *in a Duel many Years before) he was compelled to live Abroad; where after undergoing great Variety of Perſecution from his Enemies, he now appears a Miniſter for above all that the paſt Age has known, that the preſent can conceive, or that the future will believe. He has eſtabliſhed the Publick Faith in a Country that was become a Proverb for the Breach of it. He has made the Increaſe of the Revenues of an Arbitrary Government depend upon the Subjects free Enjoyment of their Property, inſomuch it might poſſibly coſt the Crown many Millions, together with all its preſent Proſpect of Riches and Power, to refuſe the very loweſt Demand of Money which the Publick has promiſed to pay: He has ſhowed the People of* France, *that their late King* Lewis XIV. *with his unlimited Authority was not able to take more from them, than Mr.* Law *has ſince reſtored. He has now no Enemies but thoſe who are ſo to all Mankind; and many who ſome Months ago thirſted after his Blood, now eat his Bread; for he has appeared incapable of any other Species of Vengeance, but that of laying his Enemies under the Shame and Confuſion of receiving their Fortunes from him. This is the Man whom* Britain *has loſt, having lain under the Diſpleaſure of three ſucceſſive Miniſters, ſo as not to be able to obtain his Pardon, till at laſt (too late for his Country) it proceeded even unaſked from the Juſtice and diſcerning Judgment of a Great L—d now at the Helm.*

Hiccine Vir Patriæ natus uſquam niſi in patriâ morietur.——hunc ſuâ quiſquam ſententiâ ex hac urbe expellet, quem omnes urbes expulſum a vobis ad ſe vocabunt? O terram illam beatam quæ hunc virum exceperit! hanc ingratam ſi ejecerit! miſeram ſi amiſerit! *Cic.*

THERE

THERE are ſeveral Propoſals offer'd to Remedy the Difficulties the Nation is under from the great Scarcity of Money.

That a right Judgment may be made, which will be moſt Safe, Advantageous and Practicable; it ſeems Neceſſary, 1. That the Nature of Money be inquired into, and why Silver was us'd as Money preferable to other Goods. 2. That Trade be conſider'd, and how far Money affects Trade. 3. That the Meaſures which have been us'd for Preſerving and Increaſing Money, and theſe now propos'd, be examin'd.

CHAP. I.

How Goods are valued. Of Barter. Of Silver; Its Value as a Metal, its Qualities fitting it for Money, and of the Additional Value it received from being us'd as Money.

GOODS have a Value from the Uſes they are apply'd to; and their Value is Greater or Leſſer, not ſo much from their more or leſs valuable, or neceſſary Uſes; as from the greater or leſſer Quality of them in proportion to the Demand for them. *Example.* Water is of great Uſe, yet of little Value; becauſe the Quantity of Water is much greater, than the Demand for it. Diamonds are of little uſe, yet of great Value, becauſe the Demand is much greater than the Quantity of them.

Goods of the ſame kind differ in their Value, from any difference in their Quality. *(Ex.)* One Horſe is better than another Horſe. Barley of one Country is better than Barley of another Country.

Goods change their Value, from any Change in their Quantity, or in the Demand for them. *(Ex.)* If Oats be in greater Quantity than laſt Year, and the Demand the ſame, or leſſer, Oats will be leſs valuable.

Mr. *Lock* ſays, *The Value of Goods is according to their Quantity in proportion to their Vent.* The Vent of Goods cannot be greater than the Quantity, but the Demand may be greater: *(Ex.)* If the Quantity of Wine brought from *France* be 100 Tun, and the Demand be for 500 Tun, the Demand is greater than the Vent; and the 100 Tun will ſell at a higher Price, than if the Demand were only equal to the Vent. So the Prices of Goods are not according to the Quantity in proportion to the Vent, but in proportion to the Demand.

Before the Uſe of Money was known Goods were exchang'd by Barter, or Contract; and Contracts were made payable in Goods.

This State of Barter was inconvenient, and diſadvantageous. 1. He who deſir'd to Barter would not always find People who wanted the Goods he had, and had ſuch Goods as he deſir'd in exchange.

2. Contracts taken payable in Goods were uncertain, for Goods of the ſame kind differ'd in value.

3. There was no meaſure by which the Proportion of Value Goods had to one another could be known.

In this State of Barter there was little Trade, and few Artſmen. The People depended on the Landed-men. The Landed-Men labour'd only ſo much of the Land as ſerv'd the occaſions of their Families, to barter for ſuch Neceſſaries as their Land did not produce; and to lay up for Seed, and bad Years. What remained was unlabour'd; or gifted on condition of Vaſſalage, and other Services.

The Loſſes and Difficulties that attended Barter, would force the Landed-men to a greater Conſumption of the Goods of their own Product, and a leſſer Conſumption of other Goods; or to ſupply themſelves, that they would turn the Land to the Product of the ſeveral Goods they had occaſion for; tho' only proper to the Produce of one kind. So, Much of the Land was unlabour'd, what was labour'd was not employ'd to that by which it would have turn'd to moſt Advantage, nor the People to the Labour they were moſt fit for.

Silver as a Metal had a Value in Barter, as other Goods; from the Uſes it was then apply'd to.

As Goods of the ſame kind differ'd in Value, ſo Silver differ'd from Silver, as it was more or leſs fine.

Silver was liable to a Change in its Value, as other Goods, from any change in its Quantity, or in the Demand for it.

Silver had Qualities which fitted it for the uſe of Money.

1. It could be brought to a Standard in Fineneſs, ſo was certain as to its Quality.

2. It was eaſy of Delivery.

3. It was of the ſame Value in one Place that it was in another; or differ'd little, being eaſy of Carriage.

4. It could be kept without Loſs or Expence; taking up little room, and being durable.

5. It could be divided without Loſs, an Ounce in four pieces being equal in Value to an ounce in one Piece.

Silver having theſe Qualities, 'tis reaſonable to think it was uſed as Money before it was coin'd. What is meant by being uſed as Money, is, that Silver in Bullion was the Meaſure by which Goods were valued, the Value by which Goods were exchanged, and in which Contracts were made payable.

He who had more Goods than he had uſe for, would chuſe to barter them for Silver, tho' he had no uſe for it; becauſe, Silver was certain in its Quality: It was eaſy of Delivery: It could be kept without Loſs or Expence: And with it he could purchaſe other Goods as he had occaſion, in Whole or in Part, at Home or Abroad; Silver being diviſible without Loſs, and of the ſame Value in different Places. *(Ex.)* If *A. B.* had 100 Sheep, and deſired to exchange them for Horſes: *C. D.* had 10 Horſes, which were equal to, or worth the 100 Sheep, and was willing to exchange: But as *A. B.* had not preſent occaſion for the Horſes, rather than to be at the Expence of keeping them, he would barter his Sheep with *R. F.* who had the Value to give in Silver, with which he could purchaſe the Horſes at the time he had occaſion.

Or if *E. F.* had not Silver, but was ſatisfied to give his Bond for the Silver, or the Horſes, payable at the Time *A. B.* wanted them: *A. B.* would chuſe to take

take the Bond payable in Silver, rather than in Horſes; becauſe Silver was certain in Quality, and Horſes differ'd much. So Silver was uſed as the Value in which Contracts were made payable.

Silver was likewiſe uſed as the Meaſure by which Goods were valued, becauſe certain in Quality. (*Ex.*) If *A. B.* had 100 Weight of Lead, and deſired to exchange it for Barley; the way to know what quantity of Barley was equal in Value to the Lead, was by the Silver. If the 100 Weight of Lead was equal to 5 Ounces of fine Silver, and 5 Ounces of fine Silver equal to 20 Bolls of Barley, than 20 Bolls was the Quantity of Barley to be given in exchange for the Lead.

Silver being eaſy of Carriage, ſo equal in one Place to what it was in another, was uſed as the Meaſure by which Goods to be deliver'd in different places were valued. (*Ex.*) If a piece of Wine was to be deliver'd at *Glaſgow* by *A. B.* Merchant there, to the Order of *C. D.* Merchant in *Aberdeen*: And the Value to be deliv'd in Oats at *Aberdeen* by *C. D.* to the Order of *A. B.* The Wine could not be valued by the Quantity of Oats it was worth at *Glaſgow*, nor the Oats by the Quantity of Wine they were worth at *Aberdeen*. Wine or Oats might differ in Quality, or be more or leſs valuable at the one Place than at the other. The way to have known what Quantity of Oats was equal to the Quantity of Silver each was worth at the Places they were to be delivered. If the Piece of Wine was worth at *Glaſgow* 20 Ounces of fine Silver, and 20 Ounces of fine Silver worth 20 Bolls of Oats at *Aberdeen*; then 50 Bolls was the Quantity of Oats to be given there in return for the Wine.

Silver being capable of a Stamp, Princes, for the greater Convenience of the People, ſet up Mints to bring it to a Standard, and Stamp it: whereby its Weight and Fineneſs was known, without the Trouble of Weighing or Fining; but the Stamp added nothing to the Value.

For theſe Reaſons Silver was uſed as Money; its being coin'd was only a Conſequence of its being applied to that Uſe in Bullion, tho' not with the ſame Convenience.

* *Mr.* Lock, *and others, who have wrote on this Subject, ſay, The general Conſent of Men plac'd an imaginary Value upon Silver, becauſe of its Qualities fitting it for Money.*

I cannot conceive how different Nations could agree to put an Imaginary Value upon any thing, eſpecially upon Silver, by which all other Goods are valued; or that any one Country would receive that as a Value, which was not valuable equal to what it was given for; or how that Imaginary Value could have been kept up. But ſuppoſe *France* receiving Silver at an Imaginary Value, other Nations receive it at that Value, becauſe receiv'd ſo in *France*: Then for the ſame Reaſon a Crown paſſing in *France* for 76 *Sols*, ſhould paſs in *Scotland* for 76 *Pence*, and in *Holland* for 76 *Stivers*. But on the contrary, even in *France*, where the Crown is rais'd, 'its worth no more than before when at 60 *Sols*.

It is reaſonable to think Silver was barter'd as it was valued for its Uſes as a Metal, and was given as Money according to its Value in Barter. The additional Uſe of Money Silver was apply'd to would add to its Value, becauſe as

* Lock *pag.* 31. *upon Intereſt, and pag.* 1. *upon Money.*

Money it remedied the Diſadvantages and Inconveniencies of Barter, and conſequently the Demand for Silver encreaſing, it received an additional Value equal to the greateſt Demand its Uſe as Money occaſioned.

And this additional Value is no more imaginary, than the Value Silver had in Barter as a Metal; for ſuch Value was becauſe it ſerv'd ſuch Uſes, and was greater or leſſer according to the Demand for Silver as a Metal, proportioned to its Quantity. The additional Value Silver receiv'd from being uſed as Money, was becauſe of its Qualities which fitted it for that Uſe; and that Value was according to the additional Demand its Uſe as Money occaſioned.

If either of theſe Values are imaginary, then all Value is ſo; for no Goods have any Value, but from the Uſes they are apply'd to, and according to the Demand for them, in proportion to their Quantity.

Thus Silver having a Value, and Qualities fitting it for Money, which other Goods had not, was made Money, and for the greater Convenience of the People was coin'd.

The Names of the different Pieces might have been Number 1. Number 2. and ſo on; Number 60 would have been the ſame as a Crown; for the Name and Stamp was only to certify, that the Piece had ſuch a Quantity of Silver in it, of ſuch a Fineneſs.

Goods of any other kind that have the ſame Qualities might then, and may now, be made Money equal to their Value. Gold and Copper may be made Money, but neither with ſo much Convenience as Silver, Payments in Copper being inconvenient by reaſon of its Bulk; and of Gold not being in ſo great Quantity as to ſerve the Uſe of Money. In Countries where Gold is in great Quantity, it is uſed as Money; and where Gold and Silver are ſcarce, Copper is uſed.

Gold is coin'd for the more eaſy Exchange of that Metal, and Copper to ſerve in ſmall Payments; but Silver is the meaſure by which Goods are valued, the Value by which Goods are exchang'd, and in which Contracts are made payable.

As Money encreas'd, the Diſadvantages and Inconveniencies of Barter were remov'd; the Poor and Idle were employ'd, more of the Land was labour'd, the Product encreas'd, Manufactures and Trade improv'd, the Landed-men lived better, and the People with leſs dependance on them.

CHAP. II.

Of Trade; and how far it depends on Money; That the Encreaſe of the People depends on Trade. Of Exchange.

TRADE is Domeſtick, or Foreign.

Domeſtick Trade is the Imployment of the People, and the Exchange of Goods within the Country.

Foreign Trade has ſeveral Branches.

1. The Product and Manufacture being more than the Conſumption, a part is Exported, and in Return Foreign Goods are brought Home.

2. Selling

2. Selling the Goods Exported at one Port, and Loading there to ſell at another; whereby a greater Return is made, than if the Goods Exported had been carried directly there.

3. Bringing Home the Product and Manufacture of other Countries; from whence, and when they are cheap; to ſupply Countries where, and when they are dear.

4. Bringing Home the Product of other Countries, and Exporting it in Manufacture.

5. Freighting, or hiring out Ships.

Domeſtick and Foreign Trade may be carried on by Barter; but not for ſo great Value as by Money, nor with ſo much Convenience.

Domeſtick Trade depends on the Money: A great Quantity employs more People than a leſſer Quantity. A limited Sum can only ſet a number of People to work proportion'd to it, and 'tis with little Succeſs Laws are made, for employing the Poor or Idle in Countries where Money is ſcarce; good Laws may bring the Money to the full Circulation 'tis capable of, and force it to thoſe Employments that are moſt profitable to the Country: But no Laws can make it go further, nor can more People be ſet to work, without more Money to circulate ſo, as to pay the Wages of a greater number. They may be brought to work on Credit; and that is not practicable, unleſs the Credit have a Circulation, ſo as to ſupply Workmen with Neceſſaries; if that's ſuppos'd, then that Credit is Money, and will have the ſame Effects, on Home and Foreign Trade.

An Addition to the Money adds to the Value of the Country. So long as Money gives Intereſt, it is imployed; and Money imployed brings Profit, tho' the Imployer loſes. (*Ex.*) If 50 Men are ſet to work, to whom 25*s.* is payed *per* Day, and the Improvement made by their Labour be only equal to, or worth 15 *s.* yet by ſo much the Value of the Country is increaſed; but as it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe their Labour equal to 40 *s.* ſo much is added to the Value of the Country, of which the Imployer gains 15*s.* 15 may be ſuppoſed to equal the Conſumption of the Labourers, who before lived on Charity, and 10*s.* remains to them over their Conſumption.

If a Stone of Wool is worth 10 *s.* and made into Cloth worth 2 *l.* the Product is improv'd to four times the Value it had in Wool: The Workmen may be ſuppoſed to conſume more than when they were not imployed; allow one 4th, the Nation is gainer double the Value of the Product. So an Addition to the Money, whether the Imployer gains or not, adds to the National Wealth, eaſes the Country of a number of Poor or Idle, proportioned to the Money added, enables them to live better, and to bare a ſhare in the Publick with the other People.

The firſt Branch of Foreign Trade, which is the Export of Goods, depends on the Money. If one half of the People are imploy'd, and the whole Product and Manufacture conſum'd; more Money, by imploying more People, will make an Overplus to Export: If then the Goods imported ballance the Goods exported, a greater Addition to the Money will employ yet more People, or the ſame People before imployed to more Advantage; which by making a greater, or more valuable Export, will make a Ballance due. So if the

Money

Money leſſens, a part of the People then imployed are ſet idle, or imployed to leſs advantage; the Product and Manufacture is leſs, or leſs valuable, the Export of Conſequence leſs, and a Ballance due to Foreigners.

The 2d and 3d Branches of Foreign Trade, call'd the Trades of *Carriage*, are monopoliz'd out of *Europe*, by thoſe Countries who have Colonies; and in *Europe*, by thoſe who ſell cheapeſt.

Scotland has Advantages for Trade by which the Merchants might underſell Merchants in *Holland*, as Cheapneſs of Living, paying leſs to the Publick, having Workmen, Seamen, and Proviſions for victualling cheaper: But if the *Dutch* Merchant's Stock is 10000 *l.* and his yearly Expence 500; he can trade at 10 *per Cent.* Profit, and add yearly 500 *l.* to his Stock. Whereas a *Scotch* Merchant, whoſe Stock is 500 *l.* and his yearly Expence 50; cannot trade ſo cheap.

If 'tis ask'd how a Dutch *Merchant trades who has alſo* 500 *l. Stock*; He reſtricts his Expence ſo as he can afford to trade at 10 *per Cent.* Profit: Or Money being in greater Quantity in *Holland*, whereby it is eaſier borrowed, and at leſs uſe; he gets Credit for more at 3 or 4 *per Cent.* by which he gains 6 or 7. And unleſs Money be in greater Quantity in *Scotland*, or Expence retrench'd, we cannot trade ſo cheap as the *Dutch*; tho' we have Advantages for Trade they have not, and tho' they be under Diſadvantages we are not liable to. By a greater Quantity of Money and Oeconomy, the *Dutch* monopolize the Trades of Carriage even from the *Engliſh*.

The 4th Branch of Foreign Trade, Bringing home the Product of other Countries, and exporting it in Manufacture, depends on the Quantity of Money. We are ſo far from competing with the *Dutch* in this Trade, that our Wool was ſent to *Holland*, and imported from thence in Manufacture; under the Difficulty of a Prohibition on the Export of the Wool, and on the Import of the Manufacture. Yet beſides the Advantages already named, which we have for Trade over the *Dutch*, the Material is the Product of our Country, and greater Privileges are granted to Manufacturers here, than in *Holland*.

'Tis alledged, if the Prohibition had continued, Manufactures might have come to Perfection.

The Advantage ſome Men made by Manufacture, may have occaſion'd the ſetting up of more, while the Money has been diminiſhing; but that Money ſo employed, has been taken from ſome other uſe it was before imploy'd in: For Money cannot ſerve in two Places at one time.

'Tis alledged, That the allowing the Wool to be exported, occaſioned the Exportation of the Money; that at one time; 5000 *l. was ſent to* England *to buy Wool?* They anſwer, it was ſent to *France* for Wine. Then, as 5000 *l.* of *Engliſh* Wool be worth 8 or 10000 *l.* in *France*; ſo the 5000 *l.* ſent to *England*, ſaved the ſending out of 8 or 10000 *l.* to *France*.

To thoſe who don't thoroughly examine the State of this Country, it may ſeem odd that Wool ſhould be allow'd by Law to be exported: But if the Product of *Scotland* cannot be manufactur'd with leſs than 50000 People, and the Money that can be ſpar'd to Manufacture be only capable to employ 25000, one half of the Product will be loſt if it is not allowed to be Exported.

The 5th Branch, The Freighting or Hiring out Ships, depends on the Money, and the other Branches of Trade. Where Ships are in uſe to be freight-

ed

ed by Strangers, and ſupported by a great Demand for their own Trade, there all ſorts of Ships are to be hired cheaper than in other Places; and Merchants are ſure of ſuch Ships as are proper for the Goods they load with, and the Countries they trade to.

This Trade of Freighting brings the Goods of other Countries to *Holland*, tho' deſigned for Sale elſewhere. If Woollen Manufacture from *England* to *Portugal* yields 25 *per Cent.* Profit, and to *Holland* 15; the *Engliſh* Merchant will chuſe to ſend ſuch Goods to *Holland* for 15 *per Cent.* rather than to *Portugal* for 24: And the *Dutch* Merchant, who is able to Trade cheaper, from the Cheapneſs of Freight, *&c.* is ſatisfied for the other 10 to carry to *Portugal*.

" Moſt Authors who have wrote on Trade divide it into National and Private. " They ſay, a Merchant may gain where the Nation loſes. If 1000 *l.* is Ex- " ported to the *Indies* in Money or Bullion, and a 1000 *l.* in Goods or Provi- " ſions; the return worth 1000 *l.* the Merchant gains 6000; but as theſe Goods " are all conſum'd in the Country, the Nation loſes the 1000 *l.* Money or Bul- " lion Exported."

They don't conſider whether the 1000 *l.* of Goods Imported (all ſuppos'd to be conſum'd in the Country) does not leſſen the Conſumption of the Product or Manufacture of the Country, ſo as to occaſion an addition to the Export, at leaſt equal to the 1000 *l.* Money or Bullion Exported. But allowing they do not leſſen the Conſumption of the Goods of the Country, and the Uſe of them be not at all neceſſary; yet theſe Goods being worth 8000 *l.* at Home or Abroad, the Nation gains 6000. If the People conſume them, and in extravagant Uſes, that's not the Fault of the Government, who ought to hinder the too great Conſumption of Foreign Goods; eſpecially, ſuch as might be wanted without cauſing a greater Conſumption of the Goods of the Country. That Care being taken, by making the Vent leſs profitable at Home than Abroad, Merchants would export them, or for the future leſſen the Import.

If *Eaſt-India* Goods that ſell for 1000 *l.* in *England*, are only worth Abroad 800 *l.* the Duty payed at their Entry being return'd, and more given as a Drawback to encourage the Export, their Vent Abroad will be more Profitable than in *England*.

A People may conſume more of their own or Foreign Goods, than the Value of the Product, Manufacture, and Profits by Trade; but their Trade is not Diſadvantageous, it is their too great Conſumption: And the too great Conſumption of the Product and Manufacture of the Country, may be as hurtful as that of Foreign Goods; for, if ſo much is conſumed, that the remainder Exported won't pay the Conſumption of Foreign Goods, a Ballance will be due, and that Ballance will be ſent out in Money or Bullion.

A Nation may gain where the Merchant loſes, but where-ever the Merchant gains the Nation gains equal, and ſo much more, as the Maintenance and Wages of the People employ'd, and the Duty on the Goods amount to. If a Ship inſured is loſt, the Nation loſes, and the Merchant loſes nothing; but in that caſe the Inſurer is the Merchant, and loſes equal to the Nation.

As Trade depends on Money, ſo the Encreaſe or Decreaſe of the People depends on Trade. If they have Employment at Home, they are kept at Home:

And

if the Trade is greater than ſerves to employ the People, it brings more from Places where they are not employ'd. Sir *William Petty* values a Man at 20 Years purchaſe; by that Computation a Seaman, whoſe Wages is 40 *s.* a Month, is valued at 480 *l.*

Scotland has a very inconſiderable Trade, becauſe ſhe has but a very ſmall Part of the Money. There is a little Home Trade, but the Country is not improv'd, nor the Product manufactur'd. There is a little of the firſt Branch of Foreign Trade, and that is carried on with great Diſadvantage to the People, who pay dearer for moſt Foreign Goods, and are worſe ſerv'd, than other Nations: If they have any Cheaper, 'tis from the lower Duty on the Import. In *Scotland* low Prices are given for Goods brought up to be Exported, the Merchant's Profit being great: If 100 Stone of Wool is worth in *Holland* 10 Pieces of Linen-cloath; theſe 10 Pieces are ſold in *Scotland* for the Value of 180 or 200 Stone of ſuch Wool. Such Goods as do not yield that great Profit, are not Exported; and thoſe that do, are not Exported in any Quantity, the Merchant's Stock being ſmall. *Scotland* has no part of the other Branches of Foreign Trade, not being able to Trade ſo cheap as other Nations.

Some think if Intereſt were lower'd by Law, Trade would increaſe, Merchants being able to employ more Money, and trade cheaper. Such a Law would have many Inconveniencies, and it is much to be doubted, whether it would have any good Effect; indeed, if lowneſs of Intereſt were the Conſequence of a greater Quantity of Money, the Stock applied to Trade would be greater, and Merchants would trade cheaper, from the Eaſineſs of borrowing, and the lower Intereſt of Money, without any Inconveniencies attending it.

Tho' Intereſt were at 3 *per Cent.* in *Holland*, and continued at 6 in *Scotland*; if Money were to be had equal to the Demands at 6, the Advantages we have for Trade, which the *Dutch* have not, would enable us to extend Trade to its other Branches, notwithſtanding the Difference of Intereſt.

If Money in *Scotland* were equal to the Demands at 6 *per Cent.* the *Dutch* could not trade ſo cheap in Herrings; the Hinderances of that Trade being the Conſequences of the Scarcity of Money. The Materials for carrying on the Fiſhery are cheaper in *Holland*, but the Cheapneſs of Victualling alone would ballance that: And the Dearth of theſe Materials, as of other Foreign Goods, coming from the Scarcity of Money; that being remedied, theſe Materials, and other Foreign Goods that are not the Product of *Holland*, would be as cheap in *Scotland.*

Exchange is when a Merchant exports to a greater Value than he imports, and has Money due abroad; another importing to a greater Value than he exported, has occaſion for Money abroad: This laſt by paying in Money to the other, of the Weight and Fineneſs with that is due to him, or to that Value, ſaves the Trouble, Hazard, and Expence, to himſelf of ſending Money out, to the other of bringing Money home, and to both the Expence of recoining.

So long as Foreign Trade and Expence kept equal, Exchange was at the *Par*: But when a People imported for a greater Value, or had other Occaſions abroad, more than their Export, and the Expence of Foreigners among them would ballance; there was a Neceſſity of ſending out the Ballance in Money or Bullion, and the Merchant or Gentleman who owed, or had occaſion for Money abroad, to ſave the Trouble, Expence, and Hazard of ſending it out, gave ſo much *per Cent*

Cent. to another, as the Trouble, Expence and Hazard was valued at. Thus Exchange roſe above the *Par*, and became a Trade.

Mr. *Mun* on Trade, Page 100, ſays, " The Exchange being againſt a Nati-
" on, is of Advantage to that Nation. And ſuppoſes that if 100l. at *London* is
" worth no more than 90l. of the ſame Money at *Amſterdam*, the *Dutch* to ſend
" 500,000l. of Goods to *England*, and the *Engliſh* 400,000l. of Goods to *Hol-*
" *land*; it follows that the Money due to the *Engliſh* at *Amſterdam*, will ballance
" 440,000l. due to the *Dutch* at *London*: So 60,000l. pays the Ballance." Mr. *Mun* does not conſider, that the *Dutch* Goods worth 500,000l. when Exchange was at the Par, are worth at *London* 555,555l. when 90l. at *Amſterdam* is worth 100l. at *London*; and the 400,000l. of *Engliſh* Goods in *Holland*, are only worth 360,000l. that Sum being equal by Exchange to 400,000l. in *England*. So in place of *England*'s having an Advantage of 40,000l. as he alledges by the Exchange being againſt her: She pays 95,555l. more than if the Exchange had been at the Par.

When Exchange is above the Par, it is not only paid for the Sums due of Ballance, but affects the whole Exchange to the Place where the Ballance is due. If the Ballance is 20,000l. and the Sums exchanged by Merchants who have Money abroad, with others who are owing, or have occaſion for Money there, be 60,000l. the Bills for the 60,000l. are ſold at or near the ſame Price with the 20,000l. of Ballance.

It likewiſe affects the Exchange to Countries where no Ballance is due. *Ex.* If the Exchange betwixt *Scotland* and *Holland* is 3 *per Cent.* above the Par againſt *Scotland*, betwixt *England* and *Holland* at the Par, though no Ballance is due by *Scotland* to *England*, yet the Exchange with *England* will riſe; for 100l. in *England* remitted to *Scotland* by *Holland* will yield 103l. ſo betwixt *Scotland* and *England* it may be ſuppoſed to be had at 2 per Cent. being leſs Trouble than to remit by *Holland*.

Goods are ſold to Foreigners, according to the firſt Coſt. *Ex.* If Goods worth 100l. in *Scotland*, are worth 130l. in *England*, theſe Goods will be exported, 30 *per Cent.* being ſuppos'd enough for the Charges and Profit. If the Price of theſe Goods lower in *Scotland* from 100l. to 80 the Price in *England* will not continue at 130; it will lower proportionably, for either *Scots* Merchants will underſell one another, or *Engliſh* Merchants will export theſe Goods themſelves. So if they riſe in *Scotland* from 100l. to 120, they will riſe proportionably in *England*, unleſs the *Engliſh* can be ſerv'd with theſe Goods cheaper from other Places, or can ſupply the Uſe of them with Goods of another kind, This being ſuppos'd, it follows that,

By ſo much as Exchange is above the *Par*, ſo much all Goods exported are ſold cheaper, and all Goods imported are ſold dearer than before. *Ex.* If a Merchant ſend Goods yearly to *England* firſt Coſt, Charges and Profit 6000l. Money in *England* of the ſame Standard with Money in *Scotland*, and no Ballance due; but a Ballance due to *Holland*, raiſing the Exchange 3 *per Cent.* above the *Par* to *Holland*, and affecting the Exchange to *England* 2 *per Cent.* 5882l. 7s. in *England* pays the Goods, that Sum in *England* being equal to 6000l. in *Scotland*. So that a Ballance due to *Holland*, by raiſing the Exchange to other

Countries, occaſions a Loſs to *Scotland* of 1171. 13 s. on the Value of 6000 l. of Goods ſent to *England*.

Engliſh Goods are ſold ſo much dearer. *Ex.* If an *Engliſh* Merchant ſend Goods yearly to *Scotland*, firſt Coſt, Charges and Profit 6000 l. 6120 l. muſt be paid for theſe Goods in *Scotland*, being only equal to 6000 l. in *England*. If the Exchange had been at the *Par*, the *Scots* Goods ſent to *England* would have ſold 1171 l. 13 s. more, and the *Engliſh* Goods ſent to *Scotland* 120 l. leſs.

Thus to all the Places with whom Exchange is above the *Par*, Goods ſent out are ſold ſo much leſs, and Goods brought from thence are ſold ſo much dearer, as the Exchange is above the *Par*; whether ſent out, or brought in, by *Scots* or Foreign Merchants.

The Merchant who deals in *Engliſh* Goods gains no more than when Exchange was at the *Par*, though he ſells dearer; nor the Merchant who deals in *Scots* Goods leſs, though he ſells cheaper; they have both the ſame Profit as when Exchange was at the *Par*. *Scotland* pays 2 *per Cent.* more for *Engliſh* Goods, and *England* 2 *per Cent.* leſs for *Scots* Goods: All, or a greater part of the Loſs falls at laſt on the Landed-man in *Scotland*, and it is the Landed-man in *England* has all, or a great part of the Benefit.

Nations finding the Export of Money or Bullion to pay the Ballance due by Trade a Loſs of ſo much Riches, and very hurtful to Trade, might have diſcharged the Import of ſuch Goods as the People could beſt want; or laid a Duty on them, ſuch as might have leſſen'd their Conſumption: They might have given Encouragement to Induſtry, whereby the Product would have been increas'd and improv'd, or diſcourag'd extravagant Conſumption, whereby the Overplus to Export would have been greater; any one of theſe Methods would have brought Trade and Exchange equal, and have made a Ballance due to them: But in place of theſe Meaſures, they prohibit Bullion and Money to be exported, which could not well have any other Effect, than to raiſe the Exchange equal to the Hazard ſuch Laws added to the Export of Money or Bullion, which may be ſuppoſed 3 *per Cent.* more: And as theſe Laws by ſuch Effect were hurtful, making all Goods exported ſell yet 3 *per Ct.* cheaper, and all Goods imported 3 *per Ct.* dearer; the ſtricter they were executed, the higher the Exchange roſe, and the more they did Hurt. The Ballance was ſtill ſent out in Money or Bullion, by the Merchant who ow'd it, by the Banker who gave the Bills, or by the Foreigner to whom it was due.

Suppoſe the Money of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Holland* of the ſame Weight and Fineneſs. *Scotland* to trade with no other Places. The Exchange at the *Par*. The yearly Export from *Scotland*, firſt Coſt 300000 *l.* Charges, and Profit 30 *per Cent.* Goods imported 280000 *l.* Charges, and Profit 30 *per Cent.* One half of the Trade to be carried on by the *Scots* Merchants, the other half by *Engliſh* and *Dutch*.

Due to *Scotland* for one half of the Export carried out by their own Merchants — — — —	195000	
Due for the other half carried out by *Engliſh* and *Dutch* — — — — —	150000	345000

Due

Due by *Scotland* to *England* and *Holland* for Goods imported by *Engliſh* and *Dutch*	182000	
Due for Goods imported by *Scots* Merchants —		140000, 322000

The Expence of *Scotſmen* abroad, more than of Foreigners in *Scotland*, 40000*l.* If this is ſuppos'd the yearly State of the Trade and Expence of *Scotland*, there will be a Ballance due of 17000*l.* And unleſs the *Scots* retrench the Conſumption of Foreign Goods, ſo as to import leſs; or retrench the Conſumption of their own Goods, ſo as to import more; or increaſe, or improve their Product, ſo as the Export be greater or more valuable; or retrench in their Expence abroad; ſince that Ballance muſt be paid, it will go out in Money or Bullion, and occaſions the Exchange to riſe *3 per Cent.* the Prohibition on the Export of Money *3* more, if *Scotſmen* export it; the Nation ſaves the 1020 l. Exchange on the 17000. of Ballance due, which is loſt if *Engliſh* Merchants export it: But the loſs ſuch a Riſe in Exchange occaſions on the Goods, is more conſiderable. The 195000*l.* due abroad for Goods ſent out of *Scotland* by *Scots* Merchants, will be paid with 183962*l.* *Engliſh* or *Dutch* Money, that Sum being equal by Exchange at *6 per Cent.* to 195000*l.* in *Scotland.* The 150000*l.* due for firſt Coſt of Goods carried out by *Engliſh* or *Dutch* Merchants, will be paid with 141510*l.* *Engliſh* or *Dutch* Money, that Sum being equal to 150000*l.* in *Scotland.* The 182000*l.* due by *Scotland* for Goods imported by *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Merchants, will come to 192920*l.* in *Scotland*; and the 140000*l.* firſt Coſt of Goods brought home by *Scots* Merchants, will come to 148400*l.* in *Scotland.* So the Accompt will run thus.

Due to *Scotland* for Goods exported	183962
Brought from abroad firſt Coſt	140000
Ballance of Expence abroad	40000
Due to *Scotland* abroad	3962
Due by *Scotland* for Goods imported by *Engliſh* and *Dutch*	192920
Engliſh and *Dutch* take back in Goods	150000
Due to *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in *Scotland*	42920
3962*l.* due abroad to *Scotland* in *Scots* Money	4199
Remains due by *Scotland*	38721

So the Riſe in the Exchange of *3 per Cent.* by the Ballance due of 17000*l.* and 3 more by the Prohibition on the Export of Money, occaſions a loſs to *Scotland* of 21721*l.* and makes the next Year's Ballance 38721*l.* though the Trade be the ſame as before. Of which 21721*l.* loſt by Exchange, one half would be ſav'd if Money were allowed to be exported.

Since

Since the Exchange being 6 *per Cent.* above the *Par*, occaſions the Loſs of 21721 *l.* then raiſing the Money 8 and $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* having rais'd the Exchange with *England* to 14 *per Cent.* and with *Holland* to 30, makes the Loſs proportionably greater: *Scots* Goods being ſuppos'd to continue at the ſame Prices they were ſold for, before the Money was rais'd, or not riſe in the ſame Proportion with the Money; for when Exchange was at the *Par*, 100 *l.* of *Scots* Goods were ſold abroad for 130 *l.* *Engliſh* Money; but 114 *l.* *Engliſh* Money, being now equal by Exchange to 130 *l.* in *Scotland*, the *Scots* Merchant can afford to ſell the ſame Quantity of Goods for 114 l. that he ſold before at 130, and have the ſame Profit. So Foreign Goods worth abroad 100 l. and ſold in *Scotland* for 130 l. when Exchange was at the *Par*, cannot be ſold now for leſs than 150 l. in *Scotland*; that Sum being only equal to 130 l. *Engliſh* Money, and the Merchants Profit is no greater, than when he ſold the ſame Quantity of Goods for 130 l.

It may not be improper to conſider what Conſequences would attend the lowering the Money to the *Engliſh* Standard, and allowing it to be exported.

The former State of Trade I have ſuppos'd to be carried on, one half by *Scots* Merchants, the other half by *Engliſh* and *Dutch*; but as moſt of the Trade is carried on by *Scots* Merchants, I ſhall ſuppoſe this State of Trade accordingly. The one or the other will clear the matter in Queſtion.

The State of Trade now, and Exchange ſuppos'd at 15 *per Cent.* to *England*, and 30 to *Holland*. The whole Export of *Scotland* to be 300000 l. of which 250000 l. carried out by *Scots* Merchants, ſold at 30 *per Cent.* Profit and Charges 325000 l.

The *Engliſh* Money	282608
Exported by Foreigners for 50000 l. in *Engliſh* Money	43478
The whole Export	326086
Goods imported	306086
Spent abroad	40000
Due of Ballance by *Scotland*	20000

Money being lower'd to the *Engliſh* Standard, and allow'd by Law to be exported, will bring the Exchange with *England* to 2 or 3 *per Cent.* and with *Holland* to 17 or 18, notwithſtanding of the Ballance due; for as 100 l. in *Edinburgh* would then be equal to 100 l. at *London*, and being allow'd to be exported, none would give above 102 or 3 here for 100 l. at *London*; becauſe the Trouble and Charge of ſending it to *London* would be valued no higher. The Export, Import, and Expence abroad ſuppos'd to continue the ſame; a Ballance would then be due to *Scotland*.

The

The State of Trade, Exchange at 3 *per Cent.* to *England*, and proportionably to other Places.

Due in *Engliſh* Money, for 325000 l. firſt Coſt, Charges and Profit of Goods ſent out by *Scots* Merchants	315534
Due in *Engliſh* Money for 50000 l. of Goods exported by Foreigners	48544
The whole Export	364078
Of this deduce the Value of Goods imported	306086
And the Expence abroad	40000
There will be a Ballance due to *Scotland* of	17992

As this Ballance due to *Scotland* would bring Exchange to the *Par*, and 3 *per Cent.* on the *Scots* Side, 3 more becauſe Money in *England* is prohibited to be exported; 100 l. in *Scotland* would be worth 106 l. in *England*, and proportionably in other Places. So the State of Trade would then be thus,

Due in *Engliſh* Money for 325000 l. firſt Coſt, Charges and Profit of *Scots* Goods ſent out by *Scots* Merchants, and 50000l. exported by Foreigners	397500
Of this ſpent abroad	40000
Imported from abroad	306086
Ballance then due to *Scotland*	51414

If the yearly Export be as great as I ſuppoſe it, and the Ballance only 20000 l. then lowering the Money to the *Engliſh* Standard, will make a Ballance due of 51414 l. though the Money is not allowed to be exported.

It may be objected, That ſuch an Alteration in the Exchange, lowering the Value of Foreign Money, might hinder the Sale of our Goods abroad; for Linen Cloth bought in Scotland *for* 100 l. *and ſold at* London *for* 115 l. *yields by Exchange* 31 per Cent. *Profit; but if Exchange were* 6 per Cent. *on the* Scots *Side, the Profit is only* 9 per Cent.

It is anſwered, If an *Engliſh* Merchant takes Bills on *Scotland* for 1000 l. to lay out on Linen-cloth, the Exchange then at the *Par*, the Linen-cloth is ſold in *England* according to the firſt Coſt, Charges and uſual Profit. Next Year the Exchange on the *Engliſh* Side, the Linen is ſold in *England* cheaper than before. The third Year Exchange returns to the *Par*, the Linen is then ſold in *England* as the firſt Year. If the firſt Coſt of Linen is dearer, the Conſumer pays the more for it, the Merchant's Profit is the ſame.

All Nations endeavour to get the Exchange as much as they can on their Side. The Exchange from *Holland* to *England* is 12 or 15 *per Cent.* to *Scotland* 30 per *Cent.* to *France* 40 or 50, ſometimes more; yet *Dutch* Goods ſell in thoſe Countries, the Merchants has his Profit the ſame as when Exchange was lower,

lower, the Conſumer pays more for them. *Engliſh* Cloth is ſold at *Paris* from 18 to 20 Livres the *French* Ell, when the Lued'ore is at 12 Livres; from 20 to 23, when the Lued'ore is at 14 Livres; becauſe the Exchange to *England* is dearer in Proportion as the *French* Money is rais'd.

Moſt Goods ſent from *Scotland* are ſuch as Foreigners won't want, tho' they payed 10 or 20 *per Cent.* more for them: We have an Example of this in the Wool. During the Prohibition, Wool ſold in *Holland* and *France* for double the firſt Coſt, now it has fallen to 30 or 40 *per Cent.* Profit. Prices are given for Goods, according to their firſt Coſt, Charges, and uſual Profit; where Prohibitions are, the Hazard of exporting contrary to Law is valued. Wool is of leſs Value now in *Holland* than in Time of Peace, becauſe the Vent of their Woollen Manufacture is leſs; but though Wool were as valuable in *Holland* as before, and though a *Dutch* Manufacturer would give 200 l. for Wool that coſt only 100 l. in *Scotland*, rather than want it: Yet as he knows the Prohibition is taken off, and that the *Scots* Merchants can afford to ſell cheaper; he won't buy unleſs he can have it at a reaſonable Profit; ſo either the *Scots* Merchants bring down the Price, by underſelling one another, or the *Dutch* Merchant commiſſions it himſelf. If a Duty were put on ſuch Goods whoſe Value abroad would bear it, the Merchant would gain the ſame, 'tis the Foreigner pays the Duty.

Beſides, lowering the Money may not lower the Prices abroad. For, as when Money was rais'd, Goods may have roſe in Proportion, or have been made worſe; ſo as 100 l. after the Money is lower'd will have 33 Crowns and $\frac{1}{6}$ more Silver in it than 100 l. had before; ſo a greater Quantity of Goods may be bought with a 100 l. than before, or the Goods may be made better. Eſpecially the Linen-cloth, ſince the Material would be imported for leſs. But, allowing that upon the lowering the Money, Goods ſold in *Scotland* as before, and were made no better; and allowing that one Third or more of the Goods exported, could not be raiſed in their Prices abroad; becauſe Foreigners might be ſerv'd cheaper with the ſame kind of Goods from other Places, or might ſupply the Uſe of them with Goods of another kind, or might conſume leſs of them; yet, that ought not to hinder ſuch a Regulation of the Money and Exchange; for a Draw-back might be given upon the Export of ſuch Goods, whoſe Prices abroad were not great enough to yield a reaſonable Profit.

But leaſt ſuch an Alteration in the Exchange, or undervaluing Foreign Money, ſhould leſſen the Export of Goods: It may not be adviſeable, unleſs a Fund were given, out of which Draw-backs might be paid to encourage Export, and an Addition be made to the Money, whereby the People may be ſet to Work. For without ſome Addition to the Money, 'tis not to be ſuppoſed next Year's Export can be equal to the laſt: It will leſſen as Money has leſſen'd; a part of the People then imploy'd being now idle, not for want of Inclination to Work, or for want of Employers, but for want of Money to employ them with.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the different Meaſures have been uſed to Preſerve and Increaſe Money: And of Banks.

THE Meaſures have been uſed to Preſerve and Increaſe Money, have in ſome Countries been oppoſite to what has been uſed in others: And oppoſite Meaſures have been uſed in the ſame Countries, without any differing Circumſtances to occaſion them.

Some Countries have rais'd Money in the Denomination, when others have lower'd it; ſome have allay'd it, when others who had allay'd it, have rectified it; ſome have prohibited the Export of Money under the ſevereſt Penalties, when others have by Law allow'd it to be exported; ſome thinking to add to the Money, have obliged Traders to bring home Bullion, in proportion to the Goods they imported. Moſt Countries have try'd ſome or all of theſe Meaſures, and others of the ſame Nature, and have try'd contrary Meaſures at one time, from what they us'd immediately before, from the Opinion, that ſince the Method uſed had not the Effect deſign'd, a contrary would: Yet it has not been found, that any of them have preſerved or increaſed Money; but on the contrary.

The Uſe of Banks has been the beſt Method yet practiced for the Increaſe of Money. Banks have been long uſed in *Italy*, but as I am informed the Invention of them was owing to *Swedeland*. Their Money was Copper, which was inconvenient, by reaſon of its Weight and Bulk; to remedy this Inconveniency, a Bank was ſet up where the Money might be pledg'd, and Credit given to the Value, which paſt in Payments, and facilitated Trade.

The *Dutch* for the ſame reaſon ſet up the Bank of *Amſterdam*. Their Money was Silver, but their Trade was ſo great as to find Payments even in Silver inconvenient. This Bank, like that of *Swedeland*, is a ſecure Place, where Merchants may give in Money and have Credit, to Trade with. Beſides the Convenience of eaſier and quicker Payments, theſe Banks ſaves the Expence of Caſhiers, the Expence of Bags and Carriage, Loſſes by bad Money, and the Money is ſafer than in the Merchant's Houſes; for 'tis leſs liable to Fire or Robbery, the neceſſary Meaſures being taken to prevent them.

Merchants who have Money in the Bank of *Amſterdam*, and People of other Countries who deal with them, are not liable to the Changes in the Money, by its being allay'd or alter'd in the Denomination: For, the Bank receives no Money but what's of Value, and is therefore called Bank-money; and though rais'd in current Payments, it goes for the Value it was pledg'd for in Bank-Payments. The *Agio* of the Bank changes a Quarter or half *per Cent.* as current Money is more or leſs ſcarce.

Banks, where the Money is pledg'd equal to the Credit given, are ſure; for, though Demands are made of the whole, the Bank does not fail in Payment.

By the Conſtitution of this Bank, the whole Sum for which Credit is given ought to remain there, to be ready at demand; yet a Sum is lent by the Managers

nagers for a Stock to the Lumbar, and 'tis thought they lend great Sums on other Occaſions. So far as they lend they add to the Money, which brings a Profit to the Country, by imploying more People, and extending Trade; they add to the Money to be lent, whereby it is eaſier borrowed, and at leſs Uſe; and the Bank has a Benefit: But the Bank is leſs ſure, an though none ſuffer by it, or are apprehenſive of Danger, its Credit being good; yet if the whole Demands were made, or Demands greater than the remaining Money, they could not all be ſatisfied, till the Bank had called in what Sums were lent.

The certain Good it does, will more than ballance the Hazard, tho' once in two or three Years it failed in Payment; providing the Sums lent be well ſecured: Merchants who had Money there might be diſappointed of it at Demand, but the Security being good, and Intereſt allowed, Money would be had on a ſmall Diſcount, perhaps at the *Par*.

Laſt War, *England* ſet up a Bank to have the Conveniencies of that at *Amſterdam*, and by their Conſtitution to increaſe Money. This Bank was made up of Subſcribers, who lent the King 1200000 l. at 8 and $\frac{1}{3}$ *per Cent.* for 11 Years, on a Parliamentary Fund; and were priviledg'd Bankers for that time. The Sum due by the Government was a Security to the People, to make good any Loſſes the Bank might ſuffer.

This Bank was ſafer than the Goldſmith's Notes in uſe before. It made a great Addition to the Money, having a mucn greater Sum of Notes out, than Money in Bank. And the Sum lent the King, which was the Fund, belong'd to the the Subſcribers, was negotiated at Profit, and had the ſame Effect in Trade as Money. I don't know how their Notes came to be at diſcount, whether from the Circumſtances of the Nation, or from ill Management.

The Fund of the Bank of *Scotland* was 100000 l. of which a Tenth was paid in: This Bank was ſafer than that of *England*, there being a Regiſter whereby moſt Sums lent were ſecured. Its Notes went for 4 or 5 times the Value of the Money in Bank; and by ſo much as theſe Notes went for more than the Money in Bank, ſo much was added to the Money of the Nation.

This Bank was more uſeful than that of *Amſterdam*, or *England*; its Notes paſſing in moſt Payments, and through the whole Country: The Bank of *Amſterdam* being only for that Town; and that of *England* of little uſe but at *London*.

The Stop of Payments which happened to the Bank of *Scotland*, was foreſeen, and might have been prevented. The Conſumption of Foreign Goods, and Expence in *England*, being more than the Export of Goods did pay; the Ballance ſent out in Money leſſen'd the Credit of the Bank: For as Credit is voluntary, it depends on the Quantity of Money in the Country, and Increaſes or Decreaſes with it. Coining Notes of one Pound ſupported the Bank, by furniſhing Paper for ſmall Payments, and thereby preventing a part of the Demand for Money: By theſe Notes the Bank might have kept its Credit, till other Methods had been taken to ſupply the Country with Money; had not a Report of raiſing the Money occaſion'd an extraordinary Demand, which in few Days exhaſted the Money in Bank, and put a Stop to Payments.

It would not have been eaſy in that Scarcity of Money to have got enough to ſupport the Bank, tho' Men of the beſt Credit had undertaken it; that Report of raiſing the Money having only occaſion'd a Demand from the People in *Edinburgh*. In a ſhort Time Notes would have come in ſo faſt from the Country, that what Money could have been got, would not have anſwer'd the Demand.

If the Privy-Council had lower'd the Money, the *Engliſh* Crown to 5s. and the other Money in proportion, to take Place 2d. *per* Crown in 3 Days, and the other 3d. in a Month; the Occaſion of the Demand being remov'd, in all Appearance Money would have been return'd to the Bank.

If the State of the Bank had been known, or ſuſpected by the People; ſuch a Proclamation would have had the ſame Effect, tho' the Stop of Payment had then happen'd. In that Caſe, the Support of the Bank might have been the Narrative of the Proclamation; the Security being good, few or none would have kept their Money to Loſs, rather than return it to the Bank. And if in 3 Days Money had not come in ſo faſt as expected, their Lordſhips might have lower'd the Crown to 5s. to take place then, and 6d. more in 3 Days. When the Credit of the Bank had been re-eſtabliſh'd, the Money might have been cry'd up, if that had been neceſſary, the Crown to 5s. and 5d. and the other Money in Proportion as it was before.

Some are againſt all Banks where the Money does not lie pledg'd equal to the Credit. " 1. They ſay the Demand may be greater than the Money in Bank.
" 2. If we are declining in our Trade, or Money, we are not at all, or are leſs
" ſenſible of it: And if the *Bank* fail, we are in a worſe Condition than before.

To the firſt it is anſwer'd, Tho' the Nation had no Benefit by the Addition the Bank makes to the Money; nor the People by being ſupply'd with Money when otherwiſe they could not, and at leſs Intereſt; and tho' the Proprietors had no Gain by it: The other Conveniencies, as quicker and eaſier Payments, *&c.* are more than equal to that Hazard; or Bank Notes, *Goldſmith*'s and *Banker*'s Notes would not be preferr'd to Money, every Body knowing ſuch a Stop may happen at the Bank, and that *Goldſmiths* and *Bankers* may fail.

The other Objection is the ſame as to ſay, a Merchant who had a ſmall Stock, and was capable of employing a greater; if a Sum were offer'd him without Intereſt, equal to what he had, and more as his own increas'd, ſhould refuſe it, becauſe he might fancy himſelf richer than he was, and if his own Stock decreas'd that Sum lent would be taken from him.

If 150001. is ſuppos'd the Money in Bank, and 750001. of Notes out; 600001. is added to the Money of the Nation, without Intereſt: For what is paid by the Borrowers, is got by the Proprietors. As the Money of the Nation encreaſes, the Credit of the Bank encreaſes, and the Sum of Notes out is greater, and ſo far from making the People leſs ſenſible of the Condition of the Country, a ſurer Judgment of the State of Trade and Money may be made from the Books of the Bank, than any other Way.

If Trade can be carried on with 100000 l. and a Ballance due by Foreigners; the ſame Meaſures, and a greater Quantity of Money, would make the Ballance greater. Nor is that additional Money the Bank furniſhes to be ſuppos'd will be loſt, if by a Ballance due from Trade the Silver Money increaſes: That Credit may fail from an Accident when Money is plentiful, and would ſoon be re-

cover'd; 'tis only loſt by a Scarcity of Money. Such a Credit may ſupport Trade, in caſes where without it Trade would ſink, but cannot do Prejudice.

Another Objection is made againſt the Bank, "That it encourag'd the Exportation of Money, by furniſhing Sums in ſuch Species as were of moſt Value abroad." To anſwer this Objection, I ſhall make a Suppoſition. *A. B.* Merchant has Occaſion for 1000 l. in *Holland*, and deſires *C. D.* Banker to give him a Bill for that Value; there is no Money due in *Holland* to *Scots* Merchants, ſo *C. D.* muſt export the Money to pay the Bill he draws: But their being no Bank, nor any poſſibility of getting 1000 l. in 40 d. Pieces, he ſends out Money of different Species. This does not hinder the Money to go out, but makes the Exchange dearer by 2 or 3 *per Cent.* than it would have been if 40 d. Pieces could have been got. And tho' no other Money were left, but old *Marks*, if a Ballance is due theſe will go out tho' not worth 10 d. The Exchange will be ſo much higher, the Profit of exporting is the ſame; and ſo far from doing hurt to the Country, the Bank by furniſhing ſuch Pieces as could be exported to the leaſt Loſs, kept the Exchange at leaſt 2 or 3 *per Cent.* lower than otherwiſe it would have been, and ſaved yearly the ſending out a conſiderable Sum to pay a greater Ballance the higher Exchange would have occaſioned.

CHAP. IV.

The ſeveral Meaſures now propoſed, conſider'd. As raiſing or allaying the Money. Coining the Plate. Regulating the Ballance of Trade: Or, Re-eſtabliſhing the Bank.

WHEN I uſe the Words, *Raiſing the Money*, I deſire to be underſtood raiſing it in the Denomination; for I do not ſuppoſe it adds to the Value.

There is no way Silver can be made more valuable, but by leſſening the Quantity, or encreaſing the Demand for it. If the Export and Conſumption of Silver be greater than the Import, or the Demand be increaſed, Silver will be of more Value. If the Quantity imported be greater than the Quantity exported or conſumed, or the Demand leſſen'd, Silver will be of leſs Value.

If raiſing or allaying the Money could add to its Value, or have any good Effect on Home or Foreign Trade, then no Nation would want Money. One Hundred Pouuds might be rais'd or allay'd to 2, to 10, to 100 times the Denomination it had, or more as there were occaſion. But as 'tis unjuſt ro raiſe or alley Money, becauſe then all Contracts are paid with a leſſer Value than was contracted for, and as it has bad Effects on Home and Foreign Trade; ſo no Nation practiſes it, that has regard to Juſtice, or underſtands the Nature of Trade and Money. If *A. B.* ſell 12 Chalder of Victual for 100 l. payable in 6 Months, with which he is to pay Bills of Exchange of that Value, to be drawn on him then from *France* for Wine he has commiſſioned; and in that Time the Money is rais'd or allay'd to double, the 100 l. *A. B.* receives will only pay half the Bill he has to pay, being only equal to 50 l. of the Money he contracted for. Nor will that 100 l. buy the ſame Quantity of Goods of the Country that 100 l. bought before: It will pay where Money is due, and ſatisfy paſt Contracts made

made upon the Faith of the Publick, becauſe the Prince ſays every Man ſhall take half what is owing in him in full Payment. But in Bargains to be made, the Value of the Money will be conſider'd, Goods will riſe, tho' perhaps not to the Proportion the Money is rais'd: And ſuch Perſons who do not raiſe their Goods equal to the Money are impos'd on.

When 6 d. is raiſed to 12 d. the 6 d. is worth 12 d. but the Value of the Pence is lower'd to Half-penee.

To explain this Matter better, I ſhall ſuppoſe when Money is rais'd, Goods riſe or not.

If Goods riſe, then raiſing the Money has not the Effect deſign'd. If a Piece of Serge is ſold for 40 s. and the Shilling be rais'd to 18 d. the Piece of Serge will be ſold for 3 l. This adds to the Tale of the Money, and pays Debts with $\frac{2}{3}$ of what is due, but does not add to the Money. This is the natural Conſequence of raiſing the Money; for it is not the Sound of the higher Denomination but the Value of the Silver is conſider'd.

If, when the Money is rais'd, Goods keep the Prices they had before, then all Goods exported are ſold for a leſſer Value abroad, and all Goods imported are ſold dearer. *Ex.* A Half-crown is rais'd to 40 d. and that Half-crown buys the ſame Quantity of Goods 40 d. bought before; then the Merchant who ſends Goods to *Holland* to the Value of 300 l. which are ſold there for 390 l. there, would gain 220 l. on the Value of 300 l. exported: Becauſe 390 l. in *Holland*, would be equal to, or worth by Exchange at the Par or ſent in Bullion, 520 l. in *Scotland*. The Trade would bring no more Profit to the Nation, then when the Return of Goods yielded only 390 l. For 390 l. before it was raiſed, had the ſame Quantity of Silver, that 520 l. raiſed Money would have, and bought as great a Quantity of Foreign Goods. But that Trade would be ſo profitable to the Merchant, that more People would deal in it than could get Goods to buy; and as more Buyers than Sellers would raiſe the Prices here, ſo one Merchant underſelling the other would lower the Prices in *Holland*. But tho' the Prices kept low here, and our Merchants kept up the Prices abroad; the *Dutch* knowing the Goods were ſo cheap in the Country, would buy none from our Merchants, but commiſſion them in return of Goods they ſent.

Suppoſe the yearly Export firſt Coſt 300000 l. ſold abroad 390000 l. The Import, and Expence abroad 410000 l. and 20000 l. ſent in Money, to pay the Ballance. The Money rais'd $\frac{1}{3}$, and Goods to keep the Prices they had before, 225000 l. ſent to *Scotland* in Foreign Money or Goods, or by Excnange, would buy what was ſold abroad for 390000 l. The Export, Import, and Expence abroad continuing the ſame, *Scotland* would be due a Ballance of 185000 l. For, tho' *Scots* Goods were ſold under the Value, yet other Nations would not ſell their Goods for leſs than before, or than they could have in other Places.

It may be alledg'd, " We have more Product and Manufacture than is conſum'd or exported; and ſelling cheaper, would occaſion a greater Demand " for our Goods abroad."

The Product and Manufacture might be much increas'd, if we had Money to imploy the People: But I'm of Opinion we have not any great Quantity of Goods, more than what is conſum'd or exported. Allow ſelling cheaper would occaſion a greater Demand; that the greater Demand, would occaſion an

Increaſe in the Product and Manufacture, to the Value of 1000000l. and allow that the extraordinary Cheapneſs of Goods did not occaſion a greater Conſumption in the Country: Yet, we ſhould be in the ſame Condition as before; 20000l. would be ſtill due of Ballance, and the Improvement would be given to Foreigners for nothing. But this Improvement is imaginary, for tho' the Demand increaſed, yet without more Money more People could not be employed, ſo no further Improvement could be made: We would be forc'd to retrench near one half of the ordinary Conſumption of Foreign Goods, and Expence abroad; not having Money to pay the great Ballance would be due.

Some think Foreign Money being raiſed, would bring in Money to Scotland.

Tho' the Crown were raiſed to 10*s.* yet if a Balance is due by *Scotland*, the Exchange will be above the Par; and 'tis not to be ſuppoſed an *Engliſh* Merchant will bring Crowns to *Scotland*, when for 100 paid in at *London*, he can have 105 or 6 of the ſame Crowns paid him at *Edinburgh*.

If the Balance of Trade was equal, Foreign Money raiſed, and *Scots* Money not raiſed in Proportion; Foreign Money would be brought in, and a greater Value of *Scots* Money would be carried out. 'Tis the ſame Loſs to a Country when Money is raiſed, and Goods do not riſe in Proportion: (*Ex.*) If Foreigners ſend in Money to buy Goods, and this Money, when exported, is not valued ſo high as here, the Return in Goods will be ſo much leſs, beſides the Want of the Profit we would have had on the Export of our Goods.

If all Import and Foreign Expence were diſcharged, *Scotland* would then be ſo much richer, as there was Bullion or Money imported: But if that Prohibition be ſuppoſed, *Scotland* would be richer by keeping the Money at the Value it has, becauſe a greater Quantity would be brought in, to buy the ſame Quantity of Goods.

If we could be ſuppoſed to be without any Commerce with other Nations, 100 *l.* may be allay'd and raiſed to have the ſame Effect in Trade as a Million: But if a Stranger were ſuffer'd to come to *Scotland*, he might purchaſe a great Part of the Land or Goods with a ſmall Sum; and a rich Man here would make a very ſmall Figure abroad.

Money is the Meaſure by which all Goods are valued, and unleſs Goods riſe to the full Proportion, the Money is raiſed, the Goods are under valued. If the yearly Value of *Scotland* in Product and Manufacture be 2 Millions, at 20 Years Purchaſe 40 Millions; the Money 100,000 *l.* raiſing the Money 20 *per Cent.* makes it paſs for 120,000 *l.* Suppoſe the Goods riſe only 10 *per Cent.* then that 120,000 *l.* is equal in *Scotland* to 110,000 *l.* of the Money before it was raiſed, and buys the ſame Quantity of Goods: So an Addition is made of 20,000 *l.* to the Tale, and of 10,000 *l.* to the Value of *Scots* or Foreign Money, compar'd with the Value of *Scots* Goods; but the Meaſure by which Goods are valued, being raiſed in the Denomination 20 *per Cent.* and the Goods riſing only 10 *per Cent.* *Scotland* is near 4 Millions, or one Tenth leſs valuable than before. And any Man who ſells his Eſtate, will receive a Tenth leſs Silver, or of any other Foreign Goods for it, than if he had ſold it before the Money was raiſed.

France *and* Holland *are given as Examples of raiſing and allaying the Money.* In *France* the Money is higher in the Denomination than in other Countries, but

that

that does not hinder the Money of *France* to be exported. When the Lue d'Ore was at 12 Livres, the Ballance was againſt *France*, Exchange 10 *per Cent.* above the Par: And 110 Lue d'Ores, at 12 Livres, were paid then at *Paris*, for 100 Lue d'Ores of the ſame Weight and Fineneſs at *Amſterdam*, and paſſing there for 9 Guilders Bank Money, ſo 10 *per Cent.* was got by exporting Money from *France*. When the Lue d'Ore was raiſed to 14 Livres, that did not make the Ballance againſt *France* leſs, the Exchange continued the ſame, 110 Lue d'Ores, tho' at 14 Livres, were paid for a Bill of 100 at *Amſterdam*, and the ſame Profit was made by exporting Money. If the Exchange happen'd to be lower, it was from the Ballance of Trade due by *France* being leſs, and that would have lower'd the Exchange, whether the Money had been raiſed or not. But the raiſing the Money, ſo far from bringing the Ballance to the *French* Side, keeps the Ballance againſt *France*: For as their Goods do not riſe to the full Proportion the Money is raiſed, ſo *French* Goods are ſold cheaper, and Foreign Goods are ſold dearer, which makes the Ballance greater, occaſions a greater Export of Money, ſets idle ſo many of the People as that Money employ'd, leſſens the Product or Manufacture, the yearly Value of the Country, and the Number of the People.

It's thought the Dutch *coin Lue d'Ores, and ſend them to* France, *where they paſs at* 14 *Livres: And that Guineas were ſent from* Holland *to* England, *in the Time of the Clipt Money, becauſe they paſſed there for* 30 s. But theſe People are miſinformed. Ever ſince I have known any Thing of Exchange, a Lue d'Ore at *Amſterdam*, whether new or old, has been of more Value by Exchange, than a new Lue d'Ore at *Paris*. And in the time of the Clipt Money, a Guinea in *Holland* was worth more by Exchange than a *Guinea* in *England*. Thoſe who were ignorant of the Exchange, might buy up Guineas, or Lue d'Ores, to carry to *England* or *France*, but they would have got more by Bill. There was a Profit then upon exporting Guineas and Lue d'Ores from *England* and *France* to *Holland*. The Pound *Engliſh*, at that Time, was given for 8 Guilders, or under; and the Exchange, from *Amſterdam* to *Paris*, has been theſe 8 or 10 Years, for the moſt part, conſiderably above the Par on the *Dutch* Side. I have known the Pound *Engliſh* at 7 Guilders 13 Stivers, and the *French* Crown of 3 Livres bought in *Holland* for 39 Stivers, in *London* for 39 *d.* Half-penny.

Raiſing the Money in *France* is laying a Tax on the People, which is ſooner paid, and thought to be leſs felt than a Tax laid on any other Way. When the King raiſes the Lue d'Ore from 12 Livres to 14, they are taken in at the Mint for 13 Livres, and given out for 14; ſo the King gains a Livre on the Lue d'Ore, and this Tax comes to 20 or 25 Millions of Livres, ſometimes more, according to the Quantity of Money in the Country. But ſo far from adding to the Money, it ſtops the Circulation: A Part being kept up till there is Occaſion to export it to *Holland*, from whence a Return is made by Bill, of a Sum of Livres equal to the ſame Quantity of new Lue d'Ores that were exported of old ones, and 8 or 10 *per Cent.* more, according as the Exchange is on the *Dutch* Side. Others who won't venture to ſend the Money out, keep it till the new Money is cried down, ſo ſave a 13th Part, which the King would have got, if they had carried the Money to the Mint to be recoin'd. This Tax falls heavy on the poorer Sort of the People.

It's

It's generally thought the Dutch *Money is not worth half what it paſſes for.* But it will prove otherwiſe when examined. The Bank, by which moſt Payments are made, receive and pay in Bank Money, which is better than the *Engliſh*: Ducatoons are at 3 Guilders, and other Bank Money in Proportion; and I'm inform'd the current Money has Silver in it to the Value, or near, except ſome of their Skellings, which are worſe than others: The making them worſe was not deſign'd, it was an Abuſe occaſion'd by too many Towns having Power to coin; which Abuſe was ſtopt ſo ſoon as known, and that Species cried down to 5 Stivers and a half.

Some propoſed the Money may be raiſed, to give the little we have left a better Circulation, and to bring out hoarded Money. The lowering it by Degrees to take place in 3 or 4 Months, will have the ſame Effect; and other good Conſequences: For, from what has been ſaid, *pag.* 25 and 26, there is reaſon to think, if the Money were lower'd to the *Engliſh* Standard, Exchange would be on our Side, and a Ballance due to us: Providing the Export, the Import, and Expence abroad continued as now.

There is another Argument for raiſing the Money, which is, "That ſome Goods "don't yield Profit enough abroad, ſo are not exported. *Ex.* If Serges worth "in *Scotland* 100 l. are worth 120 in *Holland*, the Merchant won't export them "for 20 *per Cent.* Profit: But if the Money is rais'd 20 *per Cent.* and Goods "keep at the Prices they had before, the ſame Money that bought 100 l. of "Serges, buying now to the Value of 120 l. and theſe Goods being worth in "*Holland* 144 l. That Addition to the Profit by raiſing the Money, will occa- "ſion the Export of them.

This is the ſame as if a Merchant who had 100 different Sorts of Goods, and was offer'd 30 *per Cent.* Profit upon 90 of them; but no body offering above 20 *per Cent.* Profit for the other 10 Sorts, ſhould add a Quarter to the Meaſure by which he meaſur'd his Goods, and ſell all the 100 Sorts for the ſame Price he ſold them before: As this Merchant will find himſelf a conſiderable Loſer by this Expedient, ſo will a Nation who raiſes their Money.

For the ſame Reaſon, it would be a great Loſs to *Scotland* if all Goods were allowed to be exported without Duty; ſome ought to be free of Duty, and ſome not, according to their Value abroad.

The true and ſafe Way to encourage the Export of ſuch Goods, as do not yield great enough Profit; is by a Drawback. *Ex.* If Serges ſent to *Holland* give only 20 *per Cent.* Profit, 10 *per Cent.* given as a Drawback will encourage their Export: The Drawback given to the Merchant is not loſt to the Nation, and what is got by the Manufacture or Export of the Goods, is gain'd by the Nation.

A Drawback is the beſt Method yet known for encouraging Trade, and it may be made appear, that 10 or 15000 l. applied that Way, will occaſion an Addition to the Export to the Value of 100000 l. Nor is any part of that 10 or 15000 l. loſt to the Nation, for if *A. B.* and *C. Scotſmen*, get ſuch Drawback, it is the ſame Thing to the Nation as if it had been given. When Drawbacks are paid out of Funds for the Support of the Government, little Money is applied that Way; becauſe ſo much is taken from the Prince: But if there was a National Fund for the Encouragement of Trade, that Nation might improve

Trade

Trade, and underſell other Nations that did not follow the ſame Meaſures. But this is ſuppoſing there was Money in the Country to employ the People.

Coining the Plate were a Loſs of the Faſhion, which may be valued one 6th, and would add little to the Money: The Plate at the Reſtoration was inconſiderable, having been call'd in a little before. Since there may have been wrought one Year with another about 60 Stone Weight; of that a great part has been melted down, or exported, the Remainder won't be of great Value. What Plate has been imported belongs to a few Men of Quality, who will ſend it out of the Country rather than loſe the Faſhion; and in that they do a Service to the Country, providing they don't ſpend it abroad, becauſe wrought Plate will ſell for more Silver at *London*, than it will melt to here.

If 'tis propoſed the Money be allay'd, and the Advantage of the Allay be given to the Owners of the Plate: Suppoſe the new Money with Allay be raiſed to double the Denomination; 5 s. of the Plate with the Faſhion worth 6 s. will give at the Mint 10 s. allay'd Money: But even then the Plate would not be brought in voluntarily, for that Plate ſold in *England*, and the Value brought back by Bill, will yield from 11 to 12 s. Exchange being above the *Par*, and 6 d. ſuppoſed to be got for the Faſhion of the Ounce of Plate.

If it be neceſſary to coin the Plate, ſuch Plate ſhould be allowed to be exported, as can be ſold abroad for more than its Weight: Security being given to import Money or Bullion to the Value.

Some propoſe a Regulation of the Ballance of Trade, by retrenching the Conſumption of Foreign Goods, and Expence in England: *So the Ballance being brought on our ſide, we may become rich by living within our yearly Value, as we became poor by ſpending beyond it.*

Such a Regulation will have its Difficulties. 1. To diſcharge all or a great part of the Import, will leſſen conſiderably the Revenue of the Crown, and her Majeſty may not think good to give the Royal Aſſent to ſuch a Regulation, unleſs an Equivalent be given. 2. Such a Regulation would not be ſo ſtrictly kept, but a part of what was uſed to be imported would be ſtole in. 3. The Reſidence of our Princes being in *England*, we are under a Neceſſity of having a Miniſtry there: Imployments being at the Diſpoſal of the Prince, and *London* being a Place of more Diverſion than *Edinburgh*, the Gentry will continue to go to *London* for Places or Pleaſure.

But allowing the Royal Aſſent were given to ſuch a Regulation either with or without an Equivalent; and the Regulation could be ſo ſtrictly kept, that nothing were imported contrary to that Law; and allow 20000 l. could be ſaved of the Expence in *England*, ſo that the Import and Expence abroad ſhould be 60000 l. leſs than laſt Year: Yet there are other Difficulties, that I fear will make the Regulation ineffectual.

1. Suppoſe the Ballance laſt Year due by us was 20000 l. the Import and Expence abroad leſſen'd 60000 l. Theſe who propoſe this Regulation may think a Ballance will be due to us of 40000 l. But as the Bank may have ſupplied us with 60000 l. of Notes, more than the Money in Bank; and as 20000 l. is ſuppos'd to have been exported laſt Year: So our Money being leſſen'd 80000 l. the next Year's Export may be ſo much leſs valuable, the want of that Money having

having ſet idle a Part of the People were then imployed; and a greater Ballance be due than laſt Year, notwithſtanding the Regulation.

2. Forty thouſand Pound firſt Coſt of Goods imported, and 20000 l. ſpent abroad, leſſen'd the Conſumption of the Goods of the Country; and the Export was by ſo much greater, as the Conſumption of the Goods of the Country was leſſen'd. But this Regulation occaſioning a greater Conſumption of the Goods of the Country, the Export will be leſs.

3. Several Merchants may have exported Goods, though they had not much Profit upon the Export of them; but becauſe of the Profit to be made upon the Import, which being leſſened, may likewiſe leſſen the Export.

4. If *Scotland* diſcharge or put a very high Duty on the Goods of other Nations; other Nations may diſcharge *Scots* Goods.

Allowing there were no Difficulties in regulating the Ballance of Trade, and that the ſame Meaſures were follow'd as are followed in *Holland*; we would grow richer, but their Riches would increaſe in the ſame Proportion: And 50 Years hence *Scotland* would be as poor as now, in compariſon with *Holland.*

If two Countries equal in their Product, People, *&c.* the one with 100000 l. of Money, and living within its yearly Value; ſo that the firſt Year a Ballance is due of 20000 l. the ſecond Year of 250000 l. and ſo on. The other Country with 20 Millions of Money, and conſuming more than the yearly Value; ſo that a Million is ſent out to pay the Ballance, the ſecond Year 1200000 l. and ſo on. This country will be ſoon poor, and the other be ſoon rich: But if that People who has 20 Millions of Money, will retrench in proportion to the other; they will be Rich and Powerful in compariſon with the other.

Conſidering how ſmall a Share we have of the Money of *Europe*, and how much Trade depends on Money: It will not be found very practicable to better our Condition, but by an Addition to our Money. Or if it is practicable without it, it is much more ſo with it.

The Bank will add little to the Money; for as Credit is voluntary, it depends on the Quantity of Money in the Country: And though the Bank had never fail'd, yet it it could not have kept its Credit much longer. Becauſe the Quanty of Money in *Scotland* is not ſufficient to give a Circulation to ſuch a Sum of Notes, as will pay the Charges of the Bank, and the Intereſt to the Owners.

'Tis thought the Proprietors of the Bank deſign to apply to the Parliament for further Privileges: But as their Deſign is not yet made publick, I ſhall only ſay in general, that if other Privileges are to be given, then it is not the ſame Bank; at leaſt not on the ſame Eſtabliſhment it was: In either of theſe Caſes, every Perſon ſhould be allowed to ſhare in it.

When a Bank is eſtabliſh'd every Perſon may have Share, upon the Terms of the Act of Parliament; and he that offers firſt is preferred. Suppoſe upon the ſetting up of the Bank, *A. B.* and *C.* did not ſubſcribe to it, becauſe they thought the Eſtabliſhment not favourable enough: So long as they who did ſubſcribe can ſupport the Bank upon the Terms of the Act of Parliament, none will pretend to any Share in it, unleſs the Subſcribers are pleas'd to ſell. But if

other

other Privileges are given, *A. B.* and *C.* as any others of the Country may deſire the Books to be open'd, that they be allow'd to ſhare in it; and any other ſet of Men who offer the ſame Security, may at the ſame time be allow'd to ſet up a Bank with the ſame Privileges: So every Shire in *Scotland* will deſire one. And if new Privileges are given to this Bank, it were a Hardſhip to refuſe the ſame to others, who are able and willing to give the ſame Security, eſpecially when the Nation ſtands in need of more Money than this Bank would be allowed to give out.

CHAP. V.

That any Meaſures propos'd for encreaſing the Silver Money or eſtabliſhing a Credit, promiſing a Payment of Silver-Money, are ineffectual. That Silver-Money has fallen much from the Value it had. That Land is of greater Value. That Silver may loſe the Additional Value it received from being uſed as Money.

NATIONAL Power and Wealth conſiſts in Numbers of People, and Magazines of home and foreign Goods. Theſe depend on Trade, and Trade depends on Money. So to be powerful and wealthy in Proportion to other Nations, we ſhould have Money in proportion with them; for the beſt Laws without Money cannot employ the People, improve the Product, or advance Manufacture and Trade.

The Meaſures have been uſed to preſerve and encreaſe Money, or ſuch as are now propos'd, are attended with Difficulties; and though the Difficulties were removed are ineffectual, and not capable to furniſh Money ſo as to improve the Country, or extend Trade in any proportion to the Improvements and Trade of other Nations.

Credit that promiſes a Payment of Money, cannot well be extended beyond a certain Proportion it ought to have with the Money. And we have ſo little Money, that any Credit could be given upon it would be inconſiderable.

It remains to be conſidered, whether any other Goods than Silver can be made Money with the ſame Safety and Convenience.

From what has been ſaid about the Nature of Money, *Chap.* 1. it is evident, that any other Goods which have the Qualities neceſſary in Money, may be made Money equal to the Value with Safety and Convenience. There was nothing of Humour or Fancy in making Silver to be Money; it was made Money becauſe it was thought beſt qualified for that Uſe.

I ſhall endeavour to prove, that another Money may be eſtabliſh'd, with all the Qualities neceſſary in Money in a greater degree than Silver, with other Qualities that Silver has not: And preferable for that Uſe, though Silver, were the Product of *Scotland*. And that by this Money the People may be employ'd, the Country improv'd, Manufacture advanc'd, Trade domeſtick and foreign be carried on, and Wealth and Power attain'd.

What I propoſe will I hope be found ſafe and practicable; advantageous in general to *Scotland*, and in particular to every *Scotſman*.

But as I offer to prove, that what I ſhall propoſe is more qualified for the Uſe of Money than Silver; ſo before I come to the Propoſal, I ſhall ſhew ſome Defects in Silver Money, and that it has not, nor does not anſwer the Deſign of Money.

Money is the Meaſure by which Goods are valued, the Value by which Goods are exchanged, and in which Contracts are made payable.

Money is not a pledge, as ſome call it; it's a Value paid, or contracted to be paid, with which 'tis ſuppoſed, the Receiver may, as his Occaſions require, buy an equal Quantity of the ſame Goods he has ſold, or other Goods equal in value to them: And that Money is the moſt ſecure value, either to receive, to contract for, or to value Goods by, which is leaſt liable to a Change in its Value.

Silver Money is more uncertain in its Value than other Goods, ſo leſs qualified for the Uſe of Money.

The Power the Magiſtrate has to alter the Money in its Denomination or Fineneſs, takes away the chief Quality for which Silver was made Money. In Countries where the Money is often changed in the Denomination or Fineneſs, 'tis more uncertain to contract for Money, than it was in the State of Barter to contract for Goods. *Ex.* If 100 Ounces of Silver are lent or contracted for, and a Bond given for them denominate Pouuds payable in a Year; in that Time half a Crown is raiſed to a Crown, and 50 Ounces pays the 100 lent or contracted for.

Tho' the Magiſtrate did never alter the Money in its Denomination or Fineneſs, yet it is more uncertain in its Value than other Goods.

Goods of the ſame Kind and Quality differ in Value, from any Change in their Quantity, or in the Demand for them: In either of theſe Caſes Goods are ſaid to be dearer, or cheaper, being more or leſs valuable, and equal to a greater or leſſer Quantity of other Goods, or of Money.

Silver in Bullion or Money changes its Value, from any Change in its Quantity, or in the Demand for it: In either of theſe Caſes Goods are ſaid to be dearer or cheaper; but 'tis Silver or Money is dearer or cheaper; being more or leſs valuable, and equal to a greater or leſſer Quantity of Goods.

Periſhable Goods, as Corns, *&c.* encreaſe or decreaſe in Quantity as the Demand for them encreaſes or decreaſes; ſo their Value continues equal or near the ſame.

More durable Goods, as Metals, Materials for Shipping, *&c.* encreaſe in Quantity beyond the Demand for them, ſo are leſs valuable.

Silver or Money encreaſes in Quantity by ſo much as is imported to *Europe*, more than is conſumed or exported. The Demand has encreaſed, but not in proportion to the Quantity; for 1*ſt*, The ſame Quantity of Silver or Money won't purchaſe the ſame Quantity of Goods as before, 2*dly*, 10 *per Cent.* was paid for the Uſe of it; now 'tis to be had at 6, in *Holland* at 3 or 4.

An Ounce of Silver being worth 5 *s.* and 2 *d.* and a Crown worth 60 *d.* unleſs alter'd by the Prince, makes moſt People inſenſible of any Change in the Value of Silver or | oney: But as one Year the Boll of Barley is ſold for 2 Crowns, and the Year after for 3; this Difference comes from a Change in the

Quantity,

Quantity or Demand of the Barley, or of the Money: And that of the Money will occaſion a Difference in the Price, as well as that of the Barley.

If laſt Year 100 Sheep were ſold for 100 Crowns, and the Perſon ſold them deſires this Year to buy the ſame number of Sheep; tho' the Quantity of the Sheep, and the Demand for them be the ſame as laſt Year: Yet if the Money is encreaſed in Quantity, and the Demand for it not encreas'd in Proportion, the 100 Sheep will be equal in Value to more Money than the Year before, ſo the Money is cheaper. If the Quantity of the Money, and the Demand for it be the ſame as before; yet if the Sheep are leſſer in Quantity, or the Demand for them greater; the 100 Sheep will be equal to a greater Quantity of Money, ſo the Sheep are dearer.

So though the Magiſtrate did never alter the Money, yet 'tis liable to a Change in its Value as Silver; from any Change in its Quantity, or in the Demand for it: and the Receiver is doubly uncertain whether the Money he receives or contracts for, will, when he has occaſion, buy him the ſame Goods he has ſold, or other Goods equal in Value to them; becauſe of the Difference may happen in the Value of the Money, or the Goods he is to buy.

And this Uncertainty is, though both Money and Goods were certain in their Quality.

The Difference of the Prices of moſt Goods, from Changes in their Quantity, or in the Demand for them, would be much prevented, if Magazines were kept; but the Difference in their Prices from the greater or leſſer Quantity of, or Demand for Money, cannot be prevented ſo long as Silver is the Money.

That Money is of much leſſer Value than it was, will appear by the Value Goods, Land, and Money had 200 Years ago.

By the Acts of the Council of *Edingburgh* it appears, that *Anno* 1495, the Fiars for Wheat was 6 *s.* and 8 *d.* *Scots* Money the Boll.

Anno 1520, Claret and white *French* Wines were order'd to be ſold in the Taverns at 6 *d.* *Scots* the Pint, and Ale at 20 *d.* *Scots* the Gallon.

Anno 1526, The Milns belonging to the Town were let for 400 Merks *Scots*, now they give 13000.

The petty Cuſtoms at *Leith* then let for 115 Merks.

Anno 1532, The Load of Malt containing 9 Firlots, was order'd to be ſold at 32 *s.* *Scots* the Load.

Anno 1551, Order'd that the beſt Mutton Bulk be ſold for 12 *d.* *Scots*, the ſecond Sort for 10 *d.* and the worſt Sort for 8 *d.*

Anno 1553, The 9 Firlots of Malt old Meaſure with the Charity, is order'd to be ſold for 26 *s.* *Scots*. The Landwart Bread to weigh 40 Ounces, and the Town-bread 36 Ounces the 4 *d.* or Plack Loaf.

Anno 1555, The Bakers are ordered for each Boll of Wheat to deliver 7 Score Loaves, at 16 Ounces the Loaf.

By an Act of the 5th Parliament of Queen *Mary*, *Anno* 1551, It's ordained, that Wines imported upon the *Eaſt* and *North* Coaſt ſhould not be ſold dearer than 20 l. *Scots* the Tun of *Bourdeaux* Wine, and 16 l. the Tun of *Rochel* Wine, the Pint of *Bourdeaux* Wine 10 *d.* and the Pint of *Rochel* Wine 8 *d.* and

that Wine imported upon the *Weſt* Coaſt be ſold no dearer than 16 *l. Scots* the Tun, of *Bourdeaux* Wine, and 12 or 13 *l.* the Tun of *Rochel* Wine; 8 *d.* the Pint of *Bourdeaux* Wine, and 6 *d* the Pint of *Rochel* Wine.

So that what 5 *l.* bought 200 Years ago, will not be bought now for 100 *l.* nor were Goods in greater Plenty, or of leſs Value than now: On the contrary, as theſe Acts were made to regulate the Prices of Goods, 'tis reaſonable to think they were in leſſer Quantity than now, proportion'd to the Demand, ſo of more Value. But Money having increas'd in Quantity, more than in Demand, and having been alter'd by the Prince, is fallen in Value: and 100 *l.* now is not worth what 5 *l.* was worth before.

Land may be computed to have been improv'd in 200 Years, that what pays now 2 Bolls the Acre, paid then but 1 Boll: Which may be known from old Rentals.

Money gave then 10 *per Cent.* Intereſt, and as 384 Acres, rented a Boll the Acre, Victual at 8 *s.* 4 *d.* the Chalder; ſo the Property of theſe Acres were equal to, or worth 100 *l.* for 100 *l.* gave 10 *l.* Intereſt, and the 384 Acres paid only ſuch a Quantity of Victual, as was ſold for 10 *l.* but as Land (being preferable to Money for many Reaſons) is valued now at 20 Years Purchaſe, tho' Money is at 6 *per Cent.* ſo that Land then may have been valued 14 Years Purchaſe, or 140 *l.*

As the Quantity of Money has encreas'd ſince that time, much more than the Demand for it; and as the ſame Quantity of Silver has receiv'd a higher Denomination, ſo of conſequence Money is of leſſer Value: A leſſer Intereſt is given for it: A greater Quantity of it is given for the ſame Quantity of Goods, and the Land is worth more Years Purchaſe.

The Value of ſuch Land now, the Acre rented at 2 Bolls, Victual at 8 l. 6 s. and 6 d. Money at 6 *per Cent.* ſo Land at 20 Years Purchaſe would be 8000 l. By this Computation Money is only worth the 20th Part of Goods, and the 57th Part of Land, it was worth 200 Years ago. Part of this Difference is from the Improvement made on Land, and the greater Demand for Land, the Quantity being the ſame, whereby its Value is greater: The reſt of the Difference is, from the Money being more encreaſed in Quantity than in Demand, whereby its Value is leſſer, and its Uſe lower: As likewiſe from its being alter'd in the Denomination.

There was then a greater Quantity of Silver in the ſame number of Pence than there is now: Which appears by ſeveral Acts of Parliament made about that time.

Anno 1475, In the 8th Parliament of King *James* the 3d, the Ounce of Silver was order'd to be ſold for 12 *s. Scots*, and 12 Groats was made of the Ounce of Silver.

The 3d of *November* 1554, by an Act of the Town Council of *Edinburgh*, the Ounce of Silver was order'd to be ſold at 18 *s.* and 8 *d. Scots*; but theſe Acts do not mention the Fineneſs the Silver was of. Suppoſe the ſame number of Pence had twice or 4 times the Value of Silver in them that they have now: Then Silver is only fallen to one Tenth, or one Fifth of the Value it had to Goods; and to one 28th, or one 14th of the Value it had to Land. But ſtill

Money

Money is fallen to one 20th of the Value it had to Goods, and to one 57th of the Value it had to Land.

The manner of lending Money in *France*, and I ſuppoſe in other *Roman* Catholick Countries; is by way of perpetual Intereſt, redeemable by the Debtor, and which the Creditor may diſpone or aſſign, but can never demand the Principal. And it is uſury by Law to take any Intereſt for Money, if the Creditor has power to call for the Principal, tho' the Term of Payment be many Years after the Money is lent. Suppoſe the manner of lending in *Scotland* was the ſame 200 Years ago, and that *A. B.* having 768 Acres of Land rented at a Boll of Victual the Acre, the yearly Rent 48 Chalder, at 5 *l. Scots* the Chalder, 20 *l. Sterling*, *C. D.* worth 100 *l.* in Money, to have lent it to *A. B.* and Intereſt being at 10 *per Cent.* to have received an annual Intereſt of 10 *l.* which he left to his Son, and thought he had provided ſufficiently for him, 10 *l.* being equal to or worth 24 Chalder of Victual. But Intereſt being lowered to 6 *per Cent.* Money being rais'd in the Denomination, and of leſs Value by its greater Quantity; the 6 *l.* now paid for the annual Intereſt of that 100 *l.* is not worth one Chalder of Victual. And 384 Acres, or the Half of *A. B*'s Land, 200 Years ago only equal to 100 or 140 *l.* is now worth 57 times that Sum, the Rental ſuppoſed to be doubled, and its Value at 20 Years Purchaſe.

In *France* it has been obſerv'd, that about 200 Years ago, the ſame Land was in 30 Years worth double the Money it was worth before; ſo Land worth 100 *l. Anno* 1500, was worth 200 *l. Anno* 1530, 400 *l. Anno* 1560, and ſo on, till within theſe 50 or 60 Years it has continued near the ſame Value.

In *England* 20 times the Quantity of Money is given for Goods, that was given 200 Years ago. In theſe Countries 'tis thought Goods have roſe; but Goods have kept their Value, 'tis Money has fallen.

Moſt Goods have encreaſed in Quantity, equal or near as the Demand for them has encreas'd; and are at or near the Value they had 200 Years ago. Land is more valuable, by Improvement producing to a greater Value, and the Demand encreaſing, the Quantity being the ſame. Silver and Money are of leſſer Value, being more encreas'd in Quantity than in Demand.

Goods will continue equal in Quantity as they are now to the Demand, or won't differ much; for the Increaſe of moſt Goods depends on the Demand. (*Ex.*) If the Quantity of Oats be greater than the Demand for Conſumption and Magazines, which is over is a Drug, ſo that Product will be leſſen'd, and the Land imployed to ſome other uſe: If by a Scarcity the Quantity be leſſer than the Demand, that Demand will be ſupply'd from Magazines of former Years; or if the Magazines are not ſufficient to anſwer the Demand, that Scarcity cannot well be ſuppos'd to laſt above a Year or two.

Land will continue to raiſe in Value, being yet capable of Improvement, and as the Demand encreaſes, for the Quantity will be the ſame.

Silver will continue to fall in Value, as it encreaſes in Quantity, the Demand not increaſing in proportion; for the Increaſe does not depend on the Demand. Moſt People won't allow themſelves to think that Silver is cheaper or leſs valuable, tho' it appears plainly, by comparing what Quantity of Goods ſuch a Weight of fine Silver bought 200 Years ago, and what Quantity of the ſame Goods it will buy now. If a Piece of Wine in *France* is equal in Value to 20

Bolls

Bolls of Oats there, that Quantity of Oats can never be worth more or leſs Wine, ſo long as the Quality, Quantity and Demand of both continues the ſame: But any diſproportion'd change in the Quality, Quantity or Demand, will make the ſame Quantity of the one be equal to a greater Quantity of the other; for if a piece of Wine in *France* is equal to or worth 40 Crowns there, it will always continue ſo unleſs ſome diſproportion'd Change happens in the Quantity, Quality, or Demand of the Wine, or of the Money.

The Reaſon is plain, why Silver has encreas'd more in Quantity than in Demand. The *Spaniards* bring as great Quantities into *Europe* as they can get wrought out of the Mines; for it is ſtill valued, though not ſo high. And tho' none of it come into *Britain*, yet it will be of leſs Value in *Britain* as it is in greater Quantity in *Europe*.

It may be objected that the Demand for Silver is now greater than the Quantity. It is anſwer'd, tho' the Demand is greater than the Quantity, yet it has not increas'd in proportion with the Quantity. Two hundred Years ago Money or Silver was at 10 *per Cent.* now from 6 to 3; if the Demand had encreas'd as much as the Quantity, Money would give 10 *per Cent.* as then, and be equal to the ſame Quantity of Victual, or other Goods that have kept their Value. If *A. B.* having a 1000 *l.* to lend, ſhould offer it at 10 *per Cent.* Intereſt, and deſired Land of 240 Chalder of Victual Rent for his Security, as was uſed to be given 200 Years ago: Tho' no Law regulate the Intereſt of Money, *A. B.* would find no Borrowers on theſe Conditions; becauſe Silver having encreas'd more in Quantity than in Demand, and the Denomination being alter'd, Money is of leſs Value, and is to be had on eaſier Terms. If the Demand had encreaſed in the ſame proportion with the Quantity, and the Money had not been rais'd, the ſame Intereſt would be given now as then, and the ſame Quantity of Victual to pay the Intereſt; for Money keeping its Value, 8 *s.* and 4 *d.* would be equal to a Chalder of Victual, as it was then.

If 2000 *l.* was laid out on Plate 200 Years ago, it is thought the Loſs on the Plate was only the Faſhion and the Intereſt; but if the 2000 *l.* had been laid out on Land, the Rent of that Land would be more than the Value of ſuch Plate.

Tho' Money or Silver is ſo much fallen from the Value it had, yet it's given as a Value for one Half, or two Thirds more than its Value as Silver, abſtract from its Uſe as Money.

Suppoſe Silver to be no more us'd as Money in *Europe*, its Quantity would be the ſame, and the Demand for it much leſſer, which might lower it two Thirds or more; for beſides that the Demand would be leſs, its Uſes as Plate, *&c.* are not near ſo neceſſary, as that of Money.

Goods given as a Value, ought for their other Uſes to be valuable, equal to what they are given for. Silver was barter'd as it was valued for its Uſes as a Metal, and was at firſt given as Money, according to the Value it had in Barter. Silver has acquir'd an additional Value ſince, that additional Uſe it was applied to occaſioning a greater Demand for it; which Value People have not been ſenſible of, the greater Quantity making it fall more: But it has kept it from falling ſo low as it would have fallen, if it had not been uſed as Money, and the ſame Quantity had come into *Europe*.

'Tis

'Tis uncertain how long Silver may keep that additional Value: If *England* ſet up a Money of another kind, Silver will not fall to one Third, becauſe uſed in other places as Money; but the leſſer Demand beſides the ordinary Fall from the greater Quantity coming into *Europe*, would occaſion an extraordinary Fall perhaps of 10 *per Cent.* If the new Money then in *England* did not encreaſe beyond the Demand for it, it would keep its Value, and be equal to ſo much more Silver at home or abroad than it was coin'd for; as Silver would be of leſs Value, from the ordinary and extraordinary Fall.

If *England* chang'd their Money, other Countries may do the ſame. If *Holland* alone kept to Silver Money, the Price of Silver, may be ſuppoſed to fall immediately 50 *per Cent.* from the leſſer Demand for it as Money: And 100 *l.* in *Holland* be worth no more than 50 *l.* new Money in *England*, whether ſent in *Specie* or remitted by Exchange; and as more Silver came into *Europe*, it would fall yet lower, becauſe of its greater Quantity.

It may be objected, That in Scotland *the Quantity of Goods are proportioned to the Demand as they have been ſome Years ago; and Money ſcarcer, the Demand for it the ſame or greater: So if Goods and Money are higher or lower in Value, from their greater or leſſer Quantity in proportion to the Demand for them; Money ſhould by its great Quantity of Goods. Yet Goods differ little in Price, from what they were when Money was in greater Quantity.*

To this it's anſwered, the Value of Goods or Money differs, as the Quantity of them or Demand for them changes in *Europe*; not as they change in any particular Country. Goods in *Scotland* are at or near the ſame Value with Goods in *England*, being near the ſame in Quantity in proportion to the Demand as there: Money in *Scotland* is not above the 40th part of the Money in *England*, proportion'd to the People, Land, or Product, nor above one 10th part proportion'd to the Demand. If *Scotland* was incapable of any Commerce with other Countries, and in the State it is now, Money here would buy 10 times the Quantity of Goods it does in *England*, or more: But as *Scotland* has Commerce with other Countries, tho' Money were much ſcarcer than now, or in much greater Quantity than in *England*; if there were but 10000 *l.* in *Scotland*, or a Million, the Value of Goods would not differ above 30 *per Cent.* from what they were abroad, becauſe for that Difference Goods may be exported or imported. Prohibitions may raiſe the Difference higher.

Britannia Languens, *and others on Trade and Money, are of Opinion that Goods in any Country fall in Value, as Money in that particular Country grows ſcarcer. That, if there was no more than* 500 *l. in* England, *the yearly Rent of* England *would not exceed* 500 *l. and an Ox would be ſold for a Penny.* Which Opinion is wrong; for as the Ox might be exported to *Holland*, it would give a Price in *England* equal or near to that it would give in *Holland*: If Money were ſuppoſed to be equally ſcarce in *Holland* and other places as in *England*, the Ox might give no more than a Penny, but that Penny would have a Value then equal to 5 *l.* now; becauſe it would purchaſe the ſame Quantity of Goods in *England*, or other Places, that 5 *l.* does now.

"The ſame Anſwer may be given to thoſe who think an Addition of the "Money of any particular Country would undervalue it ſo, that the ſame Quan- "tity of Goods would coſt double the Money as before."

If

If the Money and Credit current in *England* be 15 Millions, *Scotland* reckon'd as 1 to 13, the Money in *Scotland* encreaſed to a Million and an half, the Demand in proportion to the Demand in *England*; that Addition to the Money of *Scotland* would not make Money of leſs Value here, than it is now in *England*. Goods in *Scotland* would ſell as they ſell in *England*, the Product of the Country would perhaps be 10 or 20 *per Cent.* dearer, to bring it equal to what it ſells in *England*; but all ſorts of Manufacture would be cheaper, Money being eaſier borrowed, Merchants would deal for a greater Value, and Men of Eſtates would be capacitated to Trade, and able to ſell at leſs Profit. Nor would Land riſe higher than in *England*, the Buyer having in his Choice to buy elſewhere, the better Security of a Regiſter may be ſuppos'd to add a Year's Purchaſe or two to the Value.

If the Money of any particular Country ſhould encreaſe beyond the Proportion that Country bears to *Europe*; it would undervalue Money there, or according to the way of ſpeaking, it would raiſe Goods: But as Money would be undervalued every where the ſame, or near to what it were there; it would be of great Advantage to that Country, tho' thereby Money were leſs valuable: For that Country would have the whole Benefit of the greater Quantity, and only bear a Share of the leſſer Quantity, and only bear a Share of the leſſer Value, according to the Proportion its Money had to the Money of *Europe*. When the *Spaniards* bring Money or Bullion into *Europe*, they leſſen its Value, but gain by bringing it; becauſe they have the whole Benefit of the greater Quantity, and only bear a Share of the leſſer Value.

What has been ſaid, proves, 1*ſt*, That Silver Money is an uncertain Value, becauſe liable to be alter'd in the Fineneſs or Denomination by the Prince. A Crown has no more Silver in it than Half-a-Crown or 15 *d.* had 150 or 200 Years ago.

2dly, That as Silver it has fallen from the Value it had, the ſame Quantity not being worth the 5th or 10th Part of what it was worth then. A Money'd Man then worth 1000 l. was richer at that time than a Land-man of 240 Chalder of Victual Rent: But a Man of ſuch a Money Eſtate, would not now be worth one 50th Part of ſuch a Land Eſtate.

3dly, That tho' fallen ſo much, yet it is given as Money or ſold as Bullion, for much more than its Value as a Metal; to which it will be reduced ſo ſoon as another Money is ſet up.

Conſidering the preſent State of *Europe*, *France* and *Spain* being Maſters of the Mines, the other Nations ſeem to be under a Neceſſity of ſetting up another Money. The only Reaſon can be given why it has not yet been done, is, that the Nature of Money has not been rightly underſtood: Or they would not have continued buying Silver from *Spain* above its Value as a Metal, when they had a more valuable Money of their own, and every way more fitted for that Uſe.

The Receiver of Silver can have no great hopes that the Value of it will be greater; for 'tis not to be ſuppoſed it will be apply'd to, whereby the Demand for it may be encreas'd: Or that the Quantity exported and conſum'd, will be greater than the Quantity imported.

Tho'

Tho' it be ſcarce in any particular Country, yet the money'd Men will have no great Benefit by ſuch Scarcity, as has been ſhown: For unleſs the Scarcity is the ſame in all Places with which that Country trades, Money will not be valued much higher there than in other Countries.

If it is alledged the Mines in the Weſt-Indies *may fail.* 'Tis the Intereſt of the *Spaniards* to give out that their Mines begin to fail, to keep up the Price of Silver: But if that were true, *France* ought not have engaged herſelf in a War, when by the Parliament Treaty ſhe could have got any other Parts of that Monarchy that are valuable. Allowing the Mines do fail, we ought the rather to provide ourſelves with another Money.

CHAP. VI.

The Propoſal given into the Parliament by Dr. H. C. *examined.*

I Did not intend to have ſaid any thing about the Doctor's Propoſal, that Affair having been referr'd to a Committee, who are to make their Report. But ſeveral People, who are of Opinion that the Doctor's Propoſal is not practicable, being againſt what I am to propoſe, becauſe they think 'tis the ſame with his in ſome other dreſs: I thought it needful to give a ſhort Account of the Doctor's Propoſal, and in what I differ from him.

His Propoſal is to give out Notes upon Land, to be cancell'd by yearly payments of about 2 and a Quarter *per Cent.* for 45 Years. And that theſe Notes be current as Silver Money, to the Value they are coin'd for.

If Notes given out after that manner, were equal in Value to Silver Money; then every Landed-man in *Scotland* would deſire a Share of this great and certain Advantage: And I don't ſee how it is practicable to give every Landed-man a Share.

Suppoſing it practicable, 45 Years Purchaſe in theſe Notes, will not be of ſo much Value, as 20 Years Purchaſe of Silver Money.

No Anticipation is equal to what already is: A Year's Rent now is worth 15 Years Rent 50 Years hence, becauſe that Money let out at Intereſt, by that time will produce ſo much. And tho' the Parliament would force theſe Notes, yet they would not have Currency, any more than if the Government coin'd Pieces of Gold equal in Weight and Fineneſs with a Guinea, and ordered them to paſs for 5 l.

Theſe Bills are propos'd to be repaid and cancell'd in a Term of Years, without any Intereſt, but only ſo much as would defray the Charges of the Office, which would not be above one half *per Cent.*

There would be then many Lenders, but few if any Borrowers, except from the Land-Bank: For as 'tis the Landed-man borrows of the money'd Man, he would ſatisfy his Creditor, and have Bills to lend. The money'd Man would likewiſe have of theſe Bills to lend, but there would be no Borrowers; or if any deſired to borrow, they would have theſe Bills at a very low Uſe. Suppoſe at 2 *per Cent.* then theſe Bills would be conſiderably leſs valuable than Silver.

Any thing that is propos'd to have a Currency as Money, and is given for a

leſſer Intereſt than Silver Money, will be of leſs Value.

It is not to be ſuppos'd any Perſon will lend Silver Money at 2 *per Cent.* when they can have 6 *per Cent.* in *England.* So 100 l. Silver Money will yield as much as 300 l. of theſe Bills would; and 100 l. in Silver, will be equal to 300 l. in Bills. The 6 l. the 100 l. of Silver yields being Silver, and the 6 l. the 300 of Bills yields, being paid in theſe Bills; and 1 l. Silver, being worth 3 l. in Bills; ſo the 6 l. Intereſt of the 100 l. in Silver, would be equal to 18 l. or the Intereſt of 900 l. in Bills.

And tho' they were given out to be repaid in 20 Years, at 5 *per Cent.* for that time, or in 10 Years at 10 *per Cent.* they would not be equally valuable with Silver. The Difference would not be ſo great, as when given out for 45 Years.

The Advantage the Nation would have by the Doctor's Propoſal is; that tho' theſe Notes fall under the Value of Silver Money, and 500 l. in Notes were only equal to 100 l. in Silver; yet the Nation would have the ſame Advantage by that 500 l. in Notes, as if an Addition of 100 l. had been made to the Silver Money.

So far as theſe Bills fell under the Value of the Silver Money, ſo far would Exchange with other Countries be rais'd. And if Goods did not keep their Price, *i. e.* If they did not ſell for a greater Quantity of theſe Bills, equal to the Difference between them and Silver, Goods exported will be undervalued, and Goods imported would be overvalued, as has been explain'd, *pag.* 20. about Exchange.

The Landed-man would have no Advantage by this Propoſal, unleſs he ow'd Debt: For tho' he receiv'd 50 l. of theſe Bills, for the ſame Quantity of Victual he was in Uſe to receive 10 l. in Silver Money; yet that 50 l. would only be equal in Value to 10 l. of Silver, and purchaſe only the ſame Quantity of Home or Foreign Goods.

The Landed Man who has his Rent paid him in Money, would be a great Loſer; for by as much as theſe Bills were under the Value of Silver, he would receive ſo much leſs than before.

The Landed-man who owed Debt, would pay his Debt with a leſs Value than was contracted for: But the Creditor loſes what the Debtor gained.

Dr. C. *ſeems to be offended at my meddling in this Affair, having, as he ſays, borrow'd what I know of the Subject from him.* Two Perſons may project the ſame Thing; but, ſo far as I can judge, what I am to propoſe is different from his, and what I had form'd a Scheme of ſeveral Years before I had ſeen any of his Papers: Which I can prove, if that were neceſſary, by Perſons of Worth I then ſhew'd it to. I have not, to my knowledge, borrowed any thing from Dr. *C.* Land indeed is the Value upon which he founds his Propoſal, and 'tis upon Land that I found mine: If for that Reaſon I have incroached upon his Propoſal, the Bank of *Scotland* may be ſaid to have done the ſame: There were Banks in *Europe* long before the Doctor's Propoſal; and Books have been writ on the Subject before and ſince. The Foundation I go upon has been known ſo long as Money has been lent on Land, and ſo long as an heretable Bond has been equal to a Quantity of Land. Whether the Structure he or I have built upon this Foundation be moſt ſafe, advantageous and practicable, the Parliament can beſt judge.

Dr.

Dr. C's Propoſal is by Anticipation " to make Land worth 50 or 100 Years " Purchaſe; and maintains that 100l. to be paid Yearly for 10, 50, or 100 " Years, is a valuable Pledge for 1000, 5000, or 10000 l. of Bills: And that " theſe Bills will be equal to Silver Money." If he can ſatisfy the Nation that his Propoſal be practicable, he does a very great Service, and gives a certain Advantage to the Landed-man, without wronging the money'd Man. I have ſhown the Reaſons why I think the Propoſal is not practicable; and that notwithſtanding any Act of Parliament made to force theſe Bills, they would fall much under the Value of Silver. But allowing they were at firſt equal to Silver, it is next to impoſſible that two different Species of Money ſhould continue equal in Value to one another.

Every thing receives a Value from its Uſe, and the Value of it is raiſed according to its Quality, Quantity and Demand; tho' Goods of different Kinds are equal in Value now, yet they will change their Value from any unequal Change in their Quality, Quantity, or Demand.

And as he leaves it to the Choice of the Debtor, to pay in Silver Money or Bills; he confines the Value of the Bills to the Value of the Silver Money, but cannot confine the Value of the Silver Money to the Value of the Bills; ſo that theſe Bills muſt fall in Value as Silver Money falls, and may fall lower: Silver may riſe above the Value of theſe Bills, but theſe Bills cannot riſe above the Value of Silver.

What I ſhall propoſe, is to make Money of Land equal to its Value; and that Money to be equal in Value to Silver Money, and not liable to fall in Value as Silver Money falls.

And Goods that have the Qualities neceſſary in Money, may be made Money equal to their Value; 5 Ounces of Gold is equal to 20l. and may be made Money equal to that Value. An Acre of Land rented at 2 Bolls of Victual, the Victual at 8l. and Land at 20 Years Purchaſe is equal to 20l. and may be made Money equal to that Value, for it has all the Qualities neceſſary in Money; but that Acre of Land cannot be coin'd to the Value of 50l. no more than the 5 Ounces of Gold. And tho' the 5 Ounces of Gold, the 20l. Silver Money, and the Acre of Land be now equal in Value, yet they cannot well continue ſo; for as I have ſhewn already any diſproportion'd Change in the Quality, Quantity, or in the Demand of either of them, will make the ſame Quantity of the one, equal to a greater or leſſer Quantity of the others. Land is what in all Appearance will keep its Value beſt, it may riſe in Value, but cannot well fall: Gold or Silver are liable to many Accidents, whereby their Value may leſſen, but cannot well riſe in Value.

CHAP. VII.

The PROPOSAL, *with Reaſons for it.*

TO ſupply the Nation with Money it is humbly propoſed, That 40 Commiſſioners be appointed by Parliament, anſwerable to Parliament for their Adminiſtration, and the Adminiſtration of the Officers under them: The Nomination of theſe Officers being left to the Commiſſioners.

That the Commiſſioners have Power to coin Notes: Which Notes to be received in Payments where offer'd.

That a Committee of Parliament be appointed to inſpect the Management, and that none of the Commiſſioners be Members.

That the Commiſſion and Committee meet twice a Year at *Whitſunday* and *Martinmas*; their Meetings to begin 10 Days before, and to continue 10 Days after each Term.

There are three Ways humbly offer'd to the Parliament, for giving out theſe Notes: They in their Wiſdom may determine which will be moſt ſafe.

1. To authorize the Commiſſion to lend Notes on Land Security, the Debt not exceeding one half, or two Thirds of the Value, and at the ordinary Intereſt.

2. To give out the full Price of Land, as it is valued, 20 Years Purchaſe more or leſs, according to what it would have given in Silver Money; the Commiſſion entring into Poſſeſſion of ſuch Lands, by Wadſet granted to the Commiſſion or Aſſignees, and redeemable betwixt, and the expiring of a Term of Years.

3. To give the full Price of Land upon Sale made of ſuch Lands, and diſpoſed to the Commiſſion or Aſſignees irredeemably.

That any Perſon ſhall have ſuch Bonds, Wadſets, or Eſtates, aſſign'd or diſpoſed to them, upon paying in the Value to the Commiſſion.

That the Commiſſion don't receive other Money than theſe Notes.

That no Perſon who has contracted for theſe Notes, ſhall be obliged to receive Silver or Metal Money.

That the Commiſſion have not Power to coin more than 50000 l. at a time, and that no more be coin'd ſo long as there is 25000 l. remaining in the Office.

That for a Year and a half the Commiſſion be limited to a certain Sum, after that time to coin what Sums are demanded, unleſs reſtricted by enſuing Parliaments.

That thoſe who deſire Money from the Commiſſion, give in a Note to the Lawyers for the Commiſſion a Month before the Term, of what Sums they want, with the Rights of ſuch Lands as they offer in Pledge; and that thoſe who have Notes to pay in to the Commiſſion, give warning 10 Days before the Term.

That the State of the Commiſſion, the Sum of Notes coin'd, the Debt and Credit, with the Number of different Notes, be publiſh'd every Term.

That any Perſon who ſhall diſcover 2 Notes of the ſame Number, or of a higher Number than theſe publiſh'd, ſhall have 100l Reward.

That the Under Officers be intruſted with the Sum of 20,000 *l.* to change Notes with, and that they attend the whole Year.

That any Member of Parliament may inſpect the State of the Commiſſion.

That no Notes be coin'd, Money lent, or Rights aſſign'd by the Commiſſion, but at the Terms of *Whitſunday* and *Martinmas*, and in Preſence of at leaſt 20 Commiſſioners, and one third of the Committee.

That the Revenue of the Commiſſion over what pays the Charges, and what Part the Parliament thinks needful to make good any Loſſes may happen to the Com-

Commiſſion, be applied by way of Draw-back, for encouraging the Export and Manufacture of the Nation.

That Paper Money do not riſe more than 10 *per Cent.* above Silver Money; ſo that he who contracts to pay in Paper, may know what he is to pay in Caſe he cannot get Paper Money.

The Parliament may enter into a *Reſolve*, that the next Seſſions of this, or the next enſuing Parliament, the State of the Commiſſion be taken into Conſideration, preferable to all other Buſineſs; and if found hurtful to the Country, the Parliament may diſcharge any more Notes to be given out, and order what Notes are then out to be called in.

That after three Months from the Date of the Act, *Scots* and Foreign Money be reduced to the *Engliſh* Standard, the *Engliſh* Crown to 60 *d.* and the other Money in Proportion to its Value of Silver; the 40 *d.* to 38 *d.* the new Mark to 13 *d.* $\frac{1}{3}$, the old Mark to its Weight, the Ducatoons to 68 *d.* Dollars to their Weight, Guineas not to paſs 22 *s.*

That after four Months no *Scots* Money, (except what ſhall be coin'd after the Act) nor any Foreign Money, except the *Engliſh* Money, be receiv'd in any Payments, or be ſold as Bullion, but at the Mint.

That for what old Money or Bullion is brought to the Mint, the Mint return to the full Value in new Money, of 12 *d.* 6 *d.* and 3 *d.* Pieces; of eleven Deniries fine, the 12 *d.* of three Drops, three Grains Weight, the other Pieces to weigh in Proportion; the Expence of Coinage to be paid out of the Funds appropriate to that Uſe.

That for three Months after the Act, the new Money paſs for 19 *d.* halfpenny, and 3 *d.* farthing.

That after three Months, Bullion and wrought Plate be eleven Deniries fine, and 5 *s.* and 2 *d.* the Ounce of Silver, Gold not to paſs 4 *l.*

The Paper Money propos'd will be equal in Value to Silver, for it will have a Value of Land Pledge equal to the ſame Sum of Silver Money, that is given out for. If any Loſſes ſhould happen, one fourth of the Revenue of the Commiſſion will, in all Appearance, be more than ſufficient to make them good.

This Paper Money will not fall in Value as Silver Money has fallen, or may fall: Goods or Money fall in Value, if they increaſe in Quantity, or if the Demand leſſens. But the Commiſſion giving out what Sums are demanded, and taking back what Sums are offer'd to be return'd; this Paper Money will keep its Value, and there will always be as much Money as there is Occaſion or Employment for, and no more.

If a Contract for Paper Money could be ſatisfied by paying the ſame Quantity of Silver Money, then that Paper Money could not riſe above the Value of Silver, and would fall with it; but as the Paper Money is a different Species from Silver, ſo it will not be liable to any of the Changes Silver Money is liable to.

Though the Parliament could give Silver Money to the People, in as great a Quantity as there were Occaſion, the Parliament could not juſtly know what Sum would ſerve the Country, for the Demand changes. If the Quantity of Money is leſs than the Demand, the Landed Man is wrong'd; for 100 *l.* then being more valuable, will buy a greater Quantity of the Landed Man's Goods.

If

If the Quantity of Money is greater than the Demand, the monied Man is wrong'd; for 100 *l.* then is not ſo valuable, ſo will not buy the ſame Quantity of Goods 100 *l.* bought before.

If the Commiſſion do not give out Money when it is demanded, where good Security is offer'd, 'tis a Hardſhip on the Perſon who is refuſed, and a Loſs to the Country; for few, if any, borrow Money to keep by them, tho' the Employer loſes.

If the Commiſſion did not take back what Sums were offer'd to be return'd, it were a Hardſhip on the monied Man, who has a Sum paid him, and does not know how to employ it; and the Quantity being greater than the Demand for it, it would fall in Value.

After the Method propoſed, the Quantity being always equal to the Demand for it, it will keep its Value, and buy the ſame Quantity of Goods fifty Years hence as now; unleſs the Goods alter in their Value, from any Change in their Quantity, or in the Demand for them.

Suppoſe this Commiſſion had been eſtabliſh'd 200 Years ago, Land then at 14 Years Purchaſe, Money at 10 *per Cent.* Victual at 8 *s.* and 4 *d.* the Chalder, and Paper Money to have been given out upon Land; 8 *s.* and 4 *d.* of that Paper Money would now have been equal to a Chalder of Victual, and to 8 *l.* 6 *s.* 4 *d.* Silver Money; becauſe Silver Money having increaſed in Quantity more than the Demand, and having been alter'd in the Denomination, has fallen to one twentieth of the Value it had then. Nor would the Landed Man have receiv'd leſs for his Victual than now; for that Paper Money would have bought him twenty times the Quantity of Goods, Silver Money will buy.

Land has a more certain Value than other Goods, for it does not encreaſe in Quantity, as all other Goods may. The Uſes of Goods may be diſcharg'd, or by Cuſtom be taken from them, and given to other Goods: The Uſe of Bread may be taken from Oats, and wholly given to Wheat: The Uſe of Money may be taken from Silver, and given to Land: The Uſe of Plate, and the other Uſes of Silver, as a Metal, may be taken from Silver, and given to ſome other Metal, or ſome Mixture that may be more fitted for theſe Uſes. In any of theſe Caſes, theſe Goods loſe a Part of their Value, proportioned to the Uſes that are taken from them, but Land cannot loſe any of its Uſes. For as every Thing is produced by Land, ſo the Land muſt keep its Value, becauſe it can be turn'd to produce the Goods that are in Uſe. If Wheat is more uſed, and Oats leſs, as the Land can produce both, it will be turn'd to produce what is moſt uſed, becauſe moſt valuable.

This Money will not receive any additional conſiderable Value from being uſed as Money, ſo the Receiver will be certain he can be no Loſer, tho' after a Term of Years the Uſe of Money is taken from it. The Land will receive an additional Value, from being uſed as the Pledge upon which the Money is iſſued, and that additional Value would be greater than what Silver receiv'd; becauſe tho' Land be uſed as the Pledge to iſſue out Money upon, yet none of its other Uſes would be taken from it; Silver cannot be uſed as Money and Plate at the ſame Time: But as Land is in greater Quantity than there will be Occaſion for to give out Money upon; ſo the additional Value it receives, will not be near ſo great as that Silver Money has receiv'd.

Suppoſe

Suppoſe the additional Value Land received were one 4th, Land now at 20 Years Purchaſe, would then be at 25 Years Purchaſe. If the Parliament call'd in the Paper Money, he, who had Paper Money, could be no Loſer by it, tho' the Land loſt the additional Value; for no more of it is given out than the Value of the Land abſtract from its Uſe as Money. Whereas is Silver was no more uſed as Money, he, who had Silver would loſe an half or 2 Thirds; Silver falling then to its Value as a Metal.

So that this Paper Money propos'd, having a better Value than Silver, and receiving no Addition to its Value from being uſed as Money; and not being liable to any Change in its Value, the Quantity and Demand encreaſing and decreaſing together: It is ſo far more qualified to be the Meaſure by which Goods are valued, the Value by which Goods are ere exchanged, and in which Contracts are made payable.

The other Qualities neceſſary in Money, are,

1. Eaſy of Delivery.
2. Of the ſame Value in one Place to what it is in another.
3. To be kept without Loſs or Expence.
4. To be divided without Loſs.
5. To be capable of a Stamp.

Paper Money has theſe Qualities in a greater degree than Silver.

1. It is eaſier of Delivery; 500 l. in Paper may be paid in leſs Time than 5 l. in Silver.

2. It is nearer the Value in one Place to what it is in another, being of eaſier Carriage.

3. It can be eaſier kept, taking up leſs room and without Loſs; becauſe it may be exchanged at the Office. The Conſumption of Paper is not of ſo much Value as the Confumption of Silver: The Conſumption of the Paper is a Loſs to the Office, the Conſumption of Silver is a Loſs to the Owner.

4. It can be divided without Loſs, becauſe it may be changed for leſſer Notes at the Office.

5. It is capable of a Stamp, and leſs liable to be Counterfeit.

The Practice of moſt trading Nations confirms, that Paper is more qualified for the Uſe of Money than Silver, and providing it have a Value. In *Holland* Silver is pledg'd, and Paper is uſed as Money. That Land pledg'd is a better Value than Silver pledg'd, is evident from what has been ſaid. In *England*, before the Bank was ſet up, Goldſmith's Notes were received in Payments preferable to Gold or Silver; which ſhows that Paper Money had all the Qualities neceſſary in Money, ſo much more than Gold or Silver, as to equal the Danger of a Goldſmith's breaking, of which there were many Examples. Mr. *Lock*, *pag.* 7th on Intereſt of Money, ſays that one Goldſmith's Credit (being uſually a Note under one of his Servant's Hands) went for above eleven hundred thouſand Pounds at a Time.

The Notes of the Bank in *Scotland* went, though there was no Money in the Bank, and though their Acceptance was voluntary. The Security for the

Paper

Paper propos'd will be as Good, the Adminiſtration may be more ſafe and ſatisfactory than that Bank, or any other private Bank; becauſe it is more public, and the Commiſſion has any Share of the Profitts; beſides it will not be liable to the Hazards Banks are liable to from the Sale of Shares.

And it ſeems ſtrange, that the Adminiſtration of ſuch a Commiſſion ſhould be doubted, when the Parliament has the Nomination of the Managers; when the Managers are to be accountable to the Parliament; when the Truſt is to be ſo ſmall, for more Notes cannot be coin'd ſo long as 25000 l. is in the Office; a Committee of Parliament is to be appointed to inſpect the Management, the Books are to be open to the Inſpection of any Member of Parliament, and the State of the Commiſſion is to be publiſhed in Print.

Since the Notes of the Bank went upon a voluntary Acceptance, though there was no Money in Bank; 'tis reaſonable to think the Paper Money propos'd will at leaſt have the ſame Currency: Being current by Law does not make it leſs valuable. He, who took Bank Notes, could not be ſure the Bank would be in a Condition to give Money for them; and the Perſon he is to pay Money to might refuſe them: So he was more uncertain, than if they had been current by Law.

The Silver Money being to fall betwixt 8 and 9 *per Cent.* in 3 Months, it is not to be ſuppos'd that Silver will be prefer'd to Paper Money, ſince the Notes of the Bank which is Paper upon the ſame Fund, went at the ordinary Intereſt; and tho' the Receiver was not certain of the Money at the time it was promiſed, or that the Perſon he was owing to would receive it.

It may be objected, that Paper went becauſe Silver could be got for it when demanded, or at certain time.

That was very reaſonable, but would not be ſo in this caſe: The Security pledg'd for that Paper Money, was Silver. The Security pledg'd for this Paper Money, is Land. This Money has no relation to Gold or Silver, more than to other Goods. And it were more extravagant to ſay, I won't take 100 l. of ſuch Paper Money for the Goods I ſell, becauſe I am not ſure if 6 Months hence it will buy me ſuch a Quantity of Silver, for Silver may grow dearer: As it would be to ſay now, I won't take 100 l. in Silver for the Goods I ſell; becauſe I am not ſure if 6 Months hence, it buy me ſuch a Quantity of Wine, for Wine may grow dearer.

Four Crowns won't buy a Guinea, though they were coin'd for the ſame Value; nor won't buy the 10th Part of Goods 4 Crowns bought 200 Years ago, yet Silver is receiv'd as a Value, and contracted for, though its Value leſſens every Year, and though 'tis not perhaps worth above a Third of what 'tis given or contracted for, abſtract from the Uſe of Money. This Paper will not only keep its Value; Encreaſe of the Quantity depending on the Demand, and the Quantity decreaſing as the Demand decreaſes: But likewiſe the Land pledg'd is as valuable as the Paper given out abſtract from its Uſe as Money, and encreaſes in Value.

The Objection may be made againſt Silver Money, and with good Reaſon; for it falls faſter in its Value than other Goods, and may ſoon be reduced to its Value as a Metal.

The

The Paper Money propos'd is equal to itſelf; but to continue equal to ſuch a Quantity of any other Goods, is to have a Quality that no Goods can have for that depends on the Changes in theſe other Goods. It has a better and more certain Value than Silver Money, and all the other Qualities neceſſary in Money in a much greater degree, with other Qualities that Silver has not, and is more capable of being made Money than any thing yet known. Land is what is moſt valuable, and what encreaſes in Value more than other Goods; ſo the Paper Money iſſued from it, will, in all Appearance, not only keep equal to other Goods, but riſe above them.

Becauſe of the extraordinary Scarcity of Silver in *Scotland*, and the Inclination People have to it, from its having been long uſed as Money; it may be neceſſary to reſtrict its Price to 5 *s.* and 2 *d.* the Ounce: But it will ſoon fall from that Value of Paper, if it come in greater Quantity into *Europe*, than is exported or conſum'd.

Suppoſe an Iſland belonging to one Man, the Number of Tenants 100, each Tenant 10 in Family, in all 1000; by theſe the Iſland is labour'd, part to the Product of Corns, the Reſt for Paſturage: Beſides the Tenants and their Families, there are 300 Poor or Idle who live by Charity. There ie no Money; but Rents are paid in kind, and if one Tenant has more of one Product, and leſs of another than his Family has occaſion for, he barters with his Neighbour.

The People of this Iſland know nothing of Manufacture; the Iſland being plentiful, furniſhes enough for their Conſumption, and an Overplus which they exchange on the Continent for Cloaths, and what other Goods they want: But as that Overplus is only ſufficient to make a Return of ſuch a Quantity of Goods as they conſume yearly, ſo they have no Magazines of their own or foreign Goods to ſerve them in bad Years, nor no Magazines of Arms, Ammunition, *&c.* for their Defence.

'Tis propos'd to the Proprietor, that if a Money were eſtabliſh'd to pay the Wages of Labour, the 300 Poor might be imployed in manufacturing ſuch Goods as before were exported in Product; and as the 1000 that labour the Ground were idle one half their Time, they might be equal to that of 500 more, which would leſſen their Import by providing them with a part of ſuch Goods as before they brought from the Continent, and raiſe their Export to 3 or 4 times the Value it had: The Return of which would furniſh them with greater Quantities of Foreign Goods than they wanted for Conſumption, which might be laid up in Magazines.

The Money propos'd is after this manner. The Proprietor to coin pieces of Paper figured Number 1, Number 2, and ſo on; Number 4 to be equal to a certain Meaſure of Corn. The Poor and other Labourers would be ſatisfied to take Number 4 for the Wages of a Day's Labour, providing it be ſo contriv'd that Number 4 purchaſe them the Meaſure of Corn; for as that Corn can be barter'd with other Goods, ſo Number 4 would purchaſe an equal Value of any other Goods.

To make Number 4 equal to that Meaſure of Corn, the Proprietor calls his Tenants together; tells them for the future, he will have his Rent paid in

Paper, ſo renews their Leaſes, and where 100 Meaſures of Corn was paid, they oblige themſelves to pay him Number 400. The other kinds the Proprietor was paid in are valued, according to the Value they had in Barter with Corn; and Leaſes made for Paper.

The Proprietor coins Paper to the Value of a Years Rent, imploys ſuch as are willing to work, and gives them Paper Money as the Price of their Labour. The Tenant gives Corn or any other Goods he has to the Labourers for Paper Money, and the Proprietor receives it for his Rent. But as the Conſumption of the labouring Man may be ſuppos'd to be only equal to Number 2; ſo the Tenants cannot get the whole Sum iſſued by the Proprietor, and conſequently not enough to pay their Rent. If this were not remedied, the labouring Men being Maſters of the remaining part of the Paper, and having no Occaſion for more Goods from the Tenants, might raiſe the Value of the Paper. To prevent this, the Proprietor coins a greater Quantity which brings a part of the Poor and Idle of the Continent to the Iſland, and occaſions a greater Conſumption, whereby the Tenants are able to pay their Rent in Paper as contracted for. The Addition to the People is an Advantage to the Iſland; for it adds to the Power of the Iſland, and their Labour is worth double what they conſume.

This Money though it has no Value but what the Proprietor gives it, by receiving it in Payments of his Rent, yet it will be eſteemed equal to the Product paid before.

If the Proprietor would give it a Value in Land, computing after this manner; an Acre of Land pays Number 100, at 20 Years Purchaſe worth Number 2000, and diſpone the Property of Land for Paper at that Value; who would not be ſatisfied to receive or contract for that Money, ſince it not only bought the Product, but the Property of Land at a reaſonable Price.

Money is not the Value for which Goods are exchanged, but the Value by which they are exchanged: The Uſe of Money is to buy Goods and Silver, while money is of no other Uſe.

Though Silver were our Product, yet it is not ſo proper to be made Money as Land. Land is what produces every thing, Silver is only the Product. Land does not increaſe or decreaſe in Quantity, Silver or any other Product may; ſo Land is more certain in its Value than Silver, or any other Goods.

Land is capable of Improvement, and the Demand for it may be greater; ſo it may be more valuable. Silver cannot be ſuppos'd to be applied to any other Uſes than it is now apply'd to; or that the Demand will increaſe more than the Quantity.

Land cannot loſe any of its Uſes, ſo will not be leſs valuable; Silver may loſe the Uſe of Money it is now apply'd to, ſo be reduced to its Value as a Metal.

It may likewiſe loſe a part of its Uſes as a Metal, theſe Uſes being ſupply'd by other Goods: So loſes a part of its Value as a Metal; but nothing can ſupply the Uſes of Land.

Land may be convey'd by Paper, and thereby has the other Qualities neceſſary in Money, in a greater degree than Silver.

Land

Land has other Qualities fitting it for the Uſe of Money, that Silver has not.

Land apply'd to the Uſe of Money, does not loſe any of the other Uſes it is apply'd to; Silver cannot ſerve the Uſe of Money, and any of its other Uſes as a Metal.

Trade and Money depend mutually on one another; when Trade decays, Money leſſens; and when Money leſſens, Trade decays. Power and Wealth conſiſt in Number of People, and Magazines of Home and Foreign Goods; theſe depend on Trade, and Trade on Money. So while Trade and Money may be affected directly and conſequentially, that what is hurtful to either, muſt be ſo to both, Power and Wealth will be precarious.

If a Money is eſtabliſh'd that has no intrinſic Value, and its extrinſic Value be ſuch, as it will not be exported, nor will not be leſs than the Demand for it within the Country; Wealth and Power will be attained and will be leſs precarious. Money not being liable to be leſſened directly nor conſequentially, and Trade no being liable to decay conſequentially; ſo the Power and Wealth of that Country will only be precarious from what may be directly hurtful to Trade.

The Paper Money propoſed being always equal in Quantity to the Demand, the People will be employ'd, the Country improv'd, Manufacture advanc'd, Trade Domeſtic and Foreign will be carried on, and Wealth and Power attained; and not being liable to be exported, the People will not be ſet idle, *&c.* and Wealth and Power will be leſs precarious.

From whence it is evident, that Land is more qualified for the Uſe of Money than Silver, and preferable for that Uſe, tho' Silver were the Product of *Scotland*; being more certain in its Value, and having the Qualities neceſſary in Money in a greater Degree, with other Qualities that Silver has not. So more capable of being the general Meaſure by which Goods are valued, the Value by which Goods are exchanged, and in which Contracts are taken.

If 2000l. of Paper Money is equal to the Property of Land worth 2000l. in Silver, then that 2000l. of Paper Money is equal to 2000l. of Silver.

What buys Land will buy every thing the Land produces; and what buys the Product of Land, will buy all other Goods whether Home or Foreign. If Wine is brought from *France*, the Merchant deſigns to lay out his Money on Goods, at Intereſt, or on Land: The Commiſſion does not receive Silver Money, ſo he cannot have a Bond from the Commiſſion unleſs he gives the Value in Paper; and many of the Landed-men won't take Silver for their Lands or Goods having Occaſion for Paper to pay the Commiſſion. So the Merchant will chuſe to ſell his Wines for Paper-Money, becauſe it will purchaſe him Goods, Bonds or Lands where Silver Money will, being equally valuable, and in Caſes where Silver Money will not.

And this is ſuppoſing Silver were equally qualified for the Uſe of Money as Land is: But as Silver is an uncertain Value, and is given for much more than its Value as a Metal, and has not all the Qualities neceſſary in Money, nor in ſo great a Degree as Paper Money; ſo Paper Money will for theſe other Reaſons be preferr'd to Silver.

Some object that a Paper Money, tho' upon a good Fund, and current in the Country, yet will not be valued abroad equal to what it were in Scotland.

The Goods of *Scotland* will always be valued abroad, equal to Goods of the ſame kind and goodneſs; and that Money, tho' of Paper, which buys Goods in *Scotland*, will buy Goods or Money in other Places. If 1000 l. in Serges, Linen-cloth, *&c.* be worth abroad, all Charges paid, 1300 l. the | erchant who exports ſuch Goods, will give a Bill for that Money at the *Par*, having 1300 l. for what coſt him 1000.

When a Nation eſtabliſhes a Money, if the Money they ſet up have a Value equal to what it is made Money for, and all the other Qualities neceſſary in Money; they ought to have no regard what Value it will have in other Countries. On the contrary, as every Country endeavours by Laws to preſerve their Money, if that People can contrive a Money that will not be valued abroad, they will do what other Countries have by Laws endeavour'd in vain.

No Nation keeps to Silver becauſe it is uſed in other Countries, it is becauſe they can find nothing ſo ſafe and convenient. Trade betwixt Nations is carried on by Exchange of Goods, and if one Merchant ſends out Goods of a leſs Value than he brings home, he has Money furniſh'd him abroad, by another who brings home for a leſs Value than he ſent out: If there is no Money due abroad, then the Merchant who deſigned to import for a greater Value than he exported, is reſtricted; and can only Import equal to his Export, which is all the many Laws to regulate Trade have been endeavouring.

It is objected, that we are under a Neceſſity of having Goods from Countries who will take none of ours. France does not allow Money to be exported, nor any Ship to import Goods, unleſs *French* Goods are exported from the ſame Port, to the Value of the Goods were imported. By our Law we are forbid to export Money. But as I don't think the Example of Nations a good Anſwer, I ſhall endeavour to give a better. Suppoſe our Money is not valued abroad, and we have occaſion for Goods from *Denmark*, who takes none of ours. Theſe Goods being neceſſary here, will be valued higher, than other Goods that are not ſo neceſſary; and the Value of *Scots* Goods ſold in other Countries will be carried to *Denmark*, in ſuch Goods as will ſell there, or in Foreign Money, and theſe neceſſary Goods be brought home: Becauſe the Trader makes a greater Profit by them, than by ſuch Goods as could have been imported from that Country where the Goods exported were ſold.

But as this Addition to the Money will employ the People that are now Idle, and thoſe now employ'd to more Advantage; ſo the Product will be encreaſed, and Manufacture advanc'd. If the Conſumption continue as now, the Export will be greater, and a Ballance due to us; and as the Exchange depends on the Ballance, ſo Paper Money here will be equal to a greater Quantity of Silver Money abroad.

Suppoſe the Yearly Value of *Scotland* a Million and a Half, the Yearly Value of *England* 40 Millions; the Value of *Scotland* is only about one 28th Part of the Value of *England*. Yet the Quantity and Quality of the Lands, and the Numbers of People conſidered, *Scotland* will be at leaſt as one to 6; and if there was Money to employ the People we would be as one to ſix, for we have Advantages peculiar to us, that do more than equal the Plantation and *Eaſt-India* Trades.

England

England is not improv'd ſo far as it might be, by a greater Quantity of Money. We may have Money equal to the Demand, by applying our Land to that Uſe; ſo our Country may be improv'd above the Proportion of one to ſix. But if the propos'd Addition to our Money, improv'd the Country only ſo as to bear a Proportion of one to thirteen, our Yearly Value would be three Millions, and our Conſumption not being what half the ſame Number of People conſume in *England*; if the Conſumption continued as now, the Ballance due to *Scotland* would be greater than the Ballance due to *England*.

This Addition to our Yearly Value may be thought, by ſome People a Suppoſition that's Extravagant; but I deſire theſe People will conſider what Conſequences the Plenty of Money has had in other Places; as the Money of *England* has increas'd, the Yearly Value has increas'd, and as the Money has decreas'd, the Yearly Value has decreas'd.

I don't doubt, that the Paper Money propoſed, being given out equal to the Demand, would bring the yearly Value of *Scotland* to three Millions, tho' the Fiſhing, and other Branches of Foreign Trade (which might be improv'd to great Advantage) were neglected. But ſuppoſe the yearly Value increaſed only half a Million, of which a fourth ſpent in a greater Conſumption of the Product and Manufacture of the Country, a fourth in the greater Conſumption of the Foreign Goods and Expence abroad, a fourth laid up in Magazines of Foreign Goods, a fourth would ſtill be due of Ballance, aud brought home in Silver.

If the Conſumption and Expence increaſed equal to, or beyond the Improvement, as the Paper Money could not be exported, ſo the People would not be ſet idle, nor the Manufacture decay, that Money being like an Eſtate entailed: We might continue to conſume equal to the yearly Value, but could not leſſen the yearly Value, nor be poorer, if we would.

If a greater Value of Goods was imported than was exported, and Credit given for the Balance, Foreigners, to pay themſelves, would ſend a leſſer Value of Goods the Year after; but ſuch Reſtrictions may be put on the Conſumption of our own and Foreign Goods, as may make a Ballance due.

The Revenue of the Commiſſion will be a great Help toward the advancing our Trade in its Infancy; what encourages the Export of Goods, encourages the Manufacture of them; and that Money given as a Draw-back, will not only encourage the Export and Manufacture, but likewiſe regain the Reputation our Goods have loſt, and give them a better Reputation than the Goods of other Nations.

The Draw-back ought not to be given to all Goods, but to ſuch as do not yield a reaſonable Profit abroad, and upon Condition they are found ſufficient.

The Seal of the Office of Draw-back ought to be applied to thoſe Goods that receive the Draw-back, and thoſe intruſted with the Draw-back ſhould give Security to pay the Price of ſuch Goods, with all Charges, if found inſufficient.

When Manufacture and Trade proſper, the Landed Man's Rent is well paid, and encreaſes; when they decay, his Rent is ill paid, and decreaſes; a Draw-back is ſo effectual a way, to encourage and promote Manufacture and Trade, that

that it were the Landed Men's Intereſt to tax themſelves, rather than a Draw-back ſhould not be given where it is neceſſary.

A Draw-back is more neceſſary here than in other Countries, for we do not manufacture ſo well as other Nations; we are not able to ſell for the ſame Profit, our Stocks being much ſmaller, and the Goods of other Nations will be preferr'd to ours, becauſe our Goods are ſuſpected.

Some object, That this Propoſal is new, and has not been practiſed in any Nation.

The Example of another Nation ought not to determine us to follow the ſame Meaſures, without examining whether that Nation was the better or the worſe by ſuch Meaſures, and whether our Circumſtances and theirs don't differ ſo, as to make that hurtful or ineffectual to us, which was of Advantage to them; on the other Hand, it is no Argument againſt any Thing propoſed for the general Good, to ſay it is new, and what has not been practiſed.

When any Thing propoſed has been already practiſed by other Nations, 'tis a Preſumption in Favour of ſuch a Propoſal, and 'tis a Preſumption againſt it, if it has been refuſed; but a wiſe Nation ought not to be determined by Example, to follow or refuſe without examining.

This Propoſal has not been refuſed: The eſſential Part is now practiſed in *France*, for Paper is current by Law; and tho' after a Manner that, in all Appearances, ought to have hinder'd its Currency, yet, I'm inform'd, foreign Bills are bought with Paper Money, the ſame as with Silver or Gold.

The Example of Nations, in relation to Money, would be a very uncertain Rule; for, as has been ſaid before, oppoſite Meaſures have been uſed in ſome Countries to what have been uſed in others, and contrary Meaſures have been uſed in the ſame Countries to what was uſed immediately before, not becauſe of any Difference in their Circumſtances, but from the Opinion, that ſince the Method uſed had not the Effect deſign'd, a contrary would, and there are good Reaſons to think that the Nature of Money is not yet rightly underſtood.

Any other Objections that I have yet heard againſt this Propoſal, are ſuch as may be fully anſwer'd; and ſo far as I can ſee into it, with all the Application I have been capable of, I cannot find any Objection but what may be fully anſwer'd, nor any Difficulty in the Execution, but what may be remov'd. If there is any Fallacy in the Poſitions I lay down, or any wrong Conſequences drawn from theſe Poſitions, I have not been able to diſcover them.

CHAP. VIII.

The low Condition this Country is reduced to, notwithſtanding its natural Advantages.

THE natural Advantages the *Dutch* have for Trade, are, their Situation at the Mouths of the Rivers of *Germany*, and being near the bulky Trade.

Their natural Diſadvantages, are, ſmallneſs of Territory, Barrenneſs of Soil, producing little but what is forced; want of Mines; long Winters; unwholeſome Air; Marſhy, ſo oblig'd to great Expence for Foundation to their Build-

ings, in making and keeping up the Highways, and in draining the Country yearly; a dangerous Coaſt; difficult Entry to their Rivers; the Sea to defend againſt, on one Side, and powerful Neighbours on the other; and heavy Taxes, the Conſequences of theſe other Diſadvantages.

Yet they have ſo improv'd their few Advantages, that they are become a rich and powerful People. What has contributed to their Riches and Power, was the early Protection and Favour the Government gave to Trade; the Liberty was given to People of different Religions; the Freedom of Trade allowed to Strangers; the Example of their Rulers to Oeconomy; but chiefly the Neglect of Trade in other Countries, particularly in *Spain*, who forced the People and Trade of *Flanders* to *Holland*.

Scotland has, by Nature, many Advantages for Trade; a large Territory; of eaſy Defence; Plenty of People; a wholeſome Air; Mines; a proper Situation for the Eaſtern and Weſtern Trades; near the bulky Trade; a ſafe Coaſt; Rivers of eaſy Entry; the Seas and Rivers ſtock'd with Fiſh.

But Numbers of People, the greateſt Riches of other Nations, are a Burthen to us, the Land is not improved; the Product is not manufactured; the Fiſhing, and other Advantages for Foreign Trade are neglected; and the Reaſon generally given is, that Lazineſs and Want of Honeſty are natural to us.

If Want of Honeſty and Lazineſs were natural, they would be ſo to Mankind; or if peculiar to a People, this would be ſo to the *Dutch* rather than to us: The Air of *Holland* is groſſer, which inclines to Lazineſs, and the Country not producing wherewith to maintain the Inhabitants, would force them to rob or cheat their Neighbours, or one another; but it is more reaſonable to think Lazineſs and Want of Honeſty are Vices, the Conſequences of Poverty, and Poverty the Conſequence of a faulty Adminiſtration. If the ſame Meaſures had been taken in *Scotland*, for encouraging Trade, as was taken in *Holland*, we had been a more powerful and richer Nation than *Holland*. If *Spain*, *France*, and *Britain*, or any one of them, had applied to Trade as early, and upon the ſame Meaſures *Holland* did; *Holland* would not have been inhabited; but by their early Application, and the wrong Meaſures of other Countries, they have got ſuch great Magazines of what is neceſſary for their Maintenance and Defence; of rich Commodities to ſell to other Nations; of Materials for Shipping, *&c.* and ſuch a Quantity of Silver, eſteem'd above its Value as a Metal, by being uſed as Money; that, in all Appearance, ſo long as Silver is uſed as Money, the great Quantity they have of it, with their great Oeconomy, enabling them to underſell other Nations, they will maintain the Rank they hold in Trade, and conſequently in Power, notwithſtanding their natural Diſadvantages, the preſent Application and natural Advantages of other Nations.

This Country is more capable of an extended Trade than any other Country of *Europe*, yet it is reduced to a very low State: Trade is ruin'd; the National Stock is waſted; the People forſake the Country; the Rents of Land are unpaid; Houſes in Towns, and Farms in the Country, are thrown upon the Owners Hands; the Creditor cannot have the Intereſt of his Money to live upon, and the Debtor's Perſon and Eſtate are expoſed to the Law.

The Landed Man, by having engag'd his Perſon and Eſtate for the Payment of a *Species* which is not in his Power to perform, and having no Alterna-

tive,

tive, by the Law his Perſon is at the Mercy of the Creditor, and his Eſtate to be ſold for ſo much of that *Species* as it will yield. If 2 or 3 money'd Men call in their Money, with a Deſign to force their Debtors to part with their Eſtates, at what Prices they pleaſe to impoſe, they may bring the Price of Land to 15 or 10 Years Purchaſe, for they would not take Bonds in Payment, and few or none would be in a Condition to buy with Money.

If Victual ſhould prove ſcarce, as we have not Goods or Money for any Value to ſend out for Corns, ſo only a part of the People could be maintain'd; the part would have Bread, but the more neceſſary part, the labouring Men, would be forc'd to leave the Country, or to ſtarve in it. Nor would they fare better in *England*; for as the Scarcity of Money has ſet idle many of the People is Employment for, and our People, at leaſt many of them, would meet the ſame Fate they had endeavoured to evade.

The Landed-men would want People to labour the Ground; they would perhaps get Food and Cloathing for themſelves and Families, but thoſe they were owing to, in all Appearance, would get nothing; for the Caſe being general, and the Landed-men the ſtronger Party, they would not ſuffer their Liberty and Eſtates to be taken from them. But tho' the Law could be put in Execution, and the Eſtates of the Landed-men were put to Sale; as there would be few Purchaſers, the Price of Land would fall very low. Suppoſe the Land were ſold or given among the Creditors for 15 Years Purchaſe, or leſs; it would be ſold for more than it were worth, for they would not find People to labour it; ſo many would be Sufferers, and none Gainers.

If neither of theſe Caſes happen, yet this Country cannot well ſubſiſt in the Condition; 'tis in: If this Opportunity is neglected, if wrong or ineffectual Meaſures are taken, in all Appearance, we will be in Confuſion before we have another Opportunity.

To raiſe or alloy the Money, to coin the Plate, or regulate Trade, or offer'd Meaſures to ſupply the Want of Money; and 'tis thought any one of them will bring us out of our Difficulties. When they come to be examin'd, raiſing or alloying the Money will be found no help but a Hurt to the Country, whatever our Circumſtances are. The other may prove ineffectual.

'Tis thought our Import and Expence abroad this laſt Year exceeded our Export by a very conſiderable Sum, ſo to make the Ballance equal we muſt not only retrench equal to the Money was ſent out laſt Year; but likewiſe ſo much more as the Want of that Money, and of the Addition the *Bank* made to our Money, may have leſſen'd the yearly Value. So, tho' 'tis poſſible, that coining the Plate and regulating Trade may bring the Ballance to our ſide, yet 'tis to be fear'd the Conſequences will ſhow that it is not very practicable; for that and other Reaſons already given, as was ſaid before. However they may aſſiſt; but in regulating our Import, regard ought to be had that the Sale of our Goods abroad be no way hindred, for if that is not taken care of we ſhall loſe more for want of a Market, than we ſhall ſave by importing leſs; and tho' all neceſſary Care be taken, yet the Aſſiſtance may reaſonably be expected from theſe Meaſures will not relieve us; they may keep up lingering in the State we are, expos'd to Confuſion at home, and to Inſults from abroad.

Moſt People think Scarcity of Money is only the Conſequence of a Ballance due; but 'tis the Cauſe as well as the Conſequence, and the effectual Way to bring the Ballance to our ſide, is to add to the Money.

Our Poor have been computed 200000, our People were then more than now, but our Poor may be as many as then; ſuppoſe only 100000, and by the Addition to our Money 50000 of them were employed, and only for one half of the Year, their Labour to be paid 3*d.* and worth 3*d.* more to the Imployer, their Conſumption a penny more than now: The yearly Value of the Nation would be increas'd by ſuch Labour 189583*l.* 6 s. and 8 d.

If the Country People about *Perth* and *Stirling* have to the Value of 20000*l.* of Linen, Serges, and other Manufacture more than is bought up; tho' theſe Goods exported will yield 20 or 30 *per Cent.* Profit, yet the Owners can't export them, the Goods being in ſo many different Hands, and not having Correſpondents abroad to whom they could truſt the Sale of them. *A. B.* and *C.* are ſatisfied for that Profit to take the Trouble and Hazard of exporting them, but Money being ſcarce they cannot get any to borrow, tho' their Security be good; nor cannot well have Credit for the Goods from ſo many different People they are Strangers to. If they could have Credit for them, yet theſe Country People muſt be idle till *A. B.* and *C.* pay them out of their Returns from abroad. So for want of Money to exchange by, Goods fall in Value, and Manufacture decays.

It cannot well be known what Sum will ſerve the Occaſions of the Nation, for as Manufacture and Trade advance, the Demand for Money will increaſe; but the many Poor we have always had, is a great Preſumption we have never had Money enough.

England has been computed to have had 14 Millions of Gold and Silver, and at the ſame time had Paper Money for a great Sum; yet *England* never had Money enough to imploy the People: 50 Millions would not improve *England* ſo far as it is capable of Improvement. If all the People were then imployed and to the beſt Advantage, more Money would bring more People from other other Countries. The Province of *Holland*, by a great Quantity of Money, and Numbers of People, the Conſequence of much Money, is able to bear a Share in the Wars of *Europe*, equal to many times the ſame Number of Acres of better Land in *England*; yet *Holland* has. So that Country that can have Money equal to the Demand, will be more powerful than any other Country with the ſame Advantages, whoſe Money is leſs than the Demand.

If Money were given to a People in greater Quantity than there was a Demand for, Money would fall in its Value; but if only given equal to the Demand, it will not fall in Value.

At Preſent perhaps 3 or 400000*l.* is more than there is a Demand for; but as Trade and Manufacture increaſe, the Demand for Money will be greater.

What I have propos'd to ſupply the Country with Money, may be reduc'd to this. If an Eſtate of 100*l.* Rent is worth 2000*l.* in Silver Money, and this Eſtate can be convey'd by Paper, and this Paper be capable of being divided; then that Eſtate may be made current Money for 2000*l.* and any Perſon who receives ſuch Paper Money, receives a Value equal to the ſame Sum of

Money, as Silver is valued now. If it is coin'd for 15 Years Purchaſe, then that Paper Money will be more valuable than Silver; for 1500 *l.* in that Paper will purchaſe Land worth 2000 l. Silver Money. If it is coin'd for 25 Years Purchaſe, then that Paper Money will not be ſo valuable as Silver, for 2000 l. in Silver will buy as much Land as 2500 l. in Paper.

Since it is very practicable to make Land Money, it would be contrary to Reaſon to limit the Induſtry of the People, by making it depend on a Species is not in our Power, but in the Power of our Enemies; when we have a Species of our own every way more qualified.

And conſidering the State of this Country from the great Scarcity of Money; That the Value of Lands fall, Rents are unpaid, Farms are thrown upon the Maſter's Hand, and the Debtor's Perſon and Eſtate expos'd to the Law, being engaged to pay a Species of which there is ſcarce any in the Nation.

2. The Hazard the money'd Man is in from the Uncertainty of the Value of Money, and the Danger of Confuſion in which caſe the money'd Man may loſe all.

3. The low State of Trade, that many of the People who depended on Trade and liv'd well, and ſtarving or forc'd abroad.

4. That the other degrees of the People ſuffer in proportion.

5. That the Nation in this Condition may run into Confuſion, and is expos'd to its Enemies.

Conſidering the Benefit the Nation will have by this Addition to the Money; That the Land will be improv'd, ſo be more valuable, Rents be well paid, and that Debtors by paying a Value equal to what is contracted for, may free their Perſons and Eſtates from the Danger they are now expoſed to.

2. That the money'd Man will receive punctual Payment in a Money or more certain Value than Silver or any other Goods, and be in no Danger of Confuſion.

3. That Trade will flouriſh, and thoſe who depend on it be encouraged.

4. That the Condition of the other Degrees of the People will be better'd.

5. That the Nation will be able to maintain its ſelf in Order, and reſiſt its Enemies.

Theſe Reaſons conſider'd, the Queſtion then will be, Whether we will improve the Country as much as it is capable, without being at any Expence for a Meaſure of Trade, or continue as we are in hopes of Silver from other Nations.

It will be a great Advantage to this Nation, that by the Regiſter we are capable of putting this Propoſal in Execution, and enjoying the Benefit of it, when other Nations, tho' they reſolv'd upon it, would for ſome Years be incapable of it; tho' for the general Good of *Europe* it were to be wiſh'd *England* were as capable of it as we are.

I have not had time to put my Thoughts in that Order they ought to have been, and am forc'd to leave out Anſwers I deſign'd to have given to ſome Objections I have heard made againſt this Propoſal; but if the Parliament think good to enter upon the Conſideration of it, I don't doubt but it may be made

appear to be of great and certain Advantage, that it cannot poſſibly be any way hurtful to the Country in general, and that it may be ſo ordered, as not to be hurtful to any Perſon, but on the contrary.

A Further Search into the CONDUCT of the ALLIES, and the *Late Miniſtry*, as to *Peace* and *War*. Containing alſo a Reply to the ſeveral LETTERS and MEMORIALS of the *States-General*. With a Vindication of the *Britiſh* Parliament in their late Reſolves and the Addreſs relating to the Deficiencies of the *Dutch*. Printed in the Year 1712.

THE Reception a former Work of this Kind has met with in the World, and the little which has been ſaid againſt it, as to Matters of Fact, muſt be acknowledged to be all owing to the Truth, coming with an irreſiſtible Force upon the Minds of Men, and which always carries its own Evidence along with it; when we have met with the Enemy deſcanting upon it, we have heard them, even in the midſt of a Thouſand Curſes, and hard Names, which they caſt upon the Author, yet at every Pauſe cry out, *Damn the Circumſtance*, I doubt there is too much Truth in it, though I hate the Deſign of making it Publick. This makes it clear, which has often, and upon many Occaſions, been ſaid, that our late People had a kind of Popery in their Politicks, *viz.* that much of their Succeſs conſiſted in keeping the People Blind and Ignorant in the Main and moſt Eſſential Points of their Affairs, and which it was moſt neceſſary for them to know; that they were ſo far from knowing what Uſage they had received Abroad from their Allies, that when they came to be a little rightly inform'd, they could not frame Ideas of ſo much Knavery in their Heads, or think it poſſible that any People, who called themſelves Allies, could at the ſame time carry themſelves in ſuch a Manner, to thoſe for whom they had made the leaſt Profeſſions of any Reſpect, or for whoſe common Safety they had the leaſt Concern.

As the Truth of what has been thus ſpoken, is hereby acknowledged and confeſt by the Enemy, which is the beſt kind of Evidence; ſo the Seaſonableneſs of making that Truth Publick in the Manner it hath been by the former Tract, and as it ſhall or may be in this, is juſtified and clear'd beyond all Poſſibility of Objection, by the late Publick Reſolutions of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, where it comes into the World with the Sanction and Authority of the great Repreſentative of the Nation; it is true, the Particulars in the Votes amount to a moſt exceſſive Height; and though it was known and believed by many to be very great, yet I muſt confeſs few imagined them to be

ſo ſurpriſing, the Account ſo large, and the Particulars ſo many, as they appear to be; alſo one Thing is obtain'd by this Report of the Houſe of Commons, which the Credit of a ſingle Author was by no Means ſufficient for, *viz.* that the *Dutch* had any Share in the Deficiency, and in the Injuries which this Nation has ſuffered under the Weight of this Confederacy; many would be brought by the Power of Reaſoning. and the Force of Demonſtrations, which are Things all People are not equally furniſhed to reſiſt; they would, I ſay, be brought to confeſs, that there might have been Defects in general, and that thoſe Defects appeared in the Affairs of the Empire, the *Portugueſe*, and ſuch like, any Thing but the *Dutch*; but ſuch an Aſcendant had the Influence of the Politicks, and the Confederacy of the late Adminiſtration with the Parties concern'd, obtain'd over the People, that though any thing would go down with them againſt other People, yet if the Dear *Dutch* came into the Diſpute, nothing could be born with, but all the reſt was the pure Effect of Jacobitiſm, and the *French*.

How fatal this has been to us I may hereafter have Leiſure to examine, and every Day is like to diſcover more and more of it to us; indeed Things were mounted to ſuch a violent Prepoſſeſſion upon us in Favour of the *Dutch*, that we began to think even our own Conſtitution ſtood in need of further Security from them, and politickly brought the *Dutch* into our National Concerns; thus making ourſelves beholden to them for a Guarantee, or Safety to the Succeſſion of *Hanover*, that this might be a Handle to our doing other Things for them, ſo exorbitant in their own Nature, as that no Nation, but ſuch as depended upon them for ſomething very weighty and ſignificant, would ever conſent to, or could upon any other Pretence be perſwaded into; yet this was not all, for when we had brought our People to ſtoop to ſo mean a Thought, as that our Succeſſion, Ratified by both Kingdoms, and Incorporated by both the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*, in the late Solemn Treaty of Union, could receive any Addition of Strength from Abroad, more than that of the Intereſt and Alliance of ſo powerful a Prince, as his Electoral Highneſs of *Hanover*, and his Allies; that we ſtood in Need of that incoherent Article of a *Dutch* Guarantee; when I ſay we had ſtoop'd ſo low, as to level our Conſtitution of the Common Notion of Leagues and Treaties between other and differing Nations, and that it ſhould receive a farther Sanction thereby, it was not hard then to fill the Heads of the poor People with a Belief, that whoever made the leaſt Objection againſt any Thing hereafter, which either the *Dutch* might do by us, or which we might do by them, acted therein againſt the Proteſtant Succeſſion: This was a Point ſo well gain'd by the *Dutch*, that on the Faith of a Man, if they gain'd it for nothing, it was the beſt Bargain they made during the whole War; and if our late Managers granted it ſo alſo, they muſt either have given up their Senſes to the *Dutch*, or had moſt deſpicable Thoughts of the Strength of *Great Britain*, and of our being able to ſupport our own Settlement; or which I ſpeak moſt unwillingly, there muſt have been ſome private Bargain driven, of which I ſhall venture to ſay no more, but that I hope no *Engliſhman* could be found that would be guilty of it.

To wave therefore a Reflection ſo unwelcome, let us go back to the Obſervation before, *viz.* this Threefold End we have ſeen it anſwer to the *Dutch*; what End it will ever anſwer to us remains a Myſtery, and will in all Probability remain ſo for many Years to come, if not for ever; the Ends which I ſay it anſwered for the *Dutch* were three.

1. The Barrier Treaty, which with the ſeparate Article, was join'd as the Advance Money of a Loan, by Way of what our People call Prompt-Payment, and which the *Dutch* had the Confidence to Paum upon us as a ſmall Matter, and a Thing due to them for the great Kindneſs done for us by them, in taking upon them to ſecure our Succeſſion. I am not ignorant of that weak and fooliſh Uſe which the Enemies of Peace made of that Objection, *viz.* "That it may not be right in Point of Policy, or good Senſe, that Foreign "Power ſhould be call'd into confirm our Succeſſion, by Way of Guarantee, "but only to acknowledge it; otherwiſe we put it out of the Power of our "own Legiſlature to change our Succeſſion without the Conſent of that Prince "or State who is Guarantee. However, our Poſterity may hereafter, by the "Tyranny and Oppreſſion of any ſucceeding Princes, be reduced to the Fatal "Neceſſity of breaking in upon the Excellent and Happy Settlement now in "Force."

This by all Means they will have as an Aim taken for the Pretender, as if, becauſe we ought not to put it out of the Power of our Legiſlature to limit the Succeſſion, whatever Neceſſity may happen; even when this Race may be all in their Graves; that therefore we have an immediate Alteration of the Succeſſion in our View; theſe People who contend thus, forget the mighty Noiſe we have had from them about *Parliamentary Limitations*, a Word the Whigs have made ſo Sacred, that it has been like the *Magna Charta* of their Liberties, and with which they run down the Hereditary Right of their Princes, as if there had been nothing at all in it but Tyranny, and Arbitrary Government, till at Length it was happily diſcovered, that they were very well conſiſtent together; and that they who beſt underſtood Hereditary Right, had proved it to be agreeable to Parliamentary Limitation, and then all was well again. But after all this Buſtle, was it to be imagined that the ſame People could ſo eaſily give up the Parliaments Right of limiting the Succeſſion to a Foreign Nation; and by making a League of Guarantee for the Succeſſion, legitimate the Impertinence of Strangers, who may hereafter intermeddle with our Conſtitution, and may tell a *Britiſh* Parliament, they have no Power to alter or meddle with the Settlement of the Crown, for that it is already ſettled, and they are Guarantees of it? What has been, may be; atd what may be, may be ſuppoſed to be; if then any of the Family of *Hanover* ſhould Tyrannize or Abdicate, or the ſame, or like Circumſtances ſhould happpen, as have happened before, the Parliament would be diſabled from declaring the Throne vacant, and filling up the ſame with ſuch other of the Family as they find convenient; which according to all the Whig Principles which we have ſo often heard of, is inſeparable from the Conſtitution, and much more Sacred than any Thing which has been Hereditary in the World. I do not incline to concern theſe Papers with the popular Diſputes which have troubled the World ſo much, and ſo long, about the

the Difference between Hereditary and Parliamentary Right; how far they are the ſame, or which is beſt furniſhed with Authorities, and Originals, whether of Divine or Civil Right; it is enough to take hold here of the Whigs own Argument, and allowing all they have ſaid on this Head to be Orthodox, whether it be really ſo or no; it muſt neceſſarily follow, that this Parliamentary Right cannot, or ought not, to be given out of our Hands, and put, by a Treaty, into the Hands of Foreigners; ſo that it ſhall be in their Power to put their Negative into our next Limitation of the Crown. If this be not to give away our Liberties, I would be glad to know what it is to keep them; if there be any Choice of Tyrants, and if it weighs any Thing, when our Privileges are given up, who is it ſhould be given up to? I confeſs myſelf more willing to be a Slave at Home than Abroad, and to be tyranniz'd on by a Prince of our own, than by a Foreign Nation; and if there were no other Reaſon for that than this, it would be ſufficient to juſtify the Choice, (*viz.*) that there are more Ways to avoid the Miſchief of it, that an oppreſſing Prince has ſometimes chang'd his Meaſures, or he may be reſtrain'd, or may die, and thereby a Nation may be deliver'd; but ſuch a Convention as this, made with a Foreign Nation, engages the whole Nation upon all Occaſions to embark itſelf, and its whole Strength, in Defence of the Capitulation agreed on; and thus by this Method the Power of Parliament in future Limitations of the Crown ſeems to be effectually given up: How the Whigs would have liked this Doctrine if it had come from any one but themſelves, may be beſt gueſs'd at by the Warmth they ſhewed about the League ſaid to be made by the late King *James* and the King of *France*; which put this whole Nation into a Flame, and Reaſon good ſo far as that League appear'd; for what was it, or what could we imagine it to be, but a Treaty of Guarantee with the *French* for the ſecuring the Succeſſion of Popery in *England?* Whereas the Settling the Religion and Liberties of this Nation was the undoubted Right of the People in Parliament, and ſo by the ſame Rule muſt the Succeſſion of our Princes be. The Sum of all this is, that by the Whigs our Arguments, and by their own Principles, which they have always profeſſed, and adher'd to, and by the ſame Rule from which they acted in the Revolution, the accepting a Guarantee, for ſecuring the Succeſſion of the Crown of this Kingdom to any Family, or Branch of a Family, Race or Line whatſoever, is no leſs than giving up the Privileges of the People, and diveſting the Parliament of the Power of limiting the Succeſſion of the Crown.

It may be remember'd, that in the late Treaty of Union with *Scotland*, ſome Secret Overtures were made, to have engaged the *Dutch* to have been Guarantees of that Treaty; and though that Propoſal ſeem'd to come from ſuch Hands, as gave Reaſon to believe it was rather a Deſign to deſtroy, than ſecure the ſaid Treaty, the *Dutch* having at that time diſcover'd Willingneſs enough to have prevented the Concluſion of that Treaty; yet thoſe that knew any thing of the Reſentment expreſſed at that Time here againſt that Propoſal, as diſhonourable to *England*, and deſtructive of the Conſtitution of both Kingdoms, would wonder that ever the ſame Miniſtry ſhould ſo far change their Notions, as to admit the ſame Guarantee in ſo nice an Affair, as the Succeſſion to their own Crown, which they rejected with Contempt in a Treaty with a Neighbouring Nation.

Secondly, Another End anſwered by this Treaty of Guarantee, was giving an Opportunity to the *Dutch* to play their own Game with us, with Reſpect to other Treaties, Quota's, Proportions of Payments, Ships, Troops, and the like; of this ſo much has been ſaid already, and is yet like to be ſaid farther in Publick, that I ſhall need to ſay the leſs to it here, my Deſign being rather to juſtify the Reſentment all honeſt Men entertain, at the mean Politicks and Submiſſions of our People here, and to ſhow the Neceſſity of taking wiſer for the future, than to animate People againſt any of our Confederates. I am as forward as any to agree, that the Advantages of a ſtrict Union amongſt the Confederates are very great; and that, as Her Majeſty expreſs'd it, the Intereſt of the States of *Holland* be looked upon as our own; but this by no means hinders us from deſiring that the *Dutch* ſhould uſe us well, ſhould ſhew a Reciprocal Kindneſs, and ſhould act with a mutual Concern for the General Confederated Intereſt; and that we ſhould not be willing to ſee them impoſe upon us in any of theſe Particulars, or be eaſy, and ſubmit quietly to it when they do; and this is ſo much Juſtice, that none can object againſt; and what is the beſt, if not the only Way, to cultivate and maintain that Friendſhip, and good Underſtanding, on both Sides, which is ſo much the Intereſt of the Confederacy in General, and of the *Dutch* themſelves in particular. They who contend, that the enquiring into theſe Things ſeems to ſhow a Diſregard to the Confederacy in general, or to the ſeveral Parties concerned in particular, ſeem to make ſeverer Satires upon the *Dutch* than they are aware of. The Deficiencies of the Performance they cannot deny, the want of a due Regard then to the Confederacy muſt certainly lie rather in thoſe that have been the Cauſe of thoſe Deficiencies, than thoſe that have not; for who are moſt juſtly to be charged with ſlighting and diſregarding the mutual Intereſt of the Confederacy, that they have failed in the Performance of the Conditions, or they that complain of it, in order to have them performed? *Britain* has all along ſhown, by a Zeal Fatal to herſelf, her Willingneſs to puſh on the War with all imaginable Vigour; in order to which, when Her deficient Allies, having leſs Concern for the general Good, have run the Venture of Miſcarriage, to ſhorten their Expence; *Britain*, as if the whole Charge of the War had been her Due to pay, has zealouſly ſupply'd both their Quota's, and her own: While ſhe was willing to do thus, her Confederates daily encreaſed their Deficiencies, and her Expence, as they might very well do, finding her ſo eaſy; and while ſhe was willing to ſit ſtill, and ſee herſelf thus uſed, it was very remarkable how Augmentations, and Increaſe of Forces, was every Year propoſed by the Confederates, as well in *Flanders*, as in *Spain*, and none ſo forward as the Emperor himſelf to increaſe the Quota's of the Troops, and the Charges of the War, upon the reſt of his Confederates; quietly waiting for their ſupplying Additional Troops, and taking Care to have very few of his own.

While we ſubmitted to all theſe Things, the War went quietly on, but whether ſo ſucceſsfully, or no, as it might have done, if the Allies had anſwered what we had Reaſon to expect from them, is left for them to Anſwer. At laſt, the *Britiſh* Court entering into a more narrow Inſpection of Things, have not thought fit ſo calmly to ſuffer the Weight of the War to lye heavier upon one Shoulder than another; and tho' equally willing to bear their Share of the Burthen,

then, yet not forward to carry that Load, which ought to lie upon other Shoulders. They are now calling upon their Confederates, to conſider a little the Juſtice of their ſeveral Treaties, and to look back, and ſee what they are obliged to do, if they expect the War ſhould be carried on any farther; if they are diffident of the Succeſs of theſe Remonſtrances from their Experience, how fruitleſs the like have been before, and have therefore at the ſame Time embraced the Occaſion that has offer'd, towards putting an End to the War, by an Honourable Peace; they will be juſtified in it before all the World, both now, and for ever; when it ſhall be at the ſame Time underſtood, in what Manner, and for how many Years, this War has been carried on; nor can the Artificers of an Adverſe Party among us delude many in their ſuggeſting to the World, that the Government here is in the Intereſt of *France*, ſince they can have no other Reaſon to back that Suggeſtion, than that they were not willing to carry on a War upon unequal Terms, and in a Confederacy with Allies, who would not perform their own Conditions, and which thoſe, who expected the greateſt Advantages from it, paid the leaſt Part of the Expence towards it.

Thirdly, the Third End which this general Complaint againſt a Peace has been calculated to anſwer, and which the Party has taken Care to make as popular as they can, is a general Notion, that thoſe who are for a Peace, do it with a Deſign, by the Aſſiſtance of *France*, to introduce the Pretender; however weak and inconſiſtent ſuch a Conſequence may be, nothing is more certain, than that many innocent, and well-meaning People, have been prevailed upon to believe it; and tho' the Improbabilities of the Thing in its own Nature, and the ſteady Zeal of the Perſons who they charge with it, and who have all along, in a Courſe of many Years, teſtified their Abhorrence of that Intereſt, and taken ſuch Steps againſt it, as have been moſt effectual to the cutting off all Hope, both from him and his Party, might ſuffice to any reaſonable People; yet this ſeems to be one of thoſe Difficulties which can be ſolved only by a little Patience and Time: To thoſe who will be convinced by Argument, it ſeems ſufficient, that our putting a Stop to a War, which we carried on at ſo much Diſadvantage, and which had in View rather an utter Empoveriſhing the Nation, than a timely Reducing our Enemies to Reaſon, however, was not only neceſſary on many other Accounts, but greatly our Advantage on this Account, in eſpecial Manner; that thereby we might be left in a Condition to defend our Conſtitution, and to preſerve Power to maintain our Succeſſion, as our Parliament had thought fit to limit it, without the Help of the *Dutch*, and without being put to ſo weak, ſo ſcandalous, and diſhonourable a Shift, as to accept of the Guarantee of Foreign States, to preſerve our own Acts of Parliament.

When I look farther into this ſcandalous Thing, call'd a Guarantee for our Succeſſion, methinks it repreſents to me our People on their Knees to the *Dutch* for the mighty Favour of taking us into their High and Mighty Protection; and indeed, when this is compared with the Manner with which the States of *Holland* carried on the *Geertruydenberg* Treaty, wherein the making a Peace for us was alſo left wholly to, or engroſſed by, the States of *Holland*, the Thing ſeems very much of a Piece. The Barrier Treaty alſo has much of the ſame Manner in it, which being handled at large by itſelf, I ſay no more to here. I have obſerved, That at the Time when we began to talk here of Peace,

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and when the *French* Articles began to appear, we were mightily amuſed with the *Dutch* making Offers, that they would take away the Excuſe from us of want of Money, or Credit, and the *Dutch* would advance to us Four Millions Sterling, to encourage us to carry on the War. That the *Dutch* made ſuch an Offer Publickly in Form is known to be a Miſtake; but that the *Dutch* might be willing to lend, or to give as much as that amounts to, to have the Sole Direction of making the Peace, that ſo their particular Intereſt, which they never forget, might be principally provided for, this there can be no great Queſtion of; and the *Dutch* are not without Cunning enough to make it ſo well worth their while, as that ſuch a Sum of Money ſhould not all be laid out. But thoſe People ſhould do well to conſider Two or Three Things which lie hard in this Notion, of the *Dutch* lending us ſo much Money, and which by Way of Corollary, may be of great Uſe to us, in the underſtanding of other Parts of Management on that Side. (1.) That if the States of *Holland* for the carrying on the War, could ſpare us ſo much Money to encourage us that we might not make a Peace without them, tho' that has not been thought of, then however, all they thought fit to ſay in former Times, of their being impoveriſhed, and exhauſted, and not in a Condition to pay their Quota's, muſt be a manifeſt Fraud and Cheat, and muſt be with a Deſign to put upon us the Neceſſity of carrying it on upon unequal Conditions; and this they could not have entertained a Thonght of, without firſt being ſenſible that they had us at ſo much Advantage, as that they knew, whenever they thought fit to eaſe their own Charge, they may put the Hardſhip upon us. (2.) Since it was obtained by the Arts of their other Conduct, that the *Dutch* had the Sole Direction of the Peace, it followed then, that we were under an Obligation to carry on the War at their bidding; from whence it was moſt natural to believe, they were not dark-ſighted enough not to make their other Advantages. (3.) Theſe Things make it no longer a Myſtery, why the *Dutch* would advance any Sum of Money for the encouraging us to carry on the War, becauſe it followed, that we ſhould carry it on under the ſame Inequalities and Diſadvantages which we did before; but now theſe Things are detected, and if we ſhould come to a Neceſſity of carrying on the War, which God forbid, yet that it ſhould be more than probable we may not only Demand that they begin upon a new Foot, and make up all their Quota's for the Time to come, but alſo may call upon them for what is paſt; alſo it is more than probable, that they may then plead Poverty with us, as they did before, and talk no more of the great Sums they would lend us. (4.) There is yet another Remark to be made upon this Head, *viz.* of the *Dutch* advancing ſuch great Sums of Money to us; we have never found but theſe Sums were to be all lent upon good Parliamentary Security, and on the Intereſt current in *England*; and we might not be thought ungrateful to the Lenders, if we aſked them, where was the Advantage of all that? Was it to us, or to themſelves? That they muſt not know the *Dutch* ſo well as we have Reaſon to know them, who expect to find them ever forgetful of their own Intereſt in a Propoſal they may make. It is true, we have complained of our being impoveriſhed and exhauſted, and not in a Condition to carry on the War, eſpecially at the rate which it hath been carried on at, without great Inconveniencies, and Involving, Mortgaging, and Anticipating for us, and our Poſte-

rity, at a Rate, which neither are like to ſee the End of; but what is our Defect? We do not want Lenders, but Funds to borrow upon; we have Uſurers enough among us to devour us, we want no help from the *Dutch*; we are not without a Sort of Men among us, who having little or no Intereſt in the Freehold, have amaſſed infinite Sums of Money in Caſh, with which they Trade upon the reſt, and live upon the Blood and Vitals of the Government; theſe, like the Eagles where the Carcaſe falls, gather together; and if the Parliament can but find Funds, tho' they boaſt of having the Power of Credit in themſelves, and often think of making themſelver formidable, by threatning the Government that they will lend no Money, yet they can ruin the Publick Credit, by refuſing to advance their Money, yet they can no more forbear, than a Vulture can forbear his Prey; the Funds are the Carcaſe they feed on; they are as Hungry for them, as a Lion that has been Hunting, and found no Food; and in ſpight of their Faith, often Pledg'd to their Party and Friends, to run down Credit, and lend no Money, let but the Miniſtry find a Fund, and the Parliament eſtabliſh a Lottery, or Subſcription, or Loan, and they are ready to trampled one another to Death to get in their Money. So that after all that hath been ſaid to the *Dutch* lending us Money, we ſee nothing to be ſaid to it, but what was ſaid in Anſwer to ſome Bantering Lines in the Time of King *Charles* IId, made upon the King, which his Majeſty by Repartee anſwered him thus:

"*Charles* at this Time having no Need,
"Thanks you as much as if he did."

It is apparent in our Caſe we want no Lenders; we have been devoured with Harpies already, who think, as no doubt the *Dutch* would alſo think, and perhaps ſay too, that *the Borrower is Servant to the Lender*. But we muſt acknowledge we want *Funds* to borrow, and where to find them, ſuch excepted as will plunge us yet farther and farther into a Gulph, whence no leſs than a Hundred Years can redeem us, is paſt the Skill of the beſt Advocates, for a War to find out; indeed I cannot but wonder, that in all the Noiſe the Faction have made at theſe Things, they have not deſcended to one Argument againſt the Difficulty of raiſing Funds; they have indeed told us Great Things, *a la Gaſconade*, that there are Funds enough, that *England* is vaſtly rich, that there is Money enough, that we can with eaſe carry on the War this Seven Years, and ſuch Rhodomontade, that they have Surfeited the People with it for ſome Time; but we do not ſee one of them that offers any Scheme how, and upon what deſtructive ruinous Fund, this Money may be raiſed, that the People may judge whether what is alledged be true, yea, or no; and whether thoſe Funds they ſhall ſo propoſe, ſhall not be as fatal to the general Good, as thoſe that have gone before; with ſuch fallacious Ways have the People been managed till they have led them on to the brink of inevitable Ruin; and now, as if it were not enough, that the Nation hath for ſo many Years been oppreſſed by the War, through the Negligence and Knavery of our Confederates, we are modeſtly deſired to proceed in the War upon the ſame Foot. I confeſs, this among our own People is a Sign of ſome National Stupidity and Blindneſs, which one would hardly think poſſible; but for our Neighbours, whether the States General,

ral, or others, do desire it, seems to smell of something we want a Word for in our Tongue, and may be better expres'd in *French* by *Marvellieux Surprenant*, and the like. I must needs say I have not yet met with any Man so weak, but what begins to feel the Force of this Argument enter into his Soul, if the Allies have not perform'd according to their Argument, they should be reminded of it; and if we cannot prevail with them to make up former Defects, we ought at least to be careful that they comply punctually for the Time to come. Can any People be so besotted to a Party, as to expect or desire that a Nation, already impoverished by the unfair Impositions of Her Allies, and not able to carry on the War on the Terms she hath done for some Time, should not insist upon more Justice for the future, that she may be able to hold it out?

Neither is this an unnecessary Argument at this Time, for if we can carry on this War at the Expence of Three Millions and Half Yearly, instead of Seven, then we are better able to go on Two Years upon the Square with our Allies, than One Year upon the unequal Foundation we have gone upon all along; so that to bring our Allies to do us Justice, and to exert themselves to the uttermost, in carrying on the War, is the truest and best Step towards the main Point, (*viz.*) of carrying it on, if ye are assured we shall no more be imposed upon; if we see the full Numbers of Ships in the *Mediterranean*, and all Things in Readiness in Time, and fit for Action; if any thing will revive the drooping Spirits of the Nation it must be this; it must be that they have some Hopes of not being cheated again, and that the powerful Assistance of the Allies will be a Means of putting a happy and speedy End to the War, that a safe Peace may follow; and it is easy to find that nothing but this will do it; nothing else can perswade an exhausted Nation to bleed anew, but some Assurance that they shall not be suffered by their Allies to bleed to Death, that there shall be some End of their Sorrows and Miseries, and that every Hand is fairly engaged in bringing Things to a happy End.

But these Things seem to call for no further Remark from us, they are so natural and plain in themselves, that every Child, in these Affairs, may understand them; for if we must carry on the War, it must be needful, that we suffer ourselves to be no more abused by our Allies; if we are not to expect Justice from our Allies, then we must be unaccountably besotted if we carry on the War; nay, though a worse Peace were to follow, than her Majesty hath good Reason to expect from the Negotiations now on Foot.

But it may not be amiss, to enquire here, what Prospect there appears of these Things, and what Hopes our Allies do put us in, of expecting, for the future, better Treatment; and that in the Pursuit of the War they will go on upon a different Foot from that which they have hitherto gone upon; for if there was but some Appearance of an Amendment for the future, it might be some Encouragement to us, to think of prosecuting the ensuing Campaigns with more Comfort; but, instead of this, all we yet see amounts to little that Way, for at Home all the Fruit of the Discovery shews only a kind of Regret that it is made publick, an inward fretting that the Fact is too obvious, so that they cannot contradict it, and an envious Warmth at the Justice done their own Country in it, because it touches upon the *States General*, as if to touch them were fatal to us all; and perhaps it may indeed be fatal to some Projects the

Party had ſet on Foot here, deſtructive enough to the Liberty of their Country, and of which a little Time may give us a farther View. This is clear, in that all the Reply we have here to the detecting the hard Uſage we have met with from our Allies, iſſues in Exclamations at our expoſing the *Dutch*, and falling upon the *Dutch*, ſpreading Reports, that we deſign to fall out with the *Dutch*, and that we are for a Peace with *France*, and a War with the *Dutch*; as if we muſt refrain a due Inſpection into our own Affairs, for Fear of the Effects it will, or may have upon the *Hollanders*! It is no leſs the Duty of every faithful Repreſentative, to enquire how other Nations may impoſe upon the People, and waſte and deſtroy us, than it is how we are embezzelled at Home, for every Breach of Treaty is, in this kind, a Depredation upon the People; and it is moſt reaſonable, that when they have thus diſcover'd the Fraud, and by who, as well as by what Means, the Nation is exhauſted and worn out, they ſhould ſo far expoſe the Matters of Fact, and the Perſons, that the People may know by what Means they are impoveriſhed; this hath been the conſtant Method and Uſage of Parliaments, and the Members of Parliament could not have diſcharged the Truſt they have committed to them by the People they repreſent, if they had omitted it. Nor can this be called expoſing the *Dutch*; they lay open the Truth, if that expoſes the *Dutch*, or any other Perſons or States, the Misfortune is their own, to be liable to ſuch a Charge; but let ſuch People anſwer what they would have had the Houſe of Commons have done, when, upon Enquiry into the State of the War, they found that we had not been fairly uſed by the Confederates: If they had held their Peace, had they not been criminally ſilent? Had they not betray'd their Country? Had they not been acceſſary to all the Frauds of the like kind which ſhould have happen'd for the future? And what would the Language of Poſterity have been, when they ſhould have ſeen that the Houſe of Commons knew theſe Things, but took no Notice of them, or any Care to have the Nation inform'd of them? Muſt it not have been a juſt Reproach upon them, as it is now upon thoſe who knew it before, and yet took no Notice of it, or made any Application to former Parliaments to have it redreſſed? But it is evident theſe People, who make now ſuch loud Complaints of the Reflections caſt upon our Allies, appear more concern'd that the Matter is made publick, than that it is true; and are ſo far from deſiring any Cure for the Diſeaſe, that they ſpend all their Heat and Reſentment at the Diſcoveries of it; and it is to be obſerved, from their Conduct, that they make Ten Reflections upon the Houſe of Commons, and the preſent Miniſtry, for the Induſtry and Pains taken in finding out how, and by whom, the Nation has been abuſed, for one juſt Remark upon the Integrity and Zeal in the War of thoſe Allies, who have uſed us in ſuch a manner: Whence ſuch a Spirit can proceed, and what Reaſon can be given for it, is not ſo hard to find out, as it is melancholy to reflect, that ſo it ſhould be.

I might go farther in this Obſervation, to expoſe the Foundation from whence all this proceeds, and by which we ſhould ſoon ſee for what Uſes and Purpoſes ſome People are ſo deſirous of puſhing on the War; and how to do it they care not, upon what Diſadvantages, and unequal Conditions, they did it; being willing to bear any Part of the Burthen, nay, all the Burthen, ſo the beloved War were but to be purſued: The Enquiry into this, will open many Scenes of pri-

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vate Treachery, not yet brought to Light, and for that I purpoſe to do it in a Tract by itſelf; I ſhall leave it to a fit Occaſion.

It falls next in View, to interrogate the Miniſters at *Utrecht*, how they proceed, and ſee thereby what Meaſures the *Dutch* take to convince us, that we ſhall have a better, and more equal Ballance kept up among us, in caſe the War is to be continued. But here you ſhall find Meaſures calculated rather to compel the Queen of *Great Britain* to carry on the War, than to invite her Majeſty to it, by Aſſurances of performing Treaties better than in the Times paſt. This is a Temper ſo different from what might be expected from a People, who had ſo treated their Allies, to us who complain of being ſo treated, that it is, as before, *Marvellieux*; or to put it plainer, a kind of throwing off the Maſk; as if we were obliged to ſubmit to be cheated, after we had firſt diſcover'd that it was ſo; and that what before was done covertly, and under the Appearance of a Treaty, was now to be done more effectually, openly, avowedly, and in the Teeth of the reſt of the Allies.

This appear'd upon the firſt Conference after the *French* Plenipotentiaries had deliver'd in their Paper of Explanation, as they call'd it, on the Propoſals of the Peace, which they had formerly given. It came then to the Turn of the Allies, to conſider in what manner to deliver in their Anſwer to the *French* Propoſals; this it was reſolv'd ſhould be by the Confederate Miniſters delivering in their Demands, or the ſeveral Pretenſions of their reſpective Principles, without taking any Notice of the Project contain'd in the Paper given in by the Miniſters of *France*; it ſhould have been noted here, in the firſt Place, that after all the *Dutch* had ſaid, and after all that had been ſaid to them, in order to come to this Treaty, prepar'd to preſerve a good Underſtanding among the Allies, and to bring the Treaty to the deſir'd Concluſion, *viz.* a good Peace: The *Dutch* Miniſters appear'd there without any Character, having neither Powers as Plenipotentiaries, or as Ambaſſadors, or any Thing more than mere Commiſſioners, impower'd only to hear what was ſaid, make Report to their Maſters the States, and give back their Anſwers, which one of the Queen's common Meſſengers may as well do on our Side. Nor were the Perſons, the Equipages, or the Sallaries allow'd to their ſaid Commiſſioners, any more than what was ſuitable to common Meſſengers, whoſe Buſineſs it was to carry a Meſſage, and return with an Anſwer; ſo that, in the Conferences, either general or particular, there was no debating Things with them, only juſt giving in what any one had to ſay, and all the Anſwer theſe Men could give, was, that they would report it to their High Mightineſſes the *States General*, and would bring their Anſwer. The *French* Plenipotentiaries preſently objected againſt theſe Powers, as not ſufficient to admit the *Dutch* Miniſters into the Conferences. The *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries, though they were ſenſible of the Affront offer'd in it to their Royal Miſtreſs, after ſuch Aſſurances on her Majeſty's Part, of her ſincere Intention to make the Intereſt of all her Allies to be as her own, yet, willing to wave every Thing that might give an Obſtruction to the happy Iſſue of the Peace, did not inſiſt on this; tho' they could not but complain, that it greatly obſtructed that happy Concert of Meaſures, which they hoped might have been the conſtant Fruit of the private Conferences of the Confederate Miniſters, which the *Dutch*, having no Powers that extended any farther than barely to hear, and

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report, and bring back a Reſolution, was, for want of thoſe Powers, quite diſappointed; ſo that the *Dutch* Miniſters might as juſtly be deemed and termed Porters, as Plenipotentiaries. Well, notwithſtanding all this, the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries, willing to promote the great End for which they aſſembled, which, as the Lord Biſhop of *Briſtol* expreſſed it, was, in the Name of God, to bring the Wars to a happy Concluſion, in an equitable and honourable Peace, all theſe Obſtructions were paſſed over on their Side, and they labour'd to have the Powers of the *Dutch* Miniſters accepted, as at laſt they were, with ſome Difficulty; and thus they proceed to the Affair of the Demands, as above, which were to be deliver'd in as the 5th of *March*. The *Dutch* Miniſters concealing the Reſolution taken at the *Hague*, to give in no Demands, but the very immediate Copy of the Preliminaries laſt treated on, inſiſted that all the Confederates Demands ſhould be formed into one Inſtrument, and be given in jointly by all the Plenipotentiaries, as the general Demands of the whole Alliance. This, tho' ſomething ſurpriſing in itſelf, yet was the leſs ſo, when it was more known, that that this was in order to execute the Meaſures above noted, *viz.* of bringing in the Preliminaries of *Geertruydenbergh*, as the ſummary Demands of the Allies. But the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries taking Notice of it, inſiſted, that this ſeem'd to be deſtructive of the Treaty itſelf, that *France* had twice ventur'd to carry on the War, rather than agree to thoſe Preliminaries. That they had been declar'd impracticable, and could not be treated on here; and to inſiſt on the very literal Form of thoſe Preliminaries now, and preſcribe the Plenipotentiaries to treat on them, was to declare againſt a Treaty at all. That this Treaty was underſtood, by all the Parties, to be not a Treaty of Preliminaries in order to a Treaty of Peace, but a general Treaty of Peace itſelf, wherein the ſpecifick Demands of every Ally were to be heard, debated, and finally diſcuſſed, adjuſted, and anſwered, to their Satisfaction, which could by no Means be done by Preliminary Articles, which had in them ſeveral References to a farther Treaty, and ſome ſuggeſted Demands left to be farther diſcuſſed at another Time; whereas they were now met to make a final and general Concluſion of all Demands and Pretenſions whatſoever, that there might be no more Blood ſhed in the Chriſtian World, that an End might be put to the Miſeries of *Europe*; it was alſo alledg'd, that the ſaid Preliminaries had not been concerted with a due Regard to the Intereſt of all the Allies; in eſpecial Manner it was aſk'd, what Article there was to be found in them, which regarded the Intereſt of her *Britannick* Majeſty, farther than what merely reſpected her Title to the Crown, and the Baniſhment of the Pretender; whereas there ſeem'd a great deal of Reaſon for admitting farther Demands for the Security, and inlarging the Commerce and Poſſeſſions of her Majeſty, and her Subjects; for this Reaſon, as well as in Behalf of the reſt of the Confederates, the ſaid *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries inſiſted upon giving in the Inſtrument of their Demands in particular, every Ally by themſelves.

It muſt be ſomething aſtoniſhing to ſuch true Lovers of their Country, who can look back on theſe Things with unprejudiced Judgments, to reflect on the Temper reigning in this Part of *Europe* at the Time of the Treaty aforeſaid, when in all the numerous Articles adjuſted at the *Hague*, and afterwards debated again at *Geertruydenberg* by the *Dutch* and *French*, the former left out nothing

thing which concerned their own Intereſt, Security or Advantage; nay engaged the *Britiſh* Court to concern and engage themſelves for their particular Security and Advantages, but not one Word, Clauſe, Article, or Debate, was ever thought of for the *Engliſh*, either as to the Security of their Commerce, as it then ſtood, or the Encreaſe of it for the future. On the other Hand, all the Streſs on the *Britiſh* Side, and for which we were to think ourſelves infinitely obliged to the *Dutch*, was to engage their Aſſiſtance to keep out the Pretender, and ſecure the Succeſſion of the Crown of *Great Britain* to his Electoral Highneſs of *Hanover*; a Thing which is ſo the Univerſal Reſolution of all the People and Parties in *Britain*, and to which they think all the Oppoſition that can be made from either *French*, or any elſe, is ſo trifling and inſignificant, that they cannot be ſenſible of the exceeding Obligation on that Behalf to their Confederates, or of the great Danger which they were in of the Pretender, although no Foreign Aſſiſtance had been engaged on that Behalf, eſteeming the Favourers of the Pretender in *Britain*, notwithſtanding their great Clamours of a Party among us, to be ſo few, and ſo inconſiderable, as that there is nothing to be feared from them; but ſuppoſing there had been more Danger of this Clauſe, *viz.* the Succeſſion, then we are willing to hope there is Ground to apprehend it cannot but be reminded, that it is as much the Intereſt of the States-General to ſecure that Succeſſion in the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, as it is even of *Great Britain* itſelf, and much more than it can be ſuppoſed to be to *Britain* to ſecure to them the Barrier of *Flanders*; for ſhould the Dominions of her *Britannick* Majeſty ever fall into the Hands of a Popiſh or *French* Intereſt, or into the Hands of a Prince, who is or may be in the Intereſt of *France*, the Territories of the States-General being ſtript of the Powerful Aſſiſtance of the *Britiſh* Troops by Land, and Fleets by Sea, muſt inevitably be expoſed to the Powerful Invaſion of *French* and *Britiſh* Fleets united, and their Trade in particular eaten up and deſtroyed, as was verified by woeful Experience to the ſaid States in the Year 1672, when, if the *Engliſh* Court had not broken off from the ſaid *French* Alliance, the States-General had inevitably ſunk under the Power of *France*, and their Government been diſſolved and deſtroyed; ſo that upon the whole it is manifeſt there was no need on our Part to engage the *Dutch* to appear for the Security of our Succeſſion to the Houſe of *Hanover*; for that the Sovereign Law of their own Preſervation will always put them under a Neceſſity of doing it, the contrary being moſt ſure to be a great Step in their Injury, if not their evident Deſtruction: It may be argued, that in Rules of Government we are not to depend upon this or that State being obliged by their own Intereſt to aſſiſt us, but we are to regard what Neceſſity, either for Security of Trade, common Safety of Government, or other Political Intereſts, we are in, or may be in, of the Aſſiſtance of the Powers we are treating with, and if that Neceſſity appears it is a ſufficient Reaſon for us to ſecure that Aſſiſtance; and this we have frequent Examples of, as of the *Dutch* themſelves treating with us in 1676, when notwithſtanding it was the undoubted Intereſt of *England* not to let *Holland* upon any Terms whatever fall into the Hands of *France*; and if ever the *French* do again make that Attempt, we ought to aſſiſt the *Dutch* with all our Troops and Power; and that no ſo much

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from any Care and Kindneſs to them as a Nation, but for our own Intereſt and Preſervation; yet the *Dutch* knowing the Eyes of a Nation are not always open to their own Intereſt thought fit to tie us to aſſiſt them in that Caſe, and even Articled with us for the Proportion, *viz.* the Number of Ten Thouſand Men. This is brought for a Reaſon why, notwithſtanding its being ſo much the Intereſt of the States of *Holland* to preſerve the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Hanover* to the Crown of *Great Britain*, we ought alſo to bind them to it by Treaty. But though we were to grant all this, it will not follow that this Treaty ſhould have ſuch a Price which the *Dutch* ſhould demand of us all they want for this little Equivalent; and the Reaſons above, tho' they ſhould not be allowed to ſubſiſt againſt the Treaty of Guarantee itſelf, will certainly take off much of that High Price which the *Dutch* have put upon it, as if we were under ſuch Infinite Obligations to them to ſecure it for us, as that we were quite out of Condition to defend it ourſelves, or as if they had no Concern, or were to receive no Security, Benefit, or Advantage, at all by it to themſelves: Again, it might paſs for ſome Argument in this Caſe, that if any Power in *Europe* ought to have ſought this Guarantee from the States-General, it ſhould have been the Elector himſelf, who on his Part might probably have ſome more Occaſion to ſecure his Paſſage over to *England*, and the March of any Troops which his Highneſs might find neceſſary to bring with him, to aſſiſt his Faithful People of *Britain* to place him on the Throne, in Caſe a *French* or Popiſh Intereſt ſhould make Oppoſition. Here indeed the States-General might be very uſeful Allies, and his Electoral Highneſs would have thought very well of ſuch a Guarantee of the States; but it cannot be conceived that *Britain* can be under like Neceſſity of ſuch a Security: The Succeſſion, which is their own Act and Deed, being univerſally approved by the whole Nation, a few People excepted, who are contemptible either for their Number or Intereſt; ſo that on all theſe Accounts it ſeems however a Treaty of Guarantee may be uſeful enough for our Succeſſion, and no Harm in it; yet it cannot be a Thing of that Weight as to have ſo great a Value ſet upon it, and that *Britain* ſhould ſuffer herſelf ſo much to be be impoſed upon for it, as it is apparent to all the World ſhe has been on that Account.

We return now to the Manner of the carrying on of the Treaty at *Utrecht*: The *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries having, as I ſaid above, inſiſted upon the giving in the Demands of the Allies in a ſeparate manner, have, by this Means, an Occaſion of ſecuring, for the Subjects of her Majeſty, ſome other Advantages than by the former Treaty was thought of; and the People of *Britain* may now ſee, not only on what Diſadvantage for us the former Treaty was negotiated, when we were to have our Markets made for us by our *Dutch* Neighbours; but they may ſee that all the Noiſe that hath been made of the Preſent Miniſtry, and of the preſent Managers being in the Intereſt of *France*, amounts only to this, That whereas the other gave up all our Intereſt to the *Dutch* and the Emperor, theſe Men are careful that *Britain* may reap ſome Advantages by the Treaty as well as the reſt of the Confederates.

Indeed it has been ſomething wonderful in the common Diſcourſe of the People on theſe Subjects to find the Generality poiſoned by theſe ſelf-denying Notions,

tions, *viz.* that all which can be obtained from *France* muſt be given to the Emperor, and the *Dutch*, and the King of *Portugal*, but nothing to the Queen of *Great Britain*; as if our Strength were no Acquiſition, or our Power any Safety, to the Alliance; nay, rather, as if it were dangerous to the Confederacy to entruſt any Part of that we have fought ſo long for, and bought ſo dear, to the Queen of *Great Britain*: One would think the *Dutch* themſelves went on that Notion, when, as was apparent, they appeared uneaſy and jealous at the Preparations made by Her Maieſty to ſend a Fleet and Forces to *Canada*; while not knowing the Deſign, they apprehend it to be for the taking Poſſeſſion of ſome Place or other in the *Spaniſh America*, although by the —th Article of the Grand Alliance it was agreed that Her Majeſty might lawfully have done ſo if ſhe had thought fit. Theſe Things, however of no other Conſequence, yet ſerve to let us ſee how different, as reſpecting us, the Manner of the Allies hath been in all the Tranſactions of this War, and how different their Views bave been in all their Steps towards a Peace, from our conſtant Behaviour in the ſame Heads as they reſpected them; and that in all theſe Occaſions it has been the conſtant Maxim of our Confederates, that we were to have no Share in any Thing, but that the *Dutch*, under a Notion of a Barrier and Security to their Frontiers, ſhould make large Acquiſitions, both to their Territory and their Commerce, both which have been conſented to from hence; whether it be to the Honour or the Infamy of thoſe who have given in to theſe Meaſures is left to the Impartial Part of Mankind to determine: It is evident that at length the Juſt Repreſentations of the *Britiſh* Miniſters took Place, and the *Dutch* after much Difficulty have yielded that the Demands of the Allies be given into the *French*, although in one and the ſame Inſtrument, yet in ſeparate Heads; and the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries agree and propoſe to add at the End of every Head this General *and Satisfaction of all the reſt of the Allies*, a Clauſe ſufficient to remove the Scandal and Reproach early caſt upon the Preſent Management, *viz.* That they deſigned to make a ſeparate Peace, and had actually concluded the Conditiont thereof with *France* before the Congreſs was to begin; I muſt crave Pardon if I make theſe ſeveral Inſtances of the Uſage of Her Majeſty hath met with from Her Allies, Rank in with their other Conduct relating to Forces and Quota's, which have already been made Publick, and all together to come under the Title of Deficiencies; for if there had been a more diſintereſted Conjunction of Counſel and Aſſiſtance of Meaſures in the Proceedings of the Allies, to and with Her *Britannick* Majeſty, and Her Miniſters, no Queſtion this Treaty had been with more Eaſe brought on, with more Mutual Aſſiſtance to, and Confidence in one another entred into, and perhaps the Succeſs might have been more promiſing alſo.

There ſeems to be no Occaſion here of Entring into the Clauſes which the *Dutch* have obtain'd in any of their Treaties and Agreements with us, by which they have gain'd Advantages in Commerce, particularly to our Prejudice, becauſe even the *Dutch* themſelves acknowledge them in their late Letter to Her Majeſty; only declaring, That they do not deſign to take the Advantage of thoſe Articles. I am very willing to believe the States-General, eſpecially while a good Underſtanding among Allies, and particularly between Them and

Us, is ſo neceſſary to them, would not make Uſe of the Advantages which were given them by that Treaty; and this does by no means deny, nay, it not Tacitly only, but even Explicitly, as it ſeems to Indifferent Judgments, grants that ſuch Advantages are given to the *Dutch* by that Treaty. See the Declaration of the *Dutch* on this Head more particularly, as follows.

" For having learnt that the Principal Exceptions taken to the ſaid Treaty " were, that it might prove Prejudicial to the Commerce of Her Majeſty's Sub- " jects in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and that ſome had entertain'd an ill-grounded " and erroneous Opinion, that the States might deſign to take Advantage by it " to make themſelves Maſters of the ſaid *Spaniſh Netherlands*, their High " Mightineſſes did declare poſitively, and by this Letter do voluntarily repeat " it, that it never was their Intention, nor ever will be, to make uſe of the ſaid " Treaty, or of their Garriſons in the Fortified Places of the Country to pre- " judice in any Manner the Commerce of Her Majeſty's Subjects; but that " their Opinion is, That whatever relates to Navigation and Commerce there, " ought to be ſettled on an intire Equality, that ſo Her Majeſty's Subjects " may not be charged with higher Duties of Importations or Importation than " theirs, to the end Commerce may be carried on there by both Nations on an " equal Foot."

Here the States-General acknowledge, That whatever relates to Navigation and Commerce in the *Spaniſh Netherlands* ought to be ſettled on an entire Equality: This is owning what Her Majeſty has ſince claimed to be Juſt, and yet that it has has not been ſo is apparent alſo; and in the ſame Letter they acknowledge it again, by adding, " That if there be ſome Articles of the ſaid Treaty, which " without affecting the Eſſentials of it, may be thought to want Expla- " nation, Her Majeſty ſhall find them willing and ready to treat thereupon, " with all the Facility and Condeſcenſion that can reaſonably be required of " them."

Now however ſatisfactory ſuch an Offer is from the *Dutch*, who indeed cannot be ſuppos'd to be Ignorant of the Juſtice of Her Majeſty's Demands in this Caſe, as not to come to a farther Explanation on theſe Heads; yet all this adds to, and confirms, the Complaint againſt the Conduct, at leaſt of thoſe employed from hence, who in behalf of their own Country could paſs ſuch a Treaty, and ſign ſuch a Convention, by which it appears, were not the *Dutch* willing to explain themſelves upon it, there was Effectually given up to them both the Sovereignity and the Commerce of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, the laſt being Excluſive of the *Engliſh*. There is no doubt to me that this was evident at that Time, and therefore it is that I cannot place it to the Account of Ignorance or Inadvertency; for the Duke of *Marlborough* ſaw into it, and therefore how willing ſoever in other Caſes to oblige the *Dutch*, he had not ſo little Concern for his own Safety, as not to know a *Britiſh* Parliament would certainly one Time or other call a Treaty ſo Diſhonourable and Prejudicial to *Britain* in queſtion, and therefore no doubt whatever other Reaſons his Grace might have alſo, he thought fit not to be drawn in to ſet his Hand to it, but refuſed to be a Party to it, tho' at that Time a Plenipotentiary from hence: but another Hand and other Management effected it; and now the *Dutch* are willing to explain theſe Things to our Satisfaction, which would admit of many Remarks as to the former Part of it,

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which I omit, becauſe Satisfaction will be now obtain'd: Only this cannot in Juſtice to the Preſent Miniſtry and Parliament be omitted, *viz.* That if this Enquiry into theſe Things had not been begun, thoſe Explanations had never been obtain'd, and the *Dutch* had been left in a Capacity when they thought fit to exclude the Subjects of *Britain* from all Trade and Commerce in the *Spaniſh Nethrlands*; and had been enabled, whenever their Occaſions made it for their purpoſe, to have ſeiz'd upon the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and have made themſeves entire Maſters thereof; ſo that the preventing theſe Things ſeems wholly owing to the Vigilance of the Preſent Miniſtry, and to the vigorous Reſolutions of the Preſent Parliament.

There ſeems indeed one Clauſe in the ſaid Letter, which ſome People are very forward here to take hold of; inſinuating, that the *Dutch* complain of being trick'd in *England* into a Conſent to a Negotiation of Peace, by being put in Hopes, that after they ſhould do ſo, the other Affair of the Barrier ſhould be adjuſted to their Satisfaction; the Words are theſe, " That however, having " not long ſince been inform'd, that in *England* ſome were of Opinion, that the " ſaid Treaty in ſome Articles might be prejudicial to Her Majeſty's Subjects, " they Commiſſioned Mr. *Buys*, their Envoy Extraordinary then going to *Eng-* " *land* to inquire what thoſe Points were that might be thought Grievances, and " authorized to treat about them with Her Majeſty's Miniſters, and to remove, " if poſſible, the Difficulties by all the Explanations that ſhould appear neceſ- " ſary; *which they were put in Hopes would not be very hard to do, when once they* " *ſhould have conſented to concur with Her Majeſty, as they did, to procure a Con-* " *greſs for the Negotiations of a General Peace.* But that the Misfortune was, " that the ſaid Mr. *Buys*, during his Reſidence in *England*, was not able to finiſh " that Affair to reciprocal Satisfaction; and that it having been remitted to " the *Hague*, no Way has hitherto been found to terminate it there nei- " ther; though their High Mightineſſes think they have ſhewn all the Readi- " neſs to comply with any Juſt Expedient that could reaſonably be expected " from them."

This ſeems to be very ill turn'd by a Party among ourſelves, and implies, as they pretend, as if the *Britiſh* Court had made light of the Matter, and promiſed to adjuſt it if the *Dutch* would do *ſo* and *ſo*; but that after the *Dutch* had complied and *concurr'd with Her Majeſty to procure a Congreſs for the Negotiation of a general Peace*, they could never obtain the promiſed Condition, altho' they had ſhewn *all the Readineſs to comply with any juſt Expedient that could reaſonably be expected from them.*

This is a Black Charge, and had not the *Dutch* with much more Integrity than theſe People, anticipated this Calumny, and given the true Reaſon for their ſaid Concurring with Her Majeſty, to be their Diſpoſition and Perſuaſion of the Abſolute Neceſſity there was in the preſent Conjuncture, for the Cultivating and *Maintaining a good Friendſhip, Perfect Confidence and Union, between their ſaid States and Her Majeſty*, which for the better Authority, I give you all from their own Letter, " That during the whole Courſe of Her Majeſty's Glorious Reign " they have had nothing more at Heart than to cultivate and maintain with Her " a Good Friendſhip, Perfect Confidence and Union, and to corroborate them " the moſt they poſſibly could; having always judged them abſolutely Neceſ-

" ſary, and eſpecially in the preſent Conjuncture. That they likewiſe judged " they could not give a better Proof of this their Diſpoſition and Perſuaſion, " than that which they lately gave in agreeing to the Propoſition which Her " Majeſty had cauſed to be made to them, to begin the Negotiation of a gene- " ral Peace with the Enemy, and in concurring with Her Majeſty to facilitate " the bringing together of the Miniſters of all the High Allies to the Congreſs " at *Utrecht*."

This effectually Contradicts what as before is ſuggeſted, *viz.* That they were induced " *to concur with Her Majeſty, as they did, to procure a Congreſs for the* " *Negotiation of a General Peace.*" Upon their being put in Hopes that it would not be very hard to do after they had conſented ſo to concur with Her Majeſty; I ſay, this is ſo contradicted by what is ſaid before, that I was tempted to doubt both the ſaid Paragraphs could not be in one and the ſame Letter; and indeed it ſeems ſhocking to any Reader, that their High Mightineſſes ſhould ſay in one Part of their Letter, that they concurr'd with Her Majeſty, *to give the beſt Proof of their Diſpoſition to cultivate a good Friendſhip, Perfect Confidence and Union with Her Majeſty*, and in another Part of the ſame Letter to ſay, that they concurr'd " *with Her Majeſty, as they did, to procure a Congreſs for the Negotia-* " *tion of a General Peace.*"

Theſe Conſiderations being too hard for my Underſtanding, are left to the Logical Diſcuſſion of the Party here, whoſe Talent ſo eminently lies in Equivocation and Inſignificant Railery; who when they have chewed it, and mumbled it, like an Aſs upon Thiſtles, will bring it out the ſame thorny crabbed Inconſiſtency that they found it.

But while we are leaving them to this difficult Work, it may be needful to look farther, for we have yet much more Work cut out from *Holland* than in the foregoing Piece; the States-General having receiv'd a new Bruſh from the *Britiſh* Parliament, are very ſolicitous to waſh their Negro Skin as clean as they can from the Imputations which have lain ſo plainly againſt them; but now they find it more difficult than they did before; for till now they had only Pamphlets and general Clamours to anſwer, ſuch as the Suſpicions of the People, and the Information of a Few had made loud; and which began to make them uneaſy, theſe were treated with ſome Contempt by the States, and more by their Friends here.

But the Parliament finding more Truth in theſe Things than perhaps they expected, and much more than the Faction pretended, thought it requir'd an Extraordinary Sanction to make them leſs diſputed, and thought it Juſt to make them Publick with an undiſputed Authority, that the People ought to be undeceived, and that the Quarrels about the Truth of Fact ought to ceaſe among the People; for this Reaſon, having cauſed all the Particulars to be exactly and faithfully laid before them, by the Report of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and other proper Officers, and thoſe Particulars to be critically examin'd, they deduced from thence the Matters of Fact as they really were, and making all the Caſes plain in which the Government had been impos'd upon by their Allies, and the *Dutch* Deficient among others; they came to ſeveral Reſolves about the ſame, and drawing thoſe Reſolves up into General Heads, referring to the Particulars for their Demonſtration, they Humbly repreſented all in an Addreſs

to

to Her Majeſty. and cauſed both the ſaid Reſolves and the Addreſs to be Printed, for the Conviction of all Her Majeſty's good Subjects, and to confute and ſilence a Party, who, as aboveſaid, had made it their Buſineſs to ridicule all that had been ſaid of theſe Matters as falſe and empty Notions infuſed into Peoples Heads, to raiſe ill Blood and create Prejudices againſt the *Dutch*. If theſe Things coming forth with ſuch an undiſputed Authority did a little ſurprize the World, and conſequently open the Eyes of the People, much more would they ſurpriſe the States-General, whoſe Intereſt it had ſo long been to have the People of *Britain* kept as ignorant as poſſible of theſe Matters; and finding it abſolutely Neceſſary that ſomething ſhould be ſaid to puzzle the Cauſe a little, and to furniſh their Friends with Arguments for their Defence, they iſſue a Paper, Entitlued, as follows.

A Memorial, ſerving to prove that the States-General of the United Netherlands *are unjuſtly charged by the Reſolutions or Votes of the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of* Great-Britain, *and by the Subſequent Addreſs of the ſaid Houſe of Commons thereupon preſented to Her Majeſty the Queen of* Great-Britain, *with having been deficient in divers Reſpects during the preſent War, in furniſhing what according to to their Quota or Contingent they ſtood engaged for, towards carrying on the ſaid War.*

This is the Paper which I come now to examine, and in which if I ſhould diſcover that the States-General have really been ſo far from clearing themſelves of the Charge ſo poſitively laid upon them in Parliament, that in every Part they either directly or tacitly acknowledge it, then there will remain little Force in the reſt of their Paper.

In conſidering this New and Great Affair of the *Dutch Memorial*, it ſeems very proper to make a few Circumlocutions as poſſible, and come directly to the Point. Our Introduction therefore ſhall conſiſt rather of laying down a Liſt of the Particulars which we ſhall leave out, what ſhall be dropp'd as foreign to the Caſe in Hand, and not worth either the Author's while to Note, or the Readers to be concern'd about. As Firſt, It ſhall take up little of our Time to animadvert on the Inſolence Unparallell'd, of a Scandalous Mercenary, who in Defiance of a *Britiſh* Parliament, and while that Parliament was actually ſitting, ſhould have the Face to publiſh the Anſwer or Defence of a Foreign Nation againſt his own Country.

If a Man have receiv'd an Affront from another, and meets one of his Servants, and ſays to him, you *Jack*, or you *Thomas*, pray tell your Maſter I ſay he is a Villain and a Raſcal; will not the Servant if he have any Manners or Senſe of his Duty ſay to him, *Sir*, let him be what he will, he is my Maſter, and it is not fit for me to tell him ſo, pray employ Somebody elſe? On the other Hand, if the Ignorant Fellow ſhould have ſo little Wit or Manners as to carry this Meſſage to his Maſter, would not the Maſter ſay to him, let the Man be what he will, you are an Unmannerly Raſcal for bringing me ſuch a Meſſage, ſince you were my Servant, and not his? And would he not very juſtly cane him, and turn him out of his Service for his Impudence. This

This Caſe, as it is unprecedented, unleſs in the ſame Perſon who did the like once before, ſo it will be doubly unprecedented in the Publick Juſtice, if he is uncorrected for it. Nay, by how much more the Party glory in and boaſt of having inſulted the Parliament and the Government in this Publication, by ſo much the more Neceſſity they bring upon the ſaid Parliament to vindicate themſelves, and puniſh the Perſons with their utmoſt Rigour: But this is Humbly left and ſubmitted to the Parliament, who no doubt will do themſelves and their Defender Juſtice in this Caſe.

Next it ſhall take up no Part of this Diſcourſe to enquire whether the *Dutch* have ordered theſe Sheets to be thus publiſhed in *England*, or no. We are not ignorant how many Ways of late the Foreign Powers concern'd in this War have privately endeavour'd to make themſelves and their Actings with Her Majeſty Popular here, appealing as it were from Her Majeſty to her Subjects; but we ſhall not ſuppoſe however that they are yet arrived to ſuch a Contempt of their Alliances with Her *Britannick* Majeſty, as to appear in an Action which derogates ſo much from the uſual Civilities due from one Ally to another, as that they ſhould openly and avowedly make an Attempt of this Nature.

This leads us to conſider how prudently the Parliament of *Britain* has acted in this Caſe, in which perhaps the *Dutch*, as ſubtle a Nation as they are, and how good ſoever their Politicks have been in other Caſes, will be put to it, how to behave themſelves between the Two Extreams of Owning or Diſowning this Publication of their *Memorial*.

The Parliament have firſt ſtigmatiz'd the Paper itſelf as a *Falſe and Scandalous Libel*, but in this Cenſure they do not call it the *Memorial of the States-General*, but a *Pretended Memorial*: Now as the Lie is here given by the whole *Britiſh* Nation, and that moſt juſtly alſo, it remains for the *Dutch* to ſhow us how they pleaſe to take it; if they own the Paper and the Publication of it here, they take the Lie aforeſaid to themſelves, and are obliged to fall under the Charge, huſh it up, and thereby own it Juſt, or reſent it, which we ſuppoſe they will conſider of, before they go about it. On the other Side, if they take upon them to mention, anſwer, or vindicate this Paper, they own not the Paper only, but the mean Step of Cauſing it to be publiſhed in *England* in eſpecial Inſult to Her Majeſty, and to the Parliament of *Britain* then ſitting, and what evil Conſequences may follow ſuch a Thing muſt lie at their Doors. It is true, that as the Parliament has not thought fit to take it but as a ſpurious and pretended Paper, we might very well do ſo alſo; but as we ſee it publiſhed in all Parts of *Europe*, and allowed in thoſe Prints in *Holland*, who are ſaid to write *cum Privilegio*; and as it is in theſe Countries ſtiled, *The Anſwer of the States*, &c. we cannot but treat it as ſuch, or at leaſt as an Anſwer for the States, if not, *The Anſwer of the States*. And that this may be juſtified by good Evidence, the Reader may obſerve, that our Prints after the Reſentment of the Parliament of *Britain* had made it too dangerous for our Newſmen to go on with the Printing it, gave this Account, *April* 4th.

Hague

Hague, April 17. *All our Publick Prints,* Publiſhed by Authority, *have been and continue full of the States Reply to the Reſolutions of the Commons of* Britain, *in Vindication of their Conduct.*

THIS we cannot but think gives ſufficient Authority to a Writer, whether the States-General are concern'd in the Publication at *London* or no, to ſuppoſe them to be the real Authors of the Paper itſelf, and that it is really the *States Reply*, as above, and as ſuch we ſhall therefore conſider it.

The Firſt Thing meet for Obſervation in it, is what we ought not by any Means to paſs over, *viz.* That the States-General confeſs the Charge, acknowledging the Fact, directly, *viz.* That the Quota's for Sea-Service were not ſupply'd, or as the Reſolution of the Houſe of Commons expreſs it, viz. *That the States-General have been deficient in their Quota's for Sea Service in Proportion to the Numbers of Ships provided by Her Majeſty*, &c.

To this the States, in their Memorial, after a very long Introduction, anſwer two Things; Firſt, That the Quota the *Britiſh* Court propoſed to fit out, particularly in the Years 1704 and 1705, were too many, or more than was needful for the Service; *viz.* more than was needful to make the Confederates ſuperior to the *French* in the *Mediterranean*, and that therefore they, the *States*, did not think themſelves oblig'd to furniſh ſo many. That whereas we ſhould have Seventy-four Ships the Year 1704, and Seventy-nine the Year 1705, they thought the Rate of Twenty-four Ships of their State, a Proportion againſt Sixty of her Majeſty's, and that they concerted it ſo with Admiral *Mitchel*. So that it is plain here from this very Memorial, that the States do no manner of way deny the Deficiency itſelf, but evade the Force of the Charge, by diſputing the Proportions, and explaining what they underſtood by the two Fifths to three Fifths, ſo inſiſted on by the Parliament, and how they ought to be underſtood by others. Again, they would patch up the Deficiency aforeſaid, by bringing in the Number of their Men of War employ'd in the North Seas to make up their Quota, and they expreſs this very ſubtilly, as a Thing which they think ought to be ſet againſt the Number of Ships employ'd by the *Britiſh* in the Narrow Seas: This may be conſider'd immediately in their own Terms; but, firſt, it is fit to note, that both theſe Arguments confeſs the Charge in Fact, only offer theſe Explanations or Extenuations; ſo that the Truth of what the Parliament has publiſh'd, in their Repreſentation and Addreſs, ſtand faſt, is acknowledg'd and confeſs'd by the *States*, and needs no farther Defence. But it comes next, of courſe, to ſee what Force this Allegation of the *Dutch*, as to their Ships in the North Seas, ought to have in this Argument; and if it appears, that theſe are not, and ought not to be reckon'd in the Proportion above, and that they were not reckon'd in the firſt Proportion ſtated and agreed with the *States General*, then all the Conſequences drawn from thoſe Proportions will ſtand the *States* in no Stead, as to any Defence to be made by them againſt the Charge. In the Examination of this, we meet with this Clauſe in the State of Proportions laid before the Houſe, by the Lords of the Admiralty, which ſtands diametrically

cally oppoſite to what the *States* alledge in their Memorial, in theſe Words, *viz. That by the Treaties between the Queen of* Great Britain *and the* States General, *their Proportion of the Ships of the Line of Battle, to act in Conjunction with thoſe of this Kingdom in the* Channel, *and in and about the* Mediterranean, *ought to be Three to our Five.* The Firſt Obſervation mete to be made here, is, that the Treaties between the Queen of *Great-Britain* and the States, have expreſly ſettled their Reſpective Proportions, which indeed the *Memorial* ſeems to evade, by alledging, that in the Grand Alliance the Reſpective Parties were to aſſiſt with *all their Forces*; then Complimenting *Britain* (I do not ſay Flattering) with being more Powerful than the States, they thence deduce the Reaſonableneſs of the Forces of one being more than the other. But the States-General would think themſelves but ill anſwer'd if this Way of Argument was made uſe of with them, for what is all this to the Equality of Proportions? Have not the *Dutch* always, as the *Memorial* acknowledges, treated every Year with the Queen upon the juſt Proportions of every Year's Service? And has not the Queen ſent Admiral *Mitchel* always to ſettle that Point? Now the preſent Queſtion is not whether Nation is moſt Powerful, or whether we are to ſend more Troops than the States-General, or more Ships; but whether the Proportions being ſettled Annually by Agreement, the States-General have ſupply'd the Numbers agreed on by thoſe Treaties, and ſent as many as they agreed to ſend or no; if they have done this, then it is true, the Firſt ſettled Proportions are of no Weight. On the other Hand, if they have not the General Treaty of Employing all their Forces, or any other are Equally of no Force.

Now it is apparent that the States-General have not ſupply'd their Quota of Ships for the Services for which they agreed to ſupply them, and therefore we on our Side juſtly Complain, and the Account as it was laid before the Houſe by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and by Her Majeſty's Command, is very plain in the Caſe, admitting of no Diſpute; wherefore we have for a further and more effectual Convincing the Advocates for the States-General in this Caſe, cauſed it to be annexed at large, and is as follows.

By the Lords Commiſſioners for Executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great-Britain, Ireland, *of all Her Majeſty's Plantations.*

HER Majeſty's Pleaſure having been ſignify'd to Us, by Mr. Secretary *St. John*, and we ſhould (in Purſuance of an Addreſs from the Houſe of Commons) prepare an Account of the Quota's of her Majeſty's Ships and thoſe of her Allies during this preſent War, and what Agreements and Conventions have been made for the ſaid Quota's, and how the ſame have been obſerv'd, We do in Obedience to Her Majeſty Command Humbly Report.

That by the Treaties between the Queen of *Great-Britain* and the States-General, their Proportion of the Line of Battle to act in Conjunction with thoſe of this Kingdom in the *Channel* and in and about the *Mediterranean*, ought to be Three to our Five.

That

That ſince the Commencement of this War, not only Sir *David Mitchel* but Sir *James Wiſhart* have been appointed by Her Majeſty's Command to go to *Holland*, and adjuſt with the States-General or their Deputies, the Quota's of their Ships of War to act in Conjunction with thoſe of Her Majeſty's, as aforeſaid, and what was done in Purſuance of thoſe Treaties was ſent to Her Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State, to which we humbly refer.

And as to the Number of Ships in the Line of Battle which the States-General each Year during the War have join'd to Her Majeſty's on the forementioned Services, the ſame will appear by the following Account, which hath been computed with as much Exactneſs as the Nature of the Things will bear, *viz.* In the Year 1702, Her Majeſty had Forty four Ships employ'd in the *Channel* and *Soundings* of the Line of Battle, and Thirty in and about the *Mediterranean*, making in the whole Seventy-four, and they were join'd with no more than Thirty-three of the States-General, whereas they ſhould have been Forty-four.

1703, Seventy-nine of Her Majeſty's Ships were employ'd in the aforeſaid Services, and but Twenty-two of the States-General, which ſhould have been Forty-ſeven.

1704, There was Seventy-four of the Queen's Ships, and Eighteen *Dutch*, which ſhould have been Forty-four.

1705, Seventy-nine of Her Majeſty's Ships and Twenty-eight *Dutch*, which ſhould have been Forty-ſeven.

1706, There were but Fifteen Ships of the *Dutch* acted in Conjunction with Seventy-eight of the Queen's Ships, whereas they ſhould have been Forty-ſix.

1707, To Seventy-two of Her Majeſty's, they were no more than Twenty-ſeven of the States-General, inſtead of Forty-three.

1708, The States-General join'd Twenty-five Ships of the Line to Sixty-nine of Her Majeſty's inſtead of Forty-two.

1709, No more than Eleven Ships of the States were join'd to Sixty-ſeven of the Queen's, inſtead of forty-three.

1710, Her Majeſty had Sixty-two employ'd in the aforeſaid Service, and the States-General appointed no more than Thirteen to act in Conjunction with them, inſtead of Thirty-ſeven.

1711, There was no more than Twelve *Dutch* Ships inſtead of Thirty-five appointed to act with Fifty-nine of the Queen's Ships, which as well as thoſe in the Preceeding Year were employ'd in the *Mediterranean*, and not ſo much as one allotted by the States-General to act in concert with thoſe of Her Majeſty's againſt the Enemies Ships at *Dunkirk* and in the *Channel*.

Here ſeemeth a moſt convincing Proof of the Matter of Fact. Now let us ſee what *Dutch* Cunning will bring them off of this, for it is a home Charge, and they will not eaſily parry the Thruſt. The *Memorial* in Truth does not attempt it, and therefore the Matter of Fact as I ſaid before ſtands granted. But they plead then that we have not treated them fairly, for ſay they, "Secondly, "It muſt be obſerved, that in the aforeſaid Account Notice is taken only of the "Ships of the State, which in Conjunction with thoſe of Her Majeſty were em-"ploy'd in the *Mediterranean* and the *Channel*, and that the North Sea, which

" this State, during the War, has generally had the Care of, is wholly omitted: " Which Mention of thoſe Ships only of this State which have acted in Con- " junction with thoſe of Her Majeſty, and the Omiſſion of the North Sea, " make ſo great a Difference between the Number of Ships reckoned by the " foreſaid Account to have been furniſhed by *Great-Britain*, and that ſaid in the " ſame Account to be furniſhed by this State, that probably this Difference " gave Occaſion to the forming the foreſaid prejudicial Reſolution or Vote of " the Lower Houſe, which poſſibly would not have been formed, might this " State have firſt been heard upon it."

This Plea needs no farther Examination than to look back to the Second Paragraph of the Admiralty's Report above, where it is affirm'd: " That by the " Treaties between the Queen of *Great-Britain* and the States-General, their " Proportion of Ships of the Line of Battle to act in Conjunction with thoſe " of this Kingdom in the *Channel* and in and about the *Mediterranean*, ought to " be Three to our Five."

It muſt be ſurprizing to all that read the *Memorial* of the State, to hear them inſiſt with ſo many Introductory Paragraphs, and lay ſo much ſtreſs upon their Employing Ships in the North Seas, when it is thus proved that the North Seas are quite left out of the Queſtion, and the Treaties they have made were only for Ships to be employ'd *in the Channel in and about the Mediterranean.* Now if they have furniſhed their Quota as agreed upon with us for the *Channel* and the *Mediterranean*, tho' they had ſent no Ships to the North Seas, we conceive the Commons had made no Repreſentation; nor had they any Reaſon, for there was no mention of it in the Agreements of Treaties aforeſaid; but if they have not furniſhed their Quota's for the *Channel*, altho' they had ſent an Hundred Sail to the North Seas, it had been nothing in the Caſe any more their ſending Ships to *Batavia*, for the ſame Reaſon as above; the North Sea Guard being not mention'd in the ſaid Treaties and Annual Agreements. To what Purpoſe then is all the long Deſcription of the Neceſſity of the ſending Ships to the North Seas? And what can be more ſurprizing than to find their High Mightineſſes arguing what is, or *was their* Sentiments, againſt what *is* and *was* at that very Time *concerted* and *adjuſted* by them, with the Perſons actually ſent over by the Queen of *Great-Britain* for that Purpoſe; and which in the very ſame Paragragh they acknowledge was ſo *concerted* and *adjuſted.* For the more ready aſſiſting the Reader to make a Full and Free Judgment hereof the long pretended Defence on that Head is here copied out of the ſaid *Memorial*, and is as follows, *viz.* " It muſt be obſerv'd, That by the Seventh Article of the Treaty of " the Ninth of *June* 1703, by which that Agreement was renewed, 'Tis pro- " vided, that the Number of Ships of War to be furniſhed by each for their " whole Quota according to the ſaid Agreement, ſhould be regulated every " Year, and that the Rendezvous, as well as the Places where the Ships ſhould " be employed, ſhould likewiſe be agreed upon every Year; accordingly this " has been concerted Yearly, Her Majeſty having to that Purpoſe for ſeveral " Years ſent over one of her Admirals, at which Times Two Things princi- " pally were taken into Deliberation, namely, the Number of Shipping and " the Places where they ſhould be employ'd; upon which the Projects on the

" Part

" Part of Her Majeſty propoſed commonly the employing a greater Number " than was propoſed by this State, and alſo more Regard was held to the *Chan-* " *nel* than to the North Sea, of which North Sea not the leaſt Mention is made " in the aforeſaid Account of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, from " which Ommiſſion it partly comes that they reckon ſo low what this State has " furniſhed to the Sea-ſervice. The Sentiments of this State upon this Subject " has always been, that the Number of Ships to be ſent Yearly to Sea ought to " be regulated according to the Force which it might reaſonably be judged the " Enemy could Yearly bring into the *Mediterranean*, the *Channel*, and the North " Sea, ſo that Men might be morally ſure that the Fleets and Squadrons which " on the Part of *Great-Britain* and this State ſhould act in Conjunction or Sepe- " rately, would be ſuperior to thoſe of the Enemy. The Term, in Conjunction " or Separately, was uſed, becauſe it was ever the Opinion of this State, that " Her Majeſty's Ships, and thoſe of this State, ſent to *Portugal* and the *Me-* " *diterranean*, ought to act in Conjunction; and that the Security of the *Channel* " ought to be left to the Care of Her Majeſty, and that of the North Sea to " the Care of this State, becauſe the *Channel* is beſt ſituate for *Great-Britain* " with reſpect to its Countries, Harbours, and Commerce, and the North Sea " for this State with reſpect to its Countries, Harbours, and Commerce; yet " ſo, that if unexpectedly the Enemy ſhould bring any Fleet or conſiderable " Squadrons into the *Channel*, or into the North Sea, when the Squadrons on " both Sides, in Whole or in Part, according to the Circumſtances of Affairs, " might join each other."

It is obſerved here, the States-General firſt acknowledge in this Paragraph of their *Memorial*, That *both the Number of Ships to be furniſh'd by each Party, and the Places where thoſe Ships ſhould be employ'd, was concerted Yearly, Her Majeſty, having to that Purpoſe for ſeveral Years ſent over one of Her Admirals*: Nay, they repeated it again, *viz. At which Time Two Things principally were taken into Deliberation*, viz. *The Number of Shipping, and the Places where they ſhould be employ'd.* We can have no Occaſion to make Anſwer to this in any other Manner than by Appeal to the States-General themſelves, and Enquiring whether in the Quota's of Ships at thoſe Times agreed on, and the Places where they ſhould be employ'd, any Place but the *Channel* and in and about the *Mediterreanean* was ever included or inſerted: If it were, then we muſt give it againſt the Repreſentation of the Houſe of Commons, and acquit the States-General: But if not, what means all the Preamble and Circumlocution of this long *Memorial?* And to what Purpoſe is it ſaid this or that was the Sentiments of the States-General? The Repreſentation and Addreſs of the Commons, and the Report of the *Britiſh* Admiralty, can ſay nothing to what was their Agreement, and what was concerted Yearly between the Queen of *Great-Britain* and the States, that they may enquire about, and that they do repreſent Fairly and Faithfully, *viz.* That the *Dutch* have not furniſhed the Quota's which they were obliged by Treaty to do, for the Service of the Confederates in the *Channel*, and in or about the *Mediterranean*; what they did in the North Seas as being no Part of the ſaid Agreement, the ſaid Repreſentation has no Ground to meddle with it, nor does it take the leaſt Notice of it as is ſuppoſed for that Reaſon.

It may not be foreign to this Caſe to enquire a little here into the Reaſon and Equity alſo of this Argument about the North Seas Service, in doing whereof, if it ſhould be found that this Service ought not to be thought of in Eſtabliſhing the ſaid Quota's of Ships, as being wholly and ſolely a Work of Intereſt, Protecting their own Commerce, Fiſhing, *&c.* in which the Allies have no Concern, and that the *Engliſh* had at the ſame Time ſeveral Squadrons in thoſe Seas which were never eſteemed Part of the ſaid Quota on the *Britiſh* Side, and therefore that the like ought not to be inſiſted on the Part of the States-General, then all the Arguments drawn from theſe Things will fall to the Ground, and the Impreſſions which thoſe Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons have made on the People muſt neceſſarily remain.

It is not queſtion'd at all, nor does it ſeem material to this Caſe, but that in the ſeveral Alliances made between *England* and the States-General they were Mutually oblig'd to aſſiſt each other with *all their Forces*. But this is ſo far from taking off the Edge of the Complaint, that it rather fixes and confirms the ſame; for that we alledge that the *Dutch* have not aſſiſted with all their Forces, and to determine the Satisfaction of the ſaid Term, and how the ſame is to be underſtood, we are to obſerve, that leaſt it ſhould create hereafter any Miſunderſtanding among the Allies, the ſeveral Quota's or Proportions of the Allies were ſettled between every the particular Nations Annually. Now the Parliament's Complaint is clear in this, nor does the *Memorial* of the States offer one Word of Anſwer to it; they do not complain in general, that the States have not ſupply'd their whole Forces, but that they have not ſupply'd thoſe ſeveral Proportions by which their whole Forces were by vertue of their Subſequent Agreement to be underſtood; and this appears from the very *Memorial* itſelf, where their High Mightineſſes acknowledge it, and better Proof cannot be deſired. See their own Words.

" By the Seventh Article of the Treaty of the Ninth of *June* 1703, by " which that Agreement was renewed, 'tis provided, that the Number of " Ships of War to be furniſhed by each for their whole Quota according to the " ſaid Agreement ſhould be regulated every Year, and that the Rendezvous, as " well as the Places where the Ships ſhould be employed, ſhould likewiſe be " agreed upon every Year; accordingly this has been concerted Yearly, Her " Majeſty having to that Purpoſe for ſeveral Years ſent over one of Her Ad- " mirals, at which Time Two Things principally were taken into Deliberation, namely, the Number of Shipping and the Places where they ſhould be " employ'd."

Here it is acknowledg'd by the States that the Quota's were adjuſted between us and them, both as to Number of Ships, and where to be employ'd. There are but Two Objections which the *Memorial* pretends to make after this, the Firſt is, Whether the Ships which the States furniſhed for the Guard of the North Seas ſhould not be eſteemed Part of their Quota, and Secondly, Whether the Number of Ships mentioned to be employ'd by Her Majeſty in the *Channel* and in the *Mediterranean* were neceſſary; theſe are alſo their own Words, to which may be briefly anſwer'd, Firſt, That after they had acknowledged, as above is ſaid, That *the Number of Ships and Places where the ſame ſhould be employ'd were every Year concerted*, it can no more be aſked whether they were neceſſary;

neceſſary; the Queſtion rather lies fairly, Whether the Numbers concerted were reſpectively ſupply'd, if there had appear'd any ſubſequent Alteration in the Face of the War. So that if it had ſeem'd to the States leſs neceſſary to ſend ſo large a Number of Ships as was agreed, it muſt have been reaſonable that a new Concert between the Allies ſhould have been made, and ſome mutual Agreement offer'd for leſſening the ſaid Number on both Sides. But to agree Firſt that ſuch a Number on both Sides ſhould be ſupplied, and then ſhortning that Number on their Side, without ſignifying to the *Britiſh* Court that they thought fewer Ships enough, ſo that the *Britiſh* ſhould be left to ſend their full Quota as agreed, and the States only make an Abatement, this can be no Fair Treatment of the *Britiſh*, nor is it eſteemed fair Dealing in our Country, whatever it may be in *Holland*; therefore the Complaint of the Commons in this Caſe ſeems very juſt, and is not at all anſwer'd by the *Memorial*, for that the States-General did not ſupply the Number of Ships which by their Annual Agreement was concerted between them and Her Majeſty; Secondly, But ſay the States, we did ſupply a great Squadron in the North Seas, which ought to be eſteemed a Part of our Proportion, and all the Reaſons given for this Way of acting are, that ſuch were the Sentiments of the States-General; yet in another Part of the ſaid *Memorial* it is own'd, and in the Report of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty it is expreſly ſaid, thoſe Quota's were ſettled only for ſuch Ships as were to act Conjunctly or Separately in the *Channel* and the *Mediterranean*. But becauſe this Argument is of too much Value to have it depend upon the dubious Conſtitution of Terms, it may be obſerv'd, Firſt, That there is no Parity of Equality in this Argument, for that the Concert of Proportions of Ships to be ſupply'd by us and the States reſpected only the particular Seas, in which the Power of the *French* was particularly Formidable, and where their main Fleet were to be expected, as in the *Streights*, and the *Channel*, or on the Coaſts of *Portugal* and *Spain*. And that the *Britiſh* Nation have kept great Squadrons and Fleets out in ſundry other Parts of the World, as the *Dutch* have done in the North Sea, without reckoning any ſuch Ships into the Quota or Proportions of the Fleets to be furniſhed as before, for the Carrying on the War, ſuch have been the Fleets and Ships conſtantly ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, to *St. Helena*, to the *Canaries*, by which it appears, that whatever the Sentiments of the States of *Holland* have been, as above, the Sentiments of the *Britiſh* Court have alſo been, that each Ally ought to have ſupply'd their full Quota of ſuch Ships as were concerted for the Service of the War in the *Channel* and in the *Mediterranean*, without eſteeming ſuch Ships as Part thereof which they reſpectively were obliged to furniſh for the Protection of their Commerce in any other Part of the World; and that this was the real Sentiments of the States-General as well as of Her Majeſty, appears for that in all the Ships ſent by either of the Powers into other Parts of the World, as into the North Seas, the *Baltick*, the *Weſt-Indies*, *St. Helena*, and the like, they very ſeldom acted in Conjunction, but ſent their reſpective Squadrons ſeparately, as the Neceſſity of their Affairs requir'd. Nor did thoſe Ships act in Conjunction on any Occaſion, ſave only as they found it neceſſary to take the Ships of each other Nation under Convoy, or into their Protection, and made uſe of the Harbours of each Confederate as there might be Occaſion. This is manifeſt, in that notwithſtanding the great

great Fleets which the States-General have upon all Occaſions ſent to the North Seas, as is alledg'd, the *Britiſh* Court have been oblig'd alſo to ſend Annual Squadrons to thoſe Seas for the Safety of their Trade, as well to *Ruſſia* as to the *Eaſt-Country*, the *Elbe*, and the *Weſer*, as alſo for the Defence of the Coaſt of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; which Ships, tho' equal, if not ſuperiour to the Numbers ſent into thoſe Seas by the States-General, have not been accounted by Her Majeſty as any Part of the Proportion of Ships concerted as aboveſaid with the States.

This therefore can never be the Reaſon of the Report of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty; and it is ſurprizing to all thoſe who know the State of thoſe Things, to hear the *Memorial* ſay, the States-General had the Care of the North Seas, as they do when they ſum up that Part of their Caſe as follows, *viz.* "It muſt be obſerved, that in the aforeſaid Account, Notice is taken only of "the Ships of this State, which in Conjunction with thoſe of Her Majeſty "were employed in the *Mediterranean* and the *Channel*; and that the North Sea, "which this State, during the War, has generally had the Care of, is wholly "omitted: Which Two Things, namely, the Mention of thoſe Ships only of "this State which have acted in Conjunction with thoſe of Her Majeſty, and "the Omiſſion of the North Sea, make ſo great a Difference between the Num-"ber of Ships reckoned by the aforeſaid Account to have been furniſhed by "this State, that probably this Difference gave Occaſion to the forming "the aforeſaid prejudicial Reſolution or Vote of the Lower Houſe, which "poſſibly would not have been formed might this State have firſt been heard "upon it."

It ſhould ſeem Needful here to enter into an Enquiry what Number of Ships Her Majeſty has from Time to Time ſent into the North Seas, and how the States-General may be ſaid to have had the Care of the North Seas, when it is well known the *Britiſh* Trade, nay, and even often the *Dutch* to *Arch-Angel*, have been Convoy'd Out and Home by Her Majeſty's Ships; and the Coaſt of *Scotland*, the Mouth of the *Baltick*, and the *Elbe*, have been conſtantly Guarded by the *Britiſh* Ships.

Thus by the plaineſt Reaſoning in the World the *Memorial* is fallacious, for that the Deficiencies complain'd of remain confeſt by the States themſelves, the Reaſons pretended to juſtify themſelves are directly contrary to the concerted Proportions and Treaties made between the ſaid States-General and the Queen's Majeſty; and this is exactly agreeable to the Report of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and the Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons.

The like fallacious Way of Arguing appears in the Caſe of the Land-Forces or Troops, in which ſtill their High-Mightineſſes do not deny the Matter of Fact alledged in the ſaid Addreſs, but excuſe and extenuate the ſame by their Efforts otherways, as particularly, they alledge an Article of their Raiſing Troops before us, and this they ſay deſerves ſome Compenſation; *that is*, that they having raiſed Fifty Thouſand Men before us, they ſhould be therefore allowed to maintain a Fewer than they agreed for afterwards; or to ſpeak plainly, that becauſe they were obliged to a quicker Armament than the *Britiſh*, therefore they were to have leave to break in upon future Concert, and fail in the Numbers they

were

were to bring in afterwards: This ſeems no unfair Conſtruction of the Firſt Clauſe of the *Memorial* relating to the Troops, which is as follows.

" In the Firſt Place, it muſt not be omitted to obſerve on the Eſtimate, that " in the general Charge for the Year 1701, the Forty-four Thouſand Nine " Hundred Ninety-two Men which the *United-Netherlands* kept up after the " Peace of *Ryſwick*, are mixed with the Thirty-four Thouſand Eight Hundred " Sixty-ſix Men which were taken into Service immediately after the Death of " *Charles* the Second King of *Spain*; and that for the Year 1702, not only the " Troops which this State took into Service that Year, but thoſe hired the Be- " ginning of the foregoing Year, are reckon'd all together; which if put down " more diſtinctly would have ſhewn, that this State had reinforced their Troops " with above Fifty Thouſand Men a conſiderable Time before *Great-Britain* " came to make any particular Augmentation; which earlier Arming, to the " exceſſive Expence of this State, well deſerved to be allowed for by ſome kind " of Compenſation."

What can the Words *deſerve ſome Compenſation* be ſuppos'd to ſignify, but that the States-General concluded from thence that their future Deficiency was to be allow'd becauſe of their more Arming than the *Engliſh?* Which any one that remembers the Occaſion may find other Reaſons to give for, and which the States-General themſelves ſeem to acknowledge, or at leaſt to hint at, which was in ſhort, that the Parliament and People of *England* did not come into the Meaſures for the laſt War, or perhaps believe it ſo neceſſary at firſt as the States did, and therefore did not Vote ſuch large Sums for their Proportion as the States-General requir'd, and this they now alledge ſhould be made up afterwards. This is gathered from the following Words in the *Memorial.*

" This State were obliged to be content with *Great-Britain*'s furniſhing in " the Beginning of the War no more than Forty Thouſand Men in the *Nether-* " *lands*, in ſo great a Diſproportion with reſpect to this State; not becauſe " there was any Convention or Agreement made about it, or that it was at all " reaſonable, but becauſe no more was conſented to by the Parliament, the Rea- " ſons of which are probably freſh ſtill in the Remembrance of many; and at " that Time the only Courſe this State could take, was to burthen itſelf with ſo " great a Diſproportion, and to wait till in the Continuance of the War it " ſhould be made good to them."

This may imply that the States-General deſired to have this Diſproportion made good to them afterwards by the *Engliſh*, but does not prove that it ought to have made good, or that the Queen of *Great-Britain* had agreed to make it good; much leſs did it ſignify that they were thereby Entituled to make it good to themſelves by a Deficiency in ſuch Quota's and Proportions as they ſhould agree afterwards to bring into the Field.

Upon the whole then it ſeems the Sum of the Caſe is this, that the *Dutch* have really been deficient in the ſaid Quota's, but that according to their own Sentiments they might lawfully be ſo, notwithſtanding expreſs Treaties and Conventions to the contrary; and that theſe Sentiments ariſe from their thinking fit to make Repriſal or Stoppage upon *England*, for the *Dutch* coming into the War a Year before us; and becauſe we did not think fit to come into the Alliance ſooner, they are making us pay for our ſtanding out.

More

More or leſs than this cannot be made of their long *Memorial*, and as to the Juſtice and Equity of this the World is left to judge of that Affair.

The Author of this had reſolved to add here ſome Remarks about the Pretence of carrying on the War with all their Forces; and the States ſaying that *Britain* is more Powerful, and therefore muſt bring in more Forces, making themſelves Judges of who is, or is not, moſt Powerful; but Her Majeſty's Anſwer to the States, ſince publiſhed, has made this ſo clear, and preſt it ſo cloſe upon the *Dutch*, that it ſeems needleſs to ſay any more to that Point.

A LETTER from a NOBLEMAN Abroad, to his Friend in *England*. By Lord Viſcount LANSDOWN. Printed in the Year 1722.

Dear SIR,

AT this critical Conjuncture when the Rumour of a new Parliament ſounds like the laſt Trumpet, to awaken the Genius of Old *England*, and raiſe departed Liberty to Life, it would be a Crime to be ſilent.

My Retreat into this Country, which was meant only to be out of the Way of beholding the Calamities of my own, and of hearing the Cries and Lamentations of my Fellow Citizens, to which I could neither ſee nor bring any Remedy, may expoſe me to the Reproach of having abandon'd my Frinds in their Diſtreſs, if I ſhould remain indolent when the leaſt Glimmering of Redemption appeared.

In thoſe Times of Diſtraction, ſo like our own, when the Will of a Triumvirate, ſupported by a Majority of bribed Senators, and an Army at Command was the ſole Law; when *Cato* and *Cicero* were in Danger of being torn to Pieces in the Streets; when to be honeſt was to be proſcribed; what Courſe could good Men take over-power'd by Numbers, and deſpairing of the Common-wealth, but to retire to *Athens*, or ſome remote Corner to lament in Silence, and to ſeek for Comfort in the Study of Philoſophy, 'till the Madneſs was over, and a more auſpicious Seaſon invited to a Deliverance by a new Struggle?

We have lived to ſee our ancient Conſtitution in a manner diſſolved, and the moſt important Articles of our new Contract, upon ſettling the Proteſtant Succeſſion, evaded, ſuſpended, or ſet aſide; the Wealth and Strength of the Kingdom exhauſted in Foreign Quarrels, and for Foreign Acquiſitions; the very Nation itſelf ſold to make Purchaſes abroad and to enrich Strangers.

We have lived to ſee the firſt Honours of Peerage beſtowed to dignify Proſtitution, and the Freedom of the People, the moſt ineſtimable Article of their Freedom, the Freedom of Elections, betrayed by their own Repreſentatives, ſo that the moſt precious Part of our Liberty may be juſtly ſaid to have been ſtabbed by its own Guard.

We

We have lived to ſee more Perſons illegally ſeiz'd, whipt, fin'd, impriſon'd, impeach'd, attainted and executed within the Compaſs of One Year, than our Hiſtories can ſhew us in Two Hundred before.

We have lived, and we yet live to be trampled upon, by the vileſt, the moſt ignominious of all Tyrancy, the Tyranny of Miniſters, the Tyranny of Fellow Subjects, raiſed from the Dirt of Faction, ſupported by Senates, choſen and directed by Corruption.

We were contented to forget the paſt Injuries, when we heard from the Throne, that Peace and Tranquility were ſettled in *Europe*; that all Fears of Foreign Invaſions were over, and we were quietly eſtabliſhed at home, when we were graciouſly adviſed to be intent upon recovering our Loſſes, and to employ our utmoſt Induſtry and Diligence in retrieving Commerce and reſtoring Trade.

This pleaſing Scene gave us new Life, and we began to rejoice in the Proſpect of future Felicity, when another Voice was heard from the Miniſtry; and becauſe in Times of Tranquillity, ſtanding Armies might be thought a Grievance, a new kind of War was contrived, a Plague was denounced, Forces were decreed to be kept on Foot to defend us from the Almighty, and to reſiſt the very Hand of God. Impious and Execrable! When our Perſons were become free from the Suſpicion of Treaſon, a Law was made to make us liable to the Suſpicion of Infection, that when our Goals are empty, our Peſt-houſes may be filled at their Pleaſure.

Upon this amazing Reſolution we ſaw the City of *London*, the Metropolis of *England*, the moſt famous, and once the moſt flouriſhing, City in the Univerſe, like a Weeping Matron, appearing at that Bar, which is called the *Dernier* Reſort of Juſtice and Equity; we ſaw her waiting with all Duty and all Humility, imploring only to be heard, but ſent imperiouſly away in Deſpair, with Menaces inſtead of Redreſſes.

For ever bleſſed be thoſe Glorious Names which ſtand upon Record proteſting againſt ſo inſolent an Adminiſtration! What are we then to expect from ſuch a Set of raſh and daring Politicians, as openly bid Defiance to God and Man? Is there the leaſt Hopes remaining but in the Union of honeſt Men, true Lovers of their Country; who have Virtue enough to ſacrifice all private Conſiderations to the Publick Good?

By the Artifice of cunning and deſigning Men we have been too long kept divided in Parties, and exaſperated againſt one another without Senſe or Reaſon, only to help them to climb, and be a Ladder for ambitious Knaves.

It is high Time for all thoſe who have the ſame Bowels for their Country, to join Hearts and Hands in its Deliverance, to forget and forgive paſt Diviſions, to ſeek to redreſs Wrongs, not to revenge them, and to ſacrifice every other Paſſion to the general Welfare.

Let then no other Denomination be heard among us, no other Diſtinction but that of good *Engliſh-men*; let all who would merit that Name unite, embrace, and take a *Roman* Reſolution to ſave their Country or periſh with it.

Brutus was a ſworn Enemy to *Pompey*, the Murderer of his Father; but when it happened that *Rome* muſt periſh, or *Pompey* be ſupported, *Brutus* became *Pompey*'s Friend.

Brutus took an Oath to *Cæſar*, but *Brutus* never ſwore to be an Enemy to his Country.

Brutus owed much to *Cæſar*, but *Brutus* thought private Benefits as well as private Injuries were to be ſacrificed to the Publick Safety. And *Brutus* was an honourable Man.

The Intereſt of the State is the firſt Object of Men of Honour; Piety and Loyalty are included in it; to be falſe to one's Country is to be falſe to God and the King.

If then we neglect the approaching Oportunity upon the next Election, we betray all the Ties of Nature, Religion and Allegiance; if we loſe it we are loſt with it. If a Majority of ſuch Men ſhould again prevail, Farewel to all that is dear to the Lovers of Liberty and *Britain*.

That Authority which (we know from the general Senſe of the Nation) can be continued in the ſame Hands, by no other Means but Violence and Corruption; muſt be maintain'd as it is got.

You Sir, are but juſt arrived at the Age of entring upon the publick Stage; and you arrive at it in this critical Moment, when all is at Stake. It is therefore, I have ſingled You out from the reſt of my Countrymen, to kindle your Virtue and animate your firſt Appearance.

I have ſeen your Father who was the Friend and Companion of my Youth; I have ſeen him at the Head of his Freeholders amiable in his Perſon, ſincere in his Friendſhip, firm in his Principles, beloved and almoſt adored by his Country, nobly aſſerting in the Midſt of Ten Thouſand Acclamations, this very Cauſe which now calls ſo loudly for Help. He was the Delight and Darling of all that knew him. I foreſee you to be his Heir in that as in his Virtue and Fortune. Tread in his Steps you will need no other Precept, or Example.

Remember me to my Friends, recommend me to the Continuance of your Affection, and tell them that Old as I am, and wearied out with vainly wiſhing for better Times, I am yet ready to enter the Liſts at their Call, to ſtand for Liberty and Old *England*, or fall an honourable Victim to God, my Country, and my Friends.

Love me and believe me,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt Affectionate

Kinſman.

An Exact LIST of all the BUBBLES.

London, Printed in the Year 1721.

1. SIR *Richard S—l*'s Fish-pool.
2. *Garraway*'s Fishery.
3. *Robin*'s *ditto* for Gudgeons.
4. Grand *ditto* for *Smelts*.
5. *Green Land ditto* for Whale.
6. Grand *American ditto*.
7. North *American ditto*.
8. New *Green Land ditto*.
9. Royal Fishery.
10. *Arthur More*'s Fishery.
11. Ten Millions Fishery.
12. Wm. *Helmes* in *Exchange-Alley*'s Insurance of Maidenheads.
13. Mother *Wyebourne*'s Machine *Cundums*.
14. *Wakefield*, for the more effectual breeding *Ducks* and *Geese* in *Lancashire*.
15. *Whitmore's* Lottery Annuity's.
16. *British* Improvements.
17. Trade to *Harbourough*.
18. *Long*'s Meliorating of Oils.
19. *Baker*'s Annuity's.
20. Curing Herrings Alamode *de Hogan Mogan*.
21. *Pollington*'s, melting Saw-Dust and Shavings into Deal-Boards of any Length and free from Knots.
22. *Wild*'s Insurance against Housebreakers.
23. Ditto against Highwaymen.
24. *Bele*'s Bottomery.
25. *Codner*'s Assurance for Lying.
26. *Briscoe*'s Transmutation of Animals.
27. *Burrige* upon Spanish Snuff.
28. *Plummer*'s and *Petty*'s Insurance from Death by drinking *Geneva*.
29. *Coe*'s Brewery in *Milford* Haven.
30. *Hurst*'s upon Hair.
31. *Poppy* Oil.
32. *Raddish* Oil.
33. *Freek*'s Annuities.
34. Supplying of Markets with Cattle.
35. *Lombard* Office.
36. Butter Manufacture.
37. *Woollen* Manufactury.
38. Shipping.
39. *Keet*'s Bubble.
40. *Taverner*'s New found Land.
41. *Lofthouse*'s *ditto*.
42. Capt. *Clipperton*'s Adventure.
43. Fatning Hogs.
44. Widows Pension.
45. Tin Plates.
46. Trade to *Sancta Crux*.
47. Turnpikes.
48. Raw Silk.
49. Fenny Lands.
50. *Westly*'s Bubble.
51. Union Fire Office.
52. Trade to the North Seas.
53. Welch Copper and Brass.
54. Improvement of Tobacco in *England*.
55. Curing of broken Winded Horses and Mares.
56. *Vaux*'s Exportation of Bay Salt.
57. Curing of Lunatick Persons.
58. *Waldren*'s Improvement of wast ground and fattening of Cattle at the Cross-Keys Tavern in *Cornhill*.
59. *Cratchley*'s at Jonathan's Coffee-house Insurance from loss by *Garraway*'s Fishery.
60. *Danel de Foe*'s Employing of *Weavers*.
61. Sugar.
62. Royal Exchange Insurance.
63. Solomon *Nune*'s Caco.
64. *Pinard*'s

64. *Pindar*'s Improvement of uncultivated Land in *Lincolnſhire*.
65. Old *Chitty*'s for ſerving the Navy with Proviſions.
66. For Cloathing the Army.
67. *Teſtard*'s Auction.
68. *James Lance*'s Adventure.
69. A new Invention for the more effectual blacking of Shoes.
70. Exporting of Stockings.
71. An Office for ſupplying the Kings Stores with Powder and other Warlike Materials.
72. A new Company for Importing of Brandies.
73. *La Cuze* for Put and Refuſe.
74. The grand Stuff Company.
75. A new compleat Method of cleaning of Streets.
76. Orphan Stock.
77. Million Bank.
78. Annuities for Lives.
79. *Stringer*'s Bubble.
80. *Pindor*'s Expedition to *Madagaſcar* for ſuppreſſing of Pirates.
81. *Pindar*'s new Invention for the more effectual making an Equinoxial Inſtrument for the Convenience of Ladies Hoop Petticoats.
82. Tiling of Houſes and Inſuring them.
83. Exportation of old Cloaths.
84. *Nodes*'s Expedition to the *Carrebee* Iſlands and *Sancta Crux*.
85. Inſuring Childrens Fortunes.
86. Employing the Poor for the eaſe of the Pariſhes.
87. *Iriſh* Propriety Sail Cloth.
88. Pottato Starch.
19, *Lamb*'s Woollen Manufactory.
90 Settlement in the Margravate of *Azilia*.
91. Lord *Craven*'s Bahama.
92. Malt and Hops.
93. *Keet*'s Loane.
94. *Davis*'s Streights Fiſhery.
95. Hard Soap.
96. *Long*'s Penſilvania.
97. Swediſh Iron.
98. Tranſmutation of Metals.
99. Steel from Iron.
100. King *George*'s New Market.
101. *Overall*'s Fire Office.
102. Overflow'd Lands.
103. Building of Houſes.
104. Grand Fiſhery.
105. For emptying Houſes of Office.
106. A ſecond more beneficial and leſs offenſive than the former for ditto.
107. Mutual Aſſurance for Ships.
108. *Shale*'s for Ships.
109. *Sam*'s for Ships.
110. *John*'s Coffee Houſe for Ships.
111. *Marine* for Ships.
112. *Tymond*'s Trade to *Germany*.
113. Importing of Negroes.
114. *Aſgil Evans* for ſerving the Navy with Bread and Cheeſe.
115. Mac Tom's South Sea Hops.
116. *Symond*'s Aſſuranee on Lives.
117. *Baker*'s ſecond Edition of ditto.
118. *Freke*'s laſt Edition of ditto.
119. *Bohemia* Iſland.
120. *Orkney* Iſland.
121. Rock Salt.
122. Swan and Rummer.
123. Salutation Permits.
124. Lending Money to neceſſitous Perſons.
125. Office for curing the Grand Pox or Clap.
126. *Puckle*'s Machine,
127. Felt-Hats and Pantiles.
128. Coal Trade from *Newcaſtle*.
129. Woollen Trade to *Ireland*.
130. Ram Inſurance.
131. Old Inſuranee.
132. Copper and Braſs.
133. Luſtring.
134. Office for maintaining Baſtard Children.
135. For lending Money.
136. *Garraway*'s lending upon Stock.

137. Fleece

137. Fleece Tavern ditto.
158. Improvement of Hops.
140. An Office for building of Ships.
141. Trade to *Ireland.*
142. Trade to *Spain* and *Portugal.*
143. Trade to *Scotland.*
144. For Erecting Houſes of Office in the North of *England* and *Scotland*, for the Convenience of Strangers and Travelers.
145. Loan Offices.
146. *Cheff*'s Hemp and Flax.
147. *Long*'s Hemp and Flax.
148. *Brand*'s Sail-Cloth.
149. *Britiſh* Sail-Cloth.
150. *Britiſh* Inſurance.
151. Grand Diſpenſary.
152. *Engliſh* Starch.
153. Foreign Starch.
154. Inſurance for Horſes.
155. *Pontack*'s Gold and Silver.
156. For Paving the Streets of *London.*
157. *Lambert*'s improvement of Land.
158. Serving of *London* with Hay and Corn.
159. The River *Oroonoko.*
160. Timber and Maſt from *Germany.*
161. *Paſtboard* and Packing of *Paper.*
162. The River *Douglas.*
163. *Mancheſter* Callico's.
164. *Welbee*'s Gold and Silver Mines.
165. *Iriſh* Sail-Cloth.
166. Making of *China* in *England.*
167. Making of *Callicoes* in *England.*
168. Long Salt.
169. King *George*'s Salt.
170. Queen *Ann*'s Salt.
171. Silver Extract.
172. *Sadler*'s *Hall* from Fires.
173. *Salter's Hall* Remittances.
174. *Roſe* Office from Fire.
175. *Stockdon*'s Remittance.
176. *Iriſh* Inſurance from Fire.
177. Bleeching of Hair.
178. Corral Fiſhery,
179. Water Engine.
180. Holy Iſland.
181. For making Womens Silk Stockings and Mens Breeches.
182. Silk-Worms.
183. *South-Sea* Hops.
184. *Green-Land* Fiſh.
185. National Permits.
186. *Globe* Permits.

COme all ye money'd Bites and Culls,
Dukes, Commoners, and Nobles
Who ſtray alike from Reaſon's *Rules*
To deal in Stocks and Bubbles;
Behold your ſundry Pictures here,
amidſt a Reigning Folly,
And ſee what Aſſes Men appear
when jobbing in Change-Alley;
Here Whig *and* Tory, *Rich and Poor,*
all Languages and Nations,
Jabber, as if at Babel's *Tower,*
to ſhew their ſeveral Paſſions;
Some laugh that win, ſome curſe that loſe
ſome coughing, others ſneazing,
Some ſtink of Garlike ſome of Toes,
whilſt others fart with ſqueezing.
Here Fortune does her Smiles diſpoſe,
Like other jilting Witches,
But often frowns on Man of Senſe
to Pleaſure Fools with Riches;
Our Trade we ſhun to South *we run,*
We Bubble and are Bubbles,
In Stock we're Rich by Stock undone,
O Britain! *mourn thy Troubles.*

The Diſſenting Teachers ADDRESS to the Junto againſt the Bill for Building Fifty new Churches, in and about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*: And the Lord *W*—— Anſwer. With ſome very uſeful Advertiſements. Printed in the Year 1711.

To the truly Noble, and moſt Magnificent, their Highneſſes the Lords Protectors of W—giſm F—n—ciſm and Revolution Principles.

The Humble Addreſs of the Poor Diſtreſſed States of Enthuſiaſm and Schiſm.

May it pleaſe your Highneſſes,

WE, who before always approached this Illuſtrious Quinquinvirate, with Joy and Triumph, Congratulating Our growing Intereſt and Power, Treading down the Scarlet Whore, Reaping daily the Fruits of thoſe Victories over the Church, which you, Our Patrons, and Protectors ſo Gloriouſly Atchiev'd for Us: Do now lay ourſelves before your Honours, in quite different Circumſtances; Dejected, Amazed, Confounded; the Crown is fallen from Our Head, the Enemy rides Triumphantly over it; the Church of *England* appears with new Luſtre, Her firſt Lovers are returned to Her, ſhe is taken out of the Duſt, Our Honour is laid in it, and how are the mighty fallen?

If this were all, peradventure we could have born it, and have waited patiently for Reſult of your Council, for the Fruits of your Subtile Intrigues; and happy ſkill in recovering a bad Game, who, like the Immortal *William* though you looſe the Battle, can manage ſo well the Retreat, that it looks very like a Victory; this Proſpect would have given Refreſhment to Our drooping Spirits, and Our Hopes of Riſing again by your Help, would have made Our Fall leſs Grievous to Us. But alas! theſe Hopes will ſink, and every Thing in View comfortable and chearing, will certainly fail Us, unleſs an immediate interruption be given to that Irreligious and moſt Diabolical, High-flying Bill, for Building Fifty new Churches, in and about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; if theſe Churches are built up depend upon it, We are thrown down; encreaſe the Number of Churches, and that of Meetings will Decreaſe: Tho' your Highneſſes ſhould be able again to turn the great Wheel of Government, yet the paſſing of that Bill, will give Us the Fate of Turn-ſpits; to be always at the Bottom though the Wheel goes round.

We muſt be plain with your Highneſſes, and tell the Truth; the Notion of Our Numbers, gave Us Our late Power; and this we ſtill urge for a Return of it, the fullneſs of Our Meetings is the firſt Cauſe of this Notion; that

Cauſe

Cauſe will certainly be removed by this Bill, and we leave your Highneſſes to judge what the Fate of the Effect will be.

Alas! Our Meetings are not fill'd with Diſſenters, we are but a Poor contemptible Handful of Men; not enough to make hardly one handſome Aſſembly, even *Salters*-Hall, if none but Diſſenters came to it, would, in a few Months, be as a pleaſant green Valley, and the Neighing Horſe might take his Paſtime therein; but thoſe that chiefly make up Our Aſſemblies, are either ſuch as are excluded the Church, by the narrowneſs of it, or ſuch as have taken Offence at their own Miniſter, have quarrelled with the Church-Wardens, taken it ill that they had not the upper Pews, or it may be a Vote in the Veſtry, together, with Multitudes of Fops, who come to ſee the Daughters of Our *Iſrael.* Thus we toſs up a Meeting with this ſtrange Medley of Ingredients, and like *Pontack*, call the Ragouſt one entire Diſh; a Number of new Churches will reconcile the Diſſatisfied, and make Our Meeting-Houſes as empty as *Newgate* after a Seſſions; or *Bridewell*, when the Day of Solemn Scourging is over; the Proud and Lofty ones will be tempted by the Offer of the chief Seats in the Synagogue; the Peeviſh will have Choice of Miniſters, and the Diſobliged become themſelves Church-Wardens, and have, upon this new Eſtabliſhment, the Conduct of Parochial Affairs, the Fops of this World will entice our Daughters to go a Whoreing after their new Inventions: Thus Religion will ſink, the Glory of God will fall away, the good old Cauſe will die again, Enthuſiaſm will be Bankrupt, Schiſm become a Laughing-ſtock, Revolution Principles fall as low as the Mine Adventure, and the Eſpouſers of them will be eſteemed leſs Dangerous than the Corps of *Guiſcard*; and, like that, be ſhewed only for a Sight, and it may be in Pickle to.

We have been ſeeking the Lord greatly for a Remedy againſt this impending Evil; yea, very greatly have ſought Him; and the Spirit guides Us to You, to You moſt Illuſtrious Patrons, You have worldy Conning, and can defeat the Deſigns of Religious Enemies; You can break the Meaſures of *Achitophel*, catch the Fox in his crafty Wilineſs and hold his Head in a ſtring Glorioufly.

And moreover, how did Our Hearts rejoice at the frequent Declarations from the Throne, and Aſſurances from the Parliament (when you frighted the One, and B——b——d the Other unto what you pleas'd) that the Toleration ſhould be inviolably maintained: Behold, now it is encroach'd upon; that good Chriſtian Liberty will, in a Manner, be taken from Us; and by this Jeſuitical Artifice of Building new Churches, the Deſign of it wholly defeated, for alas! To what Purpoſe do they Tolerate Our Meetings, if they tempt from Us, the greateſt Part of thoſe that compoſe them? There muſt be ſome ſecret Intention, to do injury to God's Elect; to take away the Dominion of the good peaceable Saints, and reduce Us to Our poor Primitive Inconſiderableneſs here on Earth.

How alſo will the Pretender rejoice, when the News reaches Him, that ſo many Popiſh Chapels are preparing for Him, that his Intereſt prevails, and Our's, his only Enemies, declines; this will certainly encourage Him to make a ſecond Invaſion; then will the Bank tremble, the *India* Company ſhake, Credit ſink, Trade fall away, the Lotteries not be drawn, and an univerſal Deadneſs

Deadneſs ſeize every Thing, that animates, and keeps alive the Grand Alliance; and ſhall this be done for a few ungodly Steepled Edifices? Fit only, as Our Fathers have ſhewn Us, to be plundered, and turned into Stables.

Givs Us leave to be a little Earneſt with your Highneſſes upon this Occaſion, We apprehend more Miſchief to ourſelves from this Diabolical Bill, than We did from that to prevent Occaſional Conformity; this will touch Us in the tendereſt Part, and bring inevitable Ruin to Us: Where are the K—gs, the L—h—eres, the J—kils, and all the Noble Patriots of S—hiſm, and Fact—n; Stir them up moſt Noble Lords, tell them 'tis the Cauſe of God, that wants their Help; let them buckle on the old Armour of Aſſurance let them take the Helmet of Obſtinacy, the Shield of Scandal, and the Sword of Religious Cant, and cut down theſe Builders of *Babel*, confound the Enemies of the Elect, and reſtore Us to Our late Dominion and Glory.

We humbly recommend your Highneſſes to the moſt ample Portion of Grace, and earneſtly pray for a Bleſſing upon all your Undertakings; which (give Us leave to aſſure you) will be greater, or Leſs, as you are zealous in this moſt important, and moſt Religious Affair.

The Lord W——'s *Anſwer.*

WHAT the Devil would you have Us do? You know we have no more Intereſt than ſo many Journeymen Taylors; go Home, and be quiet, let them build Churches if they will, and be damn'd; the more they build, the more we ſhall have to Plunder, when we get Uppermoſt again, and let that Glorious Proſpect content You.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

I. THE Elders of the Meeting-Houſe in *Stepney*-Fields, do hereby give Notice, that it will be Lett, or Sold, upon the Building of Three new Churches in that Pariſh, it is a large Room, and very convenient for a Cow-Houſe, or a quantity of Hay, Hemp, Oakham, and Old or New Ropes; if they can agree for the Galleries, it is extreamly Commodious for a Muſick Room; there are in it divers private Receſſes, very curiouſly fitted up, for any Diverſion that requires Secreſy,

II. Whereas, there is a Malicious Report, that the Reverend Mr. *T—gue* Miniſter of the Goſpel, has given over Anſwering Queſtions in Divinity, and ſolving Caſes of Conſcience; this is to inform the Publick that the ſaid Report is Falſe, and that Mr. *T—gue* does continue ſtill to give Anſwers, and hear Caſes at very low and reaſonable Rates, at his Houſe from Nine to Ten, beware of Counterfeits; He is a middle Sized Man, wears a Copper coloured Coat, has great Intereſt with the old Ladies, and loves Bohea Tea Wonderfully.

III. There

III. There is now in the Preſs. And will Speedily be Publiſhed, A Treatiſe, ſhewing the Duty of every Chriſtian Audience, immediately to go out of the Church, when the Preacher advances falſe Notions, and contrary to the old Eſtabliſh'd Doctrines of Chriſtianity, Dedicated to the Mayor and Aldermen of Saliſbury, with the Authors humble Service to Mr. *G——ſh.*

IV. Whereas Mr. *Sh—re* Teacher of God's Word did formerly reſolve not to come over to the Church of *England*, for a Living of leſs value than his Conventicle; upon ſecond Thought, he will comply for 200 *l. per Annum*, if any Patron, either of the Laiety or Clergy has a Living of that Value to diſpoſe of, with a fine Houſe and Gardens, and paid eaſily, he believes he ſhall accept of it, and is to be ſpoke with at his Houſe from Nine to Twelve of the Clock, and from Three to Six.

N.B. *He does not care how ſoon this Matter is over.*

V. Mr. *M—uit*, near St. *Mary Magdalen*'s Church having let his Meeting Houſe, has a Pulpit little worſe for wearing to diſpoſe of, it will make with ſmall Alteration a very curious Beaufet: There are already in it very pretty Conveniencies, which he formerly us'd for his Bottles, Pipes, Cards, and Cribbge-Boards; theſe may eaſily be converted to more elegant Uſes, and will be ſold a Pennyworth.

Juſt Publiſhed.

A Plea for the Pyrates of *Madagaſcar*, in which it is proved that they have as good a Right to Pardon and Preferment, upon the Acount of their Money, as the W—gs in *Great Britain*, and that to get an Eſtate by Pyracy in thoſe remote Seas is a leſs Crime, there to raiſe a Fortune by betraying our Native Country, plundering the Publick, miſapplying, or not accounting for Thirty five M—l—ons: Dedicated to the Author of the Medley.

A Trunk-Maker having left off his Trade, hath Part of his Stock yet to diſpoſe of, conſiſting of ſeveral Sermons and Pamphlets, to be ſold by the Pound, *viz.* Almoſt the whole Edition of a Sermon, Entituled the Sea Aſſize; and a great Number of *Latin* Things about *Sion*-College; Fifty Ream of Letters to Dr. *Sacheverel*, by an Inferior Clergyman, by an *Oxford* Gentleman, and another by a Fellow at *Cambridge*, and vaſt Quantities of the Curate of *Salop*'s Satyr upon St. *Paul*; together with the entire Edition of the Vindication of the City Clergymen, who refuſed to Sign the Biſhop of *London*'s late Addreſs, and acknowledge the Q—n's Title to the Throne of her Anceſtors, and abjure the Pretender; with many other Pieces by the ſcribling Abbettors of Popery and Faction.

A LETTER from the Earl of *Mar* to the King, &c. Before His Majeſty Arrives in *England*. With ſome Remarks on any Lord's ſubſequent Conduct. By Sir *Richard Steele*. Printed in the Year 1715.

IT gives me a lively Senſe of the Hardſhips of Civil War, wherein all the Sacred and moſt intimate Obligations between Man and Man are to be torn aſunder, when I cannot without Pain repreſent to myſelf the Behaviour of Lord *Mar*, with whom I had not ever the Honour of any farther Commerce than the Pleaſure of paſſing ſome agreeable Hours at different Times in his Company: I ſay, when even ſuch little Incidents make it irkſome to be in a State of War with thoſe with whom we have lived in any degree of Familiarity, how terrible muſt the Image be of rending the Tyes of Blood, the Sanctions of Affinity and Intermarriage, and the bringing Men, who perhaps in a few Months before were to each other the deareſt of all Mankind, to meet on terms of giving Death to each other at the ſame time that they had rather Embrace? I am forced to reflect, that Lord *Mar* has already taken Meaſures for bringing Brother againſt Brother, and Son againſt Father, to do with Satisfaction to myſelf, the Duty which I think I owe my King and my Country, of expoſing to Publick View his preſent Behaviour. As it cannot be ſo fairly done by any Method as by Vouchers under his own Hand, I ſhall produce ſuch, before I can acknowledge I have effaced out of my Mind all remains of Good-will or Pity towards a Man, whom to ſerve I would very lately have hazarded a great deal; but as Circumſtances now ſtand between him and every Man who is faithful to the King, his neareſt Friend is obliged to blot out all tender Conſiderations for him, which is not more hard to do in any one that knew him than myſelf.

Repeating that this is a Teſt of the ſmarter Pain of Wounds in Domeſtick War, I muſt acquaint the Reader that the following is a true Copy of my Lord's Letter to the King, when His Majeſty was in *Holland*. I have the Original in my Cuſtody, where it may be peruſed by any one who has a Curioſity to ſee it.

Lord MAR *to the KING.*

SIR,

HAVING the Happineſs to be your Majeſty's Subject, and alſo the Honour of being one of your Servants, as one of your Secretaries of State, I beg leave by this to kiſs your Majeſty's Hand, and congratulate your happy Acceſſion to the Throne, which I would have done myſelf the Honour of doing ſooner, had I not hoped to have had the Honour of doing it perſonal-

ly e're now. I am afraid I may have had the Misfortune of being misrepresented to your Majesty, and my Reason for thinking so is, because I was, I believe, the only one of the late Queen's Servants, who your Ministers here did not visit, which I mentioned to Mr. *Harley*, and the Earl of *Clarendon*, when they went from hence to wait on your Majesty, and your Ministers carrying it so to me was the Occasion of my receiving such Orders as deprived me of the Honour and Satisfaction of waiting on them, and being known to them.

I suppose I had been misrepresented to them by some here upon Account of Party, or to ingratiate themselves by aspersing others, as our Parties here too often Occasion; but I hope your Majesty will be so just as not to give Credit to such Misrepresentations.

The Part I acted in the bringing about and making of the Union, when the Succession to the Crown was settled for *Scotland* on your Majesty's Family, where I had the Honour to serve as Secretary of State for that Kingdom, doth, I hope, put my Sincerity and Faithfulness to your Majesty out of Dispute.

My Family hath had the Honour for a great tract of Years to be faithful Servants to the Crown, and have had the Care of the King's Children (when Kings of *Scotland*) intrusted to them. A Predecessor of mine was honoured with the care of your Majesty's Grand-Mother when young; and she was pleased afterwards to express some Concern for our Family in Letters which I still have under her own Hands.

I have had the Honour to serve her late Majesty in oneCapacity or other, even since her Accession to the Crown. I was happy in a good Mistress, and she was pleased to have some Confidence in me, and Regard for my Services: And since your Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown, I hope you will find that I have not been wanting in my Duty in being Instrumental in keeping Things quiet and peaceable in the Country to which I belong, and have some Interest in.

Your Majesty shall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a Subject and Servant as ever any of my Family have been to the Crown, or as I have been to my late Mistress the Queen. And I beg your Majesty may be so good not to believe any Misrepresentations of me which nothing but Party Hatred and my Zeal for the Interest of the Crown doth occasion; and I hope I may presume to lay Claim to your Royal Favour or Protection. As your Accession to the Crown hath been quiet and peaceable, may your Majesty's Reign be long and prosperous, and that your People may soon have the Happiness and Satisfaction of your Presence amongst them, is the earnest and fervent Wishes of him who is with the humblest Duty and Respect,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most Faithful,

most Dutiful, and most Obedient,

Subject and Servant,

Whitehall, Aug. 30,
O. S. 1714.

MAR.

It is a very wide ſtep from this dutiful Letter to the following Declaration to all the World, and Order to his own Agent, which we have ſeen in the *Gazette* of the 14th Inſtant.

OUR Rightful and Natural King *James* VIII. by the Grace of God, who is now come to relieve us from our Oppreſſions, having been pleaſed to intruſt Us with the Direction of his Affairs, and the Command of his Forces in this his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*. And ſome of his faithful Subjects and Servants met at *Aboyne*, *viz.* The Lord *Huntly*, the Lord *Tullibardine*, the Earl *Mariſchall*, the Earl of *Southeſk*, *Glingary* from the *Clans*, *Glenderule* from the Earl of *Broadalbine*, and Gentlemen of *Argyleſhire*, Mr. *Patrick Lyon* of *Auchlerhouſe*, the Laird of *Auldhair*, Lieutenant General *George Hamilton*, Major-General *Gordon* and myſelf, having taken into Our Conſideration his Majeſty's laſt and late Orders to Us, find that as this is now the Time that he ordered Us to appear openly in Arms for him, ſo it ſeems to us abſolutely neceſſor for his Majeſty's Service, and the relieving of Our native Country from all its Hardſhips, that all his faithful and loving Subjects and Lovers of their Country, ſhould with all poſſible Speed put themſelves into Arms.

Theſe are therefore in his Majeſty's Name and Authority, and by Vertue of the Power aforeſaid, and by the King's Special Order to me there'unt, to require and impower you forthwith to raiſe your fencible Men, with their beſt Arms, and you are immediately to March them to join me and ſome other of the King's Forces at the *Invor* at *Bracmar*, on *Monday* next, in order to proceed in our March to attend the King's Standard, with his other Forces.

The King intending that his Forces ſhall be paid from the Time of their ſetting out, he expects, as he poſſitively Orders, that they behave themſelves Civilly, and commit no Plundering nor other Diſorders upon the higheſt Penalties and his Diſpleaſure which is expected you'll ſee obſerved.

Now is the time for all good Men to Show their Zeal for his Majeſty's Service, whoſe Cauſe is ſo deeply concern'd and the relief of Our native Country from Oppreſſion and a Foreign Yoke too heavy for Us and our Poſterity to bear, and to endeavour the reſtoring not only of Our Rightful and native King, but alſo our Country to its ancient, free and independent Conſtitution under him whoſe Anceſtors have reigned over Us for ſo many Generations.

In ſo honourable, good and juſt a Cauſe, we cannot doubt of the Aſſiſtance, Direction and Bleſſing of Almghty God, who has ſo often reſcued the Royal Family of *Stuart*, and our Country from ſinking under Oppreſſion.

Your punctual obſervance of theſe Orders is expected, for the doing of all which this ſhall be to you and all you employ in the Execution of them a ſufficient Warrant.

Given at Bracmar,
the 9th of Sept.
1715.

To the Baillie and the reſt of the Gentlemen of the Lordſhip of Kildrummy.

MAR.

In-

Invercauld, Sept. 9. at Night, 1715.

Jocke,

YE was in the Right not to come with the 100 Men ye ſent up to Night when I expected four Times the Number; it is a pretty Thing, when all the Highlands of *Scotland* are now riſing upon their King and Country's Account; as I have Accounts from them ſince they were with me, and the Gentlemen of our Neighbouring Lowlands expecting Us down to join them, that my Men ſhould be only refractory, is not this the Thing we are now about, which they have been wiſhing theſe 26 Years, and now when it is come, and the King and Country's Cauſeet ſtake, will they for ever ſit till and ſee all Periſh.

I have uſed gentle Means too long, and I ſhall be forced to put other Orders I have in execurion, I have ſent you encloſed an Order for the Lordſhip of *Kildrummy*, which you are immediately to intimate to all my Vaſſals; if they give ready Obedience it will make ſome amends, and if not ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my Power to ſave them (were I willing) from being treated as Enemies by thoſe who are ready ſoon to join me, and they may depend on it that I will be the firſt to propoſe an Order for their being ſo. Particularly let my own Tenants in *Kildrummy* know that if they come not forth with their beſt Arms, that I will ſend a Party immediately to burn what they ſhall miſs taking from them, and they may believe this not only a Threat, but by all that's Sacred I'll put it in Execution, let my loſs be what it will, that it may be an Example to others, you are to tell the Gentlemen that I'll expect them in their beſt Accoutrements on Horſeback, and no excuſe to be accepted of, go about this with all Diligence, and come yourſelf and let me know your having done ſo, all this is not only as ye will be anſwerable to me, but to your King and Country.

Your aſſured Friend and Servant,

To John Forbes *of* Increrau, *Baillie of* Kildrummy.

Sic Subſcribitur *MAR.*

This Noble Lord, with the reſt of the Nobility, took the Oaths to his Majeſty King *George*, and did Homage to him at his Coronation; both which Acts are but further Expreſſions, not more binding to a Man of Honour than what he had ſaid before in his Letter. It appears prodigiouſly unaccountable how it is poſſible that Corruption ſhould ſo far prevail, as that there does ſeem to ariſe among ſome Men very little Horror when this Obligation of an Oath is mentioned as broken in Political Occaſions. If a Man may upon Oath declare, That the Perſon pretending to be Prince of *Wales*, and taking upon himſelf the Title of *James* III. has not any Right or Title to the Crown of this Realm, or any other the Dominions thereunto belonging, and promiſe according to the ſame Oath he will defend King *George* to the utmoſt of his Power againſt all Traiterous Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, and under the Shelter

Shelter of the Security and Confidence repoſed in ſuch Obligation betray his Sovereign, there can be no ſuch Thing as any Band of Society. But Mens own private Intereſt and Ambition put their Conſcience out of its Office, and make it obſequious to their Will, inſtead of being a Check upon it. Men who have brought themſelves to this Standing Inadvertency, have brought their Conſciences to be very profitable Tools for the Improvement of their Fortunes; for it ſeems it can purchaſe for them; but it cannot alienate. If a Man has a Mind to an Employment he may take the Oaths to poſſeſs himſelf of it, but that Oath cannot detain him to the Allegiance of his Prince when he is turned out of his Office. My Lord has not given one Example of Injuſtice on the Part of the Government, which he can pretend diminiſh'd his Sovereign's Right to the Duty he ſubſcribes in his Letter of the 30th of *Auguſt* 1714, and therefore is as well in common Senſe as Law a Traytor for his Declaration that another is his rightful and natural King on the 9th of *September* 1715.

His Lordſhip in his Declaration ſpeaks of Oppreſſion for theſe Twenty ſix Years paſt in general Terms; there is no one Inſtance wherein the King's is ſevered from the two preceding Reigns; ſo that the Reign of his good Miſtreſs was an Oppreſſion, as well as this in which he rebels: But my Lord aſſigns the Reaſons which ſanctified her Power to him, he had the Honour to ſerve her in one Capacity or other ever ſince her Acceſſion to the Crown.

But it has been long the Language of all the Conſpirators who have manifeſted themſelves of late, to cover themſelves by extolling the Queen whom they betrayed, and at the ſame time imputing their ill Conduct to her Commands: My Lord, in the ſame Temper and Spirit with the reſt, ſeems to impute his Diſreſpect to the *Hanover* Miniſters carrying ſo to him, occaſioned that he had ſuch Orders as deprived him of the Honour of being known to them.

My Lord Suppoſes he has been miſrepreſented upon accouut of Party. I hope that Phraſe will be utterly loſt or be ſpoken of another kind of Men than hitherto it has been underſtood to deſcribe. It is then true what the Whigs intimate, and the more moderate of them would not believe, that Whig and Tory were at the Bottom, Jacobite and *Hanoverian*, the Promoters of Slavery and the Friends of Liberty? Poor *Jocke* in the Highlands has, for the fourth Part of a Century, known more than any of Us in Town: The Lordſhip of *Kildrummy* was in the Secret all along. Is it not this (ſays my Lord to them) the Thing we are now upon which they have been wiſhing theſe Twenty ſix Years? It's a pretty Thing, as my Lord very well expreſſes himſelf, that none of thoſe who meant this all along ſhould ſhew themſelves now, but have perjured themſelves in vain for theſe three laſt Reigns, to ſit ſtill and ſee all Periſh at laſt.

A Leader who has ſo little Force at preſent, and is little ſkilled in the Art of Perſuaſion, cannot, in himſelf, appear very formidable; but when the moſt Solemn Tyes are of no manner of Force, who can avoid apprehending even from his next Friend or Neighbour all the Miſeries of War as Occaſion ſhall offer? We have, with ſome Narrowneſs of Spirit, in many Caſes, been very harſh upon poor Nonjurors, who have denied giving the Government the Security

curity that is required of them, and pretended to nothing but bare Protection, and Leave to live. But we have no Name for Men who Act publickly under the ſame Government with us, and are conſtantly meditating our Ruin. Theſe Conjurors, with whom we repeat the ſame Words at a Bar or a Table, and have gone on very lovingly after the Clerk, and begin all together with one Voice, do Swear, it ſeems have minded what they ſaid no more than if it were a Matter of mere Form, like taking up or laying down a Mace, or bowing to an empty Chair, which is done only as an Overt Act, ſignifying that we are now going upon Buſineſs, or the like. We have all ſeen and heard the Conjurors ſpeak very roundly out, (tho' now and then one repeats as if chawing Thiſtles;) and indeed ſome have obſerved that they ſhow'd little Reliſh to, or over acted what they were doing; but I have always thought, 'till of late, that theſe Reflections were unmanly and uncharitable. But it is not growing inſolent, to take notice from Events, there are every Day new Proofs, that what, in Common Charity and Humanity, one would have thought the moſt cruel Aſperſion, is not only true, but with greater Aggravations than their moſt violent Enemies could have ſuppoſed the Conjurors could have been guilty of. We have long had this Kind of Imputation laid at the Door of the Church of *Rome*. They, it has been ſaid, have had, for the Service of the Faith on particular Occaſions, a Suſpenſion of the Divine Vengeance from the Pope, by plenary Letters of Indulgence, but our Conjurors, whom we have looked upon, as to the generality of them, as miſled, thoughtleſs, but far from a deſigning ſet of Men, are, ſo far from wanting Diſpenſations, that they are void of all Senſe of Conſcience, when they betray, and uſe Perjury as a Mere Expedient to do it with better Opportunities.

It is hard not to grow very grave on ſuch Occaſion; but, without pretending to ſet up for much of the Divine or the Caſuiſt who is there that does not know that the Foundation of Moral Virtue is Juſtice? This is what reſpects the Community, one might deſire theſe Gentlemen to recollect, that when a Man offends againſt Temperance and the like, he hurts only his individual Self; but Society cannot ſubſiſt without the Practice of Juſtice. It is from this that nothing is more highly reſented, or eſteemed ſo odious as Breach of Promiſe; and notorious Neglect of this kind always makes a Man, according to the reſpective Caſes in which he treſpaſſes, either deteſtable or inconſiderable. To guard againſt this looſe Behaviour in Matters of Moment, and to ſecure humane Society againſt Breaches of Faith, God is made a Witneſs in the Promiſes which Man makes to Man, on Pain of his Diſpleaſure. We know that he knows all we do, and in this Act call upon him to obſerve what we do, and avenge himſelf in Caſe of our Falſhood. What was before purely Morality, is by this Act become Religion. How great then is the Guilt of breaking thro' this Solemn Appeal? Will our taking it lightly make it leſs Sacred? If not, what is the Guilt of entering into this Obligation with no other View but to violate it?

It is certain that he who does not think a Government juſt ought not to Swear to it; but when he has done ſo, there is no Conſideration can abſolve him of that Oath, a mutual Faith is the ſupport of Society, an Oath is the

higheſt Obligation to keep that Faith inviolate. But this Queſtion is excellently well conſidered in a little Pamphlet, called, Advice to the Tories who have taken the Oaths, to which I recommend my Reader. What I thought ſerviceable in publiſhing this Paper is to ſhow that my Lord *Mar*, whatever the Guilt of profeſſing to be in the King's Intereſt, and being at the ſame time in Meaſures againſt him has that Guilt upon him: The poor Vaſſals who follow him as their Leader, and a Man of Honour and Quality, that ſhould know better than themſelves what is the Duty of an honeſt Man, are not acquainted that he has violated all that is good and Sacred; and all who may be in Inclination with him, may, from the knowledge of his perſonal Behaviour to the King, either Change their Minds, or at leaſt not chuſe to follow one who has been guilty of ſo Solemn a Falſhood. It is not poſſible to have any Notion, conſiſtent with Honour, to reconcile this Treachery. Perjury is not a Fault incurred by ſurprize, by ſudden Inſtigation of Deſire, or Paſſion, it is no way to be accounted for by the Force which falſe Gallantry or Mode of Life has upon our Actions: Perjury is a cool deliberate Crime, committed in Defiance of God, to do Violence to Man. How monſtrous therefore muſt it appear, that a Man who barely to mend his own Affairs, or to gratify his Ambition, can meditate the diſturbance of all the reſt of the World, and at the Expence of the Lives and Fortunes of the beſt of a whole People, break thro' all that is Sacred, only to be himſelf a little more at Eaſe, and enjoy that ſilly Pleaſure Pomp?

In fine, the Earl of *Mar*, without any Provocation, or pretended Provocation to exaſperate him as a Man, as a Subject, as a Gentleman, as a Nobleman, laying aſide his private Faith given under his own Hand, as well as the Public Obligation of the moſt Sacred Oaths, is now in Rebellion againſt a Sovereign, who had, at his humble Suit, conſented to let him feel his Annual Bounty; to introduce an Outlaw whom he adjured from no other Motive but Hopes of larger Supplies to his Avarice and Ambition.

His Ingratitude is not only that of a Subject, who had the Protection of his Prince in common with the reſt, but that of a Man who ſtood juſtly ſuſpected by the King; and after his Majeſty's moſt generous Neglect of all that might be objected again him, was further engaged by the Receipt of undeſerved, and therefore the more binding, Favour.

The OATH *of* ALLEGIANCE.

I. A. B. *Do Swear, That I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to His Majeſty King* George.

So help me God.

The

The OATH *of* ABJURATION.

I. A. B. *Do truly and Sincerely acknowledge, profeſs, teſtify and delare in my Conſcience before God and the World, That Our Sovereign Lord King* George *is Lawful and Rightful King of this Realm, and of all other His Majeſty's Dominions and Countries thereunto belonging; and I do Solemnly and Sincerely declare, That I do believe in my Conſcience, that the Perſon pretended to be Prince of* Wales *during the Life of the late King* James, *and ſince his Deceaſe pretending to be, and taking upon himſelf the Stile and Title of King of* England, *by the Name of* James III. *hath not any Right or Title to the Crown of this Realm, or any other the Dominions thereunto belonging. And I do renounce, refuſe and abjure any Allegiance or Obedience to him. And I do Swear, That I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to His Majeſty King* George, *and Him will defend to the utmoſt of my Power, againſt all Traiterous Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt His Perſon, Crown or Dignity; and I will do my utmoſt Endeavour to diſcloſe and make known to His Majeſty, and Succeſſors, all Treaſons and Traiterous Conſpiracies which I ſhall know to be againſt him, or any of them. And I do faithfully promiſe, to the utmoſt of my Power, to ſupport, maintain and defend the Limitation and Succeſſion of the Crown againſt him the ſaid* James, *and all other Perſons whatſoever, as the ſame by an Act, intitled, an Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better Securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, is, and ſtands Limited to the Princeſs* Sophia, *Electreſs and Dutcheſs Dowager of* Hanover, *and Heirs of Her Body, being Proteſtants. And all theſe Things I do plainly and Sincerely acknowledge and Swear, according to theſe expreſs Words by me Spoken, and according to the plain and common Senſe and Underſtanding of the ſame Words, without any Equivocation, mental Evaſion or ſecret Reſervation whatſoever. And I do make this Recognition, Acknowledgement, Abjuration, Renunciation and Promiſe, heartily willingly and truly, upon the true Faith of a Chriſtian.*

So Help me God.

The Lord *DIGBY*'s ENTERTAINMENT in *Spain*. MSS.

SIR,

SUCH is my preſent Charity, as that I would be contented to forgive the Wiles of *Spain* with as good a Will as you parted from them, and ſuffer the blind Policy of the Times to take its Courſe in calling black white, and Pride, Gravity; till Ambition itſelf fall into the Ditch: Yet, becauſe of my Promiſe to you my Friend, in whoſe Expectation my Honeſty is always preſent, I will no longer contain myſelf within the Bounds of Flattery, but lay-

ing aſide all Court Reſpects, freely and faithfully ſet down thoſe Paſſages, that may ſerve to ſatisfy yourſelf, and ſuch others of your Friends, as are deſirous to know the certain manner of Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's Reception, and Entertainment at the Court of *Spain*, at his being laſt there his Majeſty's Extraordinary Ambaſſador. Myſelf you know was none of his Lordſhip's Train, and therefore you muſt not look for at my Hands an exact Journal of the Progreſs, let it ſuffice, that tho' my Relation be but Pieces of the Truth, yet it ſhall be whole and entire in every one of them.

To begin with his Lordſhip's Landing at *St. Andera*, it was as I call to mind about the laſt of *Auguſt*, the Place is a deſolate Port Town crept in (I know not by what Miſchance) betwixt the Mountains, and the *Biſcayan* Bay, yet it being Land, it was not to be deſpiſed of thoſe that came ſick from Sea, and tho' at firſt Sight no honeſt *Engliſhman* could take the bare-legged People for any other than Savages, (ſo hideous and uncouth was their Garb and Faſhion) yet as God would have it, all were not barbarous, for ſome they found ſo civil, as wore black Cloaths, and durſt venture upon ſo much Good Manners, as to bid his Lordſhip and his Company welcome *a la Spaniola*, but it ſeemed his Lordſhip looked for ſome Ceremony *a la Engleſe*, and that ſome Sir *Lewis Lewknor* or other ſhould be ſent from Court to congratulate his ſafe Arrival, otherwiſe I ſee not to what End he ſhould ſtay about a Fortnight in that rude Place, where he knew that nothing but the *Spaniſh* Naſtineſs and Poverty could preſent themſelves to our *Engliſh* Obſervations. Whatſoever his Lordſhip's Purpoſe or Expectation was, the Court of *Spain* was far enough from doing him any ſuch Honour, tho' I muſt confeſs it was a Thing not altogether undue to ſo extraordinary an Ambaſſage. You muſt know, that the King and his whole Court were about this Seaſon to remove from *Madrid*, and were to come four Days Journey as directly towards his Lordſhip, as if they had come on Purpoſe to meet him, The Occaſion was, that the grand Favourite the Duke of *Lerma* had invited his Majeſty to his Town of *Lerma*, there to recreate him with divers Shews and Sports prepared for that Purpoſe. His Lordſhip therefore from *St. Andera*, ſent away his Secretary *S. Digby* with Letters to Mr. *Cottington* (His Majeſty's Agent then reſiding at *Madrid*) to adviſe him of his coming, and to have him with all Diligence go to the Duke, and ſupplicate, that ſince His Majeſty would be ſo happily at *Lerma*, it would pleaſe his Excellence to do him ſo much Honour, as to let him have his firſt Audience there. Mr. *Cottington* according to his Lordſhip's Deſire moved the Duke in that, whoſe Anſwer was, that he would be glad to have it ſo, but could not order it, only to ſhew how much he favoured Don *Juan*, he would be an humble Suitor to the King for his Aſſent, and therefore willed him to repair to him again two or three Days after, and then he ſhould know the Royal Pleaſure. The Agent went away very well ſatisfied with the Duke's Diſcretion, and doubted not, but at his ſecond Acceſs to receive full Contentment. But when he came again, the Duke gave him a Shrug for a Leg, and told him, His Majeſty would by no means admit of his Deſire. The Reaſon was, becauſe he knew my Lord Ambaſſador came upon Buſineſs, and he went to *Lerma* only upon Pleaſure. This was the Anſwer the Secretary returned with to his Lordſhip, who could by no means reſt ſatisfied with that, but preſently wrote back to Mr. *Cottington*, that he ſhould renew the Suit with

all

Inſtance, whereupon he went again to Court, and did ſo urge the Matter to the Duke, as he got him to make a Reply unto the King, who becauſe he would not be ſeen to deny his Minion any thing twice, (more I believe than for any other Reſpect) did in the End grant it; But why will you ask, did my Lord Ambaſſador ſo vehemently deſire to be received at *Lerma*, ſince he could not but know, there was no treating of any thing there but kiſſing of Hands? for my own Part I neither ſaw then, nor have been able to comprehend ſince, any Reaſon of State, why the King of *England*'s Ambaſſador ſhould petition the proud *Spaniard* twice for a thing that did ſo little import the Service of his Maſter; Nor in my Conſcience did any Thing move him to it, but a meer vain-glorious Affection to the Things of *Spain*, for knowing it would be then a Feſtival time at *Lerma*, he did perhaps deſire that the *Engliſh* Gentlemen ſhould be preſent at the Jollities, and behold the Bravery of the Dons. Moreover he foreſaw, that if he went thither, they could not chuſe but feaſt him (which being more Extraordinary in that Country than an Extraordinary Ambaſſador) he thought would redound to his Glory and Honour. Well, the Suit obtained, Mr. *Cottington* thought good to carry the glad Tidings of it himſelf to *Burgos*.

But before I remove his Lordſhip from *St. Andero*, I muſt not omit to tell you how Mr. *Hole* his Secretary died there, and for want of Chriſtian Burial, was fain to be put into a Coffin and thrown into the Sea; but whether it was that they had not Weight enough to keep it under Water, or that the Fiſhermen took it up on Purpoſe, (fearing they ſhould catch no Fiſh as long as the Corps of an Heretic lay in their Waters,) certain it is, that after his Lordſhip was parted thence, we had News that the Coffin was broken up, and the Corps of our Countryman and Brother, was thrown above Ground to be devoured by the Fowls of the Air. Tell me now, ye ill adviſed Favourers of the *Spaniſh* Party, if theſe be fit Love-Tricks to prepare the way of Marriage, or if it be reaſonable to court their Alliance, whoſe Inhumanity we have ſo much Reaſon to abhor? Their Church you will ſay commands it, ſo doth it forbid them to have any Commerce with us. But, as for their Profit they have gotten themſelves diſpenſed with in the one, So methinks, they ſhould do the like in the other; If not, I ſhall think it no Sin for me, nor all *Engliſhmen* to pray, that thoſe whom the Church ſo ſevered, the State may never join together.

As long as we live with them they deny us nothing, their Nuns ſhall be our Miſtreſſes, their Friars our Bawds, which perhaps they do out of a malicious Intent to damn our Souls, but let us chance to dye, they will by no means ſuffer us to be buried, becauſe forſooth we are Heretics. Was there ever a *Saracen* like this? or can it be imagined, there ſhould be either true Divinity or Philoſophy, where ſuch barbarous Folly is in Uſe? I remember not ever to have read of any thing that doth approach it; unleſs it were in a certain *French* Book, that makes Deſcription of the Provinces and Towns of *France*, where the Author reports, (how truely I know not) that in the Country *Bigore*, upon the Edge of *Gaſcoign*, there are a Race of People that come out of their Mother's Wombs with ſtinking Mouths, who as long as they remain in the World, are admitted as Fellow-Citizens to all kind of Commerce and Society, but when they come to die, are excommunicated out of the common Church-Yards, and buried apart by themſelves, becauſe their Breaths ſtunk when they were alive.

This ſeems ſo ridiculous as it is almoſt incredible, but the *Spaniſh* Cuſtom is a thouſand times more uncharitable, and that moſt certain, for they of *Bigore* have in the End their Stench buried, but we if we die in *Spain*, muſt be left ſtinking above Ground, to the End the Dogs may be ſure to find us. Had it been thought upon when they made their Peace with us, I make no queſtion but the *Spaniards*, as Catholick as they are, would have granted us any Burial we would have deſired, either Chriſtian or Moral; but ſince that time they have ſo picked up their Crumbs of Pride and Severity, as it hath not been in the Power of our Merchants of *Seville* with all their Supplications, to obtain for their Money never ſo little a Piece of Ground to bury their Dead in: But I would fain know what Reaſon their Church allows them for it. Muſt their Malice towards us be everlaſting, both in this World, and the World to come? Or do they fear, that if we ſhould riſe amongſt them at the laſt Day, we might ſome of us get to Heaven by Stealth, as the Door is opened for them? or rather is it not out of provident Care, not to have us by when they are to receive their Sentence, for fear we ſhould ſee their Shame and Confuſion?

This vile and malignant Accident, hath made me run out my Patience and Purpoſe both at once: But let us return to our Lord Ambaſſador, and ſee him ſafe from *St. Andera* in his Way towards *Burgos*, where our *Engliſh* Mirmidons began to ſee what it was to travel in *Spain*; for not to hit them in the Teeth with their Bugs and Vermin, which though they were Plagues in *Egypt*, yet Cuſtom hath made them free Denizons in *Spain*, I will only remember, that I heard both Knights and Squires complain, at their coming to *Burgos*, how they were fain by the way to Sup without Chimneys, and Sleep without Beds, the leaſt of which two in any Part of *England*, would go nigh to be held Couzin-German to the Plague: But Thanks be to God, notwithſtanding this Change of Air and Fare, they made a Shift to come all well to *Burgos*, which is the chief Town of all *Caſtile*, and where the antient Kings were wont for the moſt Part to keep their Courts, as may appear by many fair and goodly Houſes which were built by the Grandees and Privadoes of thoſe Times, and do to this Day retain their Names. My Lord Ambaſſador was lodged in none of thoſe, but ſtood beholden to the Officers of the Town for a Houſe (mean enough) and ſuch as would hold none but his Lordſhip, and ſome few of his moſt neceſſary Servants, wherewith the Gentlemen were no whit diſpleaſed, for though in the Day-time it was ſubject to no Annoyance, yet it provided very ill Scent for the Night, by reaſon it was haunted with a ſtinking Spirit, which we met continually upon the Stairs as we went down after Supper, it being indeed of ſuch a Condition as might well be aſhamed to ſhew itſelf by Day. In this ſweet Place, Mr. *Cottington* and thoſe that accompanied him from *Madrid*, (whereof I had the Honour to be one) came and kiſſed his Lordſhip's Hands, and brought News, that we had left the King within a Day and a half's Journey of *Lerma*. The Lord Ambaſſador and the Agent having conferred together, it was wonderful to ſee what a Matter his Lordſhip made of his being ſuffered to go to *Lerma*, wherein he did ſo pleaſe himſelf, as he ſtuck not one Day to ſay openly at the Table, by way of endearing, That he did not think the King of *Spain* would have done that particular Favour to any Prince's Ambaſſador but to the King of *England*'s, nor to any the King of *England* could have ſent, but himſelf;

ſelf; And I think he ſaid partly true, for it is to be hoped, that none would have begged it as he did. But howſoever this was to triumph before the Victory, and gave his Company juſt Reaſon to murmur at him, when they ſaw themſelves afterwards diſappointed, which happened to them unexpected, troubled them for the preſent, and taught them for the future, that it was equally dangerous to follow a partial Leader, and a reconciled Foe; Yet had they not ſhut their Eyes, and ſwallowed with obedient Credulity all that his Lordſhip was pleaſed to ſay, it was not poſſible they ſhould have committed ſo great an Error as to preſume upon the *Spaniſh* Courteſy, ſeeing ſo many and ſo inexcuſable Omiſſions of Reſpect to preſage the contrary, for to conclude all in one, his Lordſhip was known to be a whole Month in the Country without receiving one Meſſage or Salutation from the Court, which had been enough to put any Extraordinary Ambaſſador out of Countenance but himſelf.

But well fare his Lordſhip's Temper, who all this while did take no Notice of any Hurt done, for that it was expected, that when the King and the Duke ſhould be come to *Lerma*, they would bethink themſelves of ſo much Graciouſneſs, as to ſend his Lordſhip a Viſit; but we thought one Thing, and the *Spaniard* another, for though *Lerma* was but ſeven Leagues from *Burgos*, and that the Court had been there a Fortnight, yet his Lordſhip had no more News from thence, than if he had been ſtill at *Andera*, which gave ſome of our *Engliſh* Travellers Occaſion to conceive, that the King of *England* was ſlighted in his Miniſter, but others excuſed the Matter, and ſaid the *Spaniard* did not neglect the Lord Ambaſſador as repreſenting the King's Perſon, but only, becauſe they would uſe no Complement with one they knew ſo much their Friend. In Concluſion, his Lordſhip fearing that if he ſhould leave them alone, they would forget him indeed, thought it the beſt Courſe to ſend Mr. *Cottington* on *Saturday* to *Lerma*, to ſee if he could know, what their Pleaſure was to do with him, who at his Return brought word, that one of the Duke's Secretaries would not fail him the next Day, to adviſe him of the Order that ſhould be taken.

Accordingly upon *Sunday* in the Evening, there came a poor Fellow with a Letter from the ſaid Secretary addreſſed to Mr. *Cottington*, the Contents whereof was, that the next Day (being *Monday*, there ſhould be a Couple of Coaches ſent to bring his Lordſhip upon *Thurſday* following to *Villa Manza*, a certain Town that lay one Mile ſhort of *Lerma*, which was aſſigned for his Lordſhip's Lodgings, and where it was aſſured the King's Harbingers ſhould be preſent to do their Diligence, and prepare all things with as much Commodity, as the Poorneſs of the Place would permit. Upon this, Warning was given to all the Company to provide, and the Coaches came very honeſtly at the Time appointed, ſo as upon *Thurſday* Morning about Nine of the Clock, we ſet forth of *Burgos*, and arrived about Three in the Afternoon at *Villa Manza*, which we well perceived to be a pitiful ragged Village, and ſuch as in *England* would hardly be judged capable of an Alehouſe, yet ſeeing we were there, we could do no leſs than enquire for my Lord Ambaſſador's Houſe. The Houſe! People told us we were ſurely deceived, and miſtaken, for there were none dwelt there but poor Laberdoſos. It being demanded whether none of the King's Harbingers had been there to take up Lodgings for the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, they were all ſo void of Intelligence, as they knew not what it meant, ſo as it was hard to

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ſay, which of us were moſt amazed, they to hear us ask ſuch ſtrange Queſtions, or we to find Things ſo unanſwerable to our Expectations. For our more truſty Advice, divers of our Company that had been ſcouting abroad, had reported they could hear no News, nor diſcover any Houſe fit for his Lordſhip to go into, who, being unwilling to break the Peace, would not take the Town by Force, but very quietly kept his Coach, and ſent Mr. *Greſley* in all Haſte to *Lerma*, to fetch ſomebody, that might have Authority to aſſiſt him in this his Trouble. Mr. *Greſley* made as much Haſte as he could, to bring back Word, that at *Lerma* they were all buſy of ſeeing a Play, ſo as he could not come to ſpeak with any man that underſtood the Buſineſs, which growing thus from bad to worſe, did ſo diſtract his Lordſhip's Thoughts, as he began now to doubt whether *Villa Manza* was the Place he was appointed to go to, and in Examination thereof, made Mr. *Cottington* empty his Pockets to produce the Secretary's Letter, where they found *Villa Manza* as legibly written as they could deſire; ſo as now all Colour of Evaſion being taken away, his Lordſhip could no longer diſſemble like a *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, but did his Country ſo much Right, as to ſhew himſelf a very *Engliſhman*, and ſupplying with Impatience, what they wanted in Authority, commanded the Coachmen (in a very haſty Manner) to drive back to *Burgos*, which they moſt punctually refuſed to do. Whereupon his Lordſhip leapt out of the Coach, and in a great Chafe got upon his Horſe, crying unto his Company, away, the Coachmen ſeeing he was reſolute to go, and fearing they ſhould loſe their Reward (if they parted upon thoſe Terms) came preſently and told his Lordſhip they would venture to do whatſoever his Seignioria would have them. With that his Seignioria alighted from his Horſe, and went up again into the Coach; but before the Wheels were turned about, his Lordſhip's Mind was changed, and upon ſome Caveat or other that Mr. *Cottington* ſeem'd to whiſper in his Ear, he made the Boots to be opened again, and declared he was determined to ſtay there all Night, which appeared to ſome of the Spectators ſuch an Interlude, as they did nothing envy thoſe that were ſeeing the Comedy at *Lerma*. Well, his Lordſhip when he had ſat four Hours, in the End quitted it, and made a worſe Choice by entering into a rotten, bare-wall'd Houſe, ſuch as I may boldly ſay, had been fitter for Sir *John Fenwick*'s Dogs, than his Lordſhip's Company. It was for no Goodneſs it wanted a Tenant, for if any Body dwelt in it, they were People of ſuch Condition as had no Uſe of Houſehold Stuff, for unleſs it were one naked Table, I do not remember I ſaw any Thing.

Yet an Owner it had, who came and welcomed his Lordſhip with as much Formality, as if his Houſe had been a Caſtle, and himſelf a Don *Quixote*. But his Lordſhip took little Pleaſure to ſee one ſo full of Words that had ſo empty Rooms, true it is, that the beſt Chamber found itſelf ſo full, when we came into it, as a great Part of the Floor fell down, which ſome of the Curious interpreted for Ominous for thoſe that truſted the *Spaniſh* Footing, for all that, his Lordſhip cauſed his Bed to be ſet up there, and no reaſon to repent his Providence for bringing it with him.

The Jeſt of all Jeſts was, we had not been houſed above half an Hour, but up came the good old Knight, Sir *E. R.* puffing and blowing to bring his Lordſhip News, that a Harbinger was come, who ſaid, there was a Houſe and all

Things ready provided. His Lordſhip not knowing but that it might be ſo indeed, if not in *Villa Manza*, yet perhaps in *Lerma* or ſome other adjoining Place, compoſed his Countenance as well as he could upon ſo ſudden Warning, and commanded the Harbinger to be brought into his Preſence, who excuſing himſelf for not coming Time enough to attend his Lordſhip, ſaid, yet he was glad to ſee his Lordſhip had lighted on the right Houſe. My Lord asked him how he knew that to be the right Houſe, he anſwered that himſelf and one of his Fellows had been there the Day before to beſpeak it.

The Maſter of the Houſe being queſtioned about it, anſwered there was no ſuch Matter, which put his Lordſhip into ſuch a Fit of Anger, as he threatned the Harbinger to throw him out of the Window, but the poor Fellow choſe rather to go out of the Door, and without any more ado, left his Lordſhip to his Shifts. And Thanks be to God ſo good Shift was made, as we ſupped that Night, tho' not like Ambaſſadors, yet well enough for Travellers; After Supper his Lordſhip walked about the Room very penſively, and gave us a Gueſs at his Thoughts by uttering once or twice theſe Words, *Well, they have troubled us To-Day, we ſhall trouble them To-Morrow*, thinking belike he ſhould be ſent for to Court, where he meant to expoſtulate the Matter with them, but the *Spaniard* thought it a Point of Wiſdom to give him longer Time to allay his Choler, before they would ſee him. Mr. *Cottington* went the ſame Evening to *Lerma*, and came back again after Supper, but what his Errand was I know not, we left my Lord and him together, and betook ourſelves every Man to his Lodging, which you muſt imagine to be neither better nor worſe, than ſuch as Day Labourers could afford to unexpected Gueſts.

The next Day betimes, Mr. *Cottington* made another Voyage to *Lerma*, where he got to ſpeak with the Duke, and repreſented unto him the Diſorder that had been at *Villa Manza*, whereat he ſeemed to be ſo highly offended, as to chide his Secretary, who excuſed himſelf with the Multitude of Buſineſſes, which lay that time upon his Hands, and transferred his Fault upon other Inferiors.

As this paſt, who ſhould come in, but the very ſame Harbinger, that had been the Night before at *Villa Manza*, who up and told the Duke, before Mr. *Cottington*'s Face, that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador look'd that two or three Grandees ſhould have been ſent to receive him, and that, when he went to do him Service, he threatned to throw him out of the Window. The Duke being perhaps glad of ſuch an Advantage, gave good Ear to the Fellow's Words, and putting on his graveſt Countenance, told Mr. *Cottington*, that he did not think ſo grave a Miniſter as Don *Juan* would have ſuffered himſelf to be ſo miſcarried with Paſſion, to menace and affront the King's Officer in that Manner, adding by Way of Aggravation, that he himſelf durſt hardly do it. So that he held Mr. *Cottington*'s Buſineſs quite perverted, for whereas he came to complain of the Wrong his Lordſhip had received, he was drawn to excuſe the Error he had committed; which I know not if he did in ſo juſt a Meaſure, as to leave him in that Reputation with the Duke, as it ſeemed he was in, when he wiſhed, that the King of *Spain* had given his Weight in Gold for ſuch another Servant as Don *Juan*: A Thing I ſhould have been loath to report, but that I heard from his Lordſhip's own Mouth. By that time Mr. *Cottington* was returned, it was full Court in his Lordſhip's Cottage, every Man attending with impatient Ears

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what would be the News from *Lerma*, but all in vain, for nothing was thought fit to be publiſhed at that Time, but only that a Mule was come laden with Proviſion, which tho' our Neceſſities could not but well accept, yet ſome of us judged the Provender fitter to ſatisfy our Hunger than our Honour.

They that ſent it was perſuaded themſelves it would do both with *Engliſhmen*, nor were they much deceived, for it did ſo qualify the Matter, as I very well remember his Lordſhip thereupon, did moſt ſententiouſly pronounce, *That the* Spaniard *was better at a Remedy, than a Prevention.*

After Dinner my Lord and ſome of his Company went to Cards, whilſt others (that deſired to make better Uſe of their Time abroad) walked forth into the Fields, to obſerve the Clearneſs of the Sky; there likewiſe did *Lerma* Houſe preſent itſelf to their View, which we thought they regarded in the very ſame manner for all the World, as the refuſe People do uſe to do the outſide of the Banquetting Houſe on a Mask Night, when they cannot be ſuffered to go in.

Towards the Evening a Letter came from the Duke, which was to be of his own Hand-writing, happy were they who could catch a Sight of the Superſcription. But that which gave us moſt reaſon to rejoice, was to hear that his Lordſhip ſhould now at length have his Deſire, it being advertized, that the Conde *de Salazer* one of the King's Major Domo's ſhould be ſent the next Morning, to fetch his Lordſhip and his Company to *Lerma*; the Morning came, and the Gallants dreſt, his Lordſhip had provided a ſharp Conceit to perſuade us inſtead of breaking our Faſt, for quoth he, I would not for any thing have him find us within Doors, becauſe I mean to tell the Conde, that tho' the Houſe be thought good enough for the King of *England*'s Ambaſſador, yet I hold it much unworthy to receive one of the King of *Spain*'s Major Domo's. The Wit thereof pleaſed me ſo well, as that I applauded the Words, and meant to make a narrow Obſervation of the *Spaniard*'s Apprehenſion.

But when I ſaw the Conde come, and thruſt his Lordſhip into the Coach as it were with Authority, rather than Courteſy, and that not one Word proceeded from his Lordſhip's Mouth in Performance of his Lordſhip's Apothegm, I began then to deſpair of ever having Occaſion to change my Opinion (which was from the Beginning) That his Lordſhip had more Wit to his Countrymen, than to diſpleaſe the *Spaniard.*

A SPEECH ſpoken in the HOUSE of *COMMONS*, by the Reverend Father in God, *Robert*, Lord Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. Being brought to the Bar to anſwer for himſelf. Printed in the Year 1641.

Maſter Speaker,

AS it hath been ever my Faſhion (and, in Truth, it is my Diſpoſition) to endeavour, at the leaſt, to give Satisfaction to every Man, even to the meaneſt, that hath had any ſiniſter Conceptions of me be it *ſcandalum datum* or *acceptum*;

acceptum; ſo hath it been my Ambition, and I have ſought it with Affection (as to all Men) ſo much more to this honourable Aſſembly, eſpecially concerning the late Petition and Proteſtation exhibited unto his ſacred Majeſty, and the Lords and Peers in Parliament. But in the firſt Place, Maſter Speaker, I am as it becomes me, to give moſt hearty and condign Thanks to the noble Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of this honourable Houſe of Commons, for that they have been pleaſed, by a general Vote, and, I hope, unanimous, to give me Leave to ſpeak for myſelf, and to lay open the Truth of my Cauſe, concerning the ſaid Petition and Proteſtation before them. And now, Maſter Speaker, to addreſs myſelf to the Buſineſs, whereof I ſhall not ſpeak as a Lawyer, for I have no Head for Law, neither ſhall I need to touch upon any Point thereof; nor as a flouriſhing Orator, as deſirous to hear himſelf ſpeak, I have long ſince laid aſide my Books of Rhetoric: My Deſire is, Maſter Speaker, to tread in the Steps of an old Divine, of whom *Sozomen* writes in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, who, groaning under the like heavy Burthen and Accuſation as I do, choſe rather to vent his own Senſe, and expreſs the Truth of his Cauſe in plain Language, than to colour or cloak Falſhood, and to extenuate his Offence, by forced, trapped, and new varniſhed Eloquence: And to that Purpoſe, my Conceptions and Narration ſhall ſtand only upon two Feet, Negation and Affirmation. There are ſome Things that I muſt deny, and, yet juſtly, ſomewhat I muſt affirm, and that I ſhall do ingenuouſly and fully. Firſt, for the Negative: I never framed, made, nor contrived, compiled or preferred, any ſuch Petition or Proteſtation; I never was at any Meeting, Conſultation or Conference, about any ſuch Buſineſs; nay, I never heard of any Intention, much leſs Execution of any ſuch Thing, until it was the *Wedneſday* in *Chriſtmas*, being the 29*th* of *December*, at which Time it was brought to my Houſe in *Covent-Garden*, betwixt Six and Seven at Night (ſubſcribed by Eleven of my Brethren) with a Requeſt, that I would ſubſcribe ſuddenly alſo. And for the Affirmation, preſuming that ſo many learned, grave, and wiſe Men, well verſed in Matters of that Nature, would not have attempted any ſuch Thing, without good Counſel, to the Endangering of themſelves, and their Brethren, and to the Diſtaſte of the Lords, and that all the reſt of the Biſhops, in or about the Cities of *London* or *Weſtminſter* ſhould ſubſcribe thereunto, and that it ſhould not be preferred, without the Approbation, and mature Deliberation of good Counſel, and of us all: I made the Twelfth, and ſet to my Hand, which I do now acknowledge, and never denied; nay the firſt Time I came to the Bar in the Lord's Houſe, I acknowledged that my Hand was to it, and divers of this honourable Preſence heard it ſo read unto them, out of the Journal of the Lords Houſe.

Now, Maſter Speaker, if theſe my deceived and deceiving Thoughts (to uſe St. *Bernard*'s Phraſe) have led me into an Error, the Error is either *Ex ignorantia juris*, an Unskilfulneſs in the Law, or *Debilitate judicii*, a Weakneſs of my Apprehenſion, or elſe *Ex nimia credulitate*, out of too much Confidence in others, not of any prepenſed Malice, or out of a Spirit of Contradiction, as the Lord knoweth. The Schoolmen tell me, that *Duo ſunt in omni peccato* there is, *actio, & malitia actionis*; I own the Action, the Subſcription is mine; but, that there was any Malice in the Action to croſs any Vote, at which I was not preſent, nor ever heard of, I utterly diſavow.

And therefore, Maſter Speaker, I ſhall become an humble Suitor, that I may recommend three moſt humble Requeſts, or Motions, to this Honourable Houſe.

The firſt Motion is, That you would be pleaſed to tread in the Steps of *Conſtantine*, the Chriſtian Emperor, who had ever this Reſolution, That, if he ſhould ſee *Sacerdotem peccantem*, an offending Divine, he would rather caſt his purple Garment upon him, than reveal the Offence, for the Goſpel's Sake of Chriſt.

My ſecond Motion is, That, if my Subſcription ſhall make me a Delinquent and worthy of any Cenſure, then the Cenſure may not exceed, but, at the higheſt, be proportionable to the Offence.

The third and laſt Motion is, That of *Plautus* (after my fifty-eight Years painful, conſtant, and ſucceſsful Preaching of the Goſpel of Chriſt in the Kingdom of *England*, and in Foreign Parts) may not be verified of me: *Si quid bene feceris, levior pluma gratia eſt; ſi quid mali feceris, plumbeas iras gerunt.* And now, Maſter Speaker, I might here tender divers Motions to the Conſideration of this Honourable Honſe, for favourable Conſtruction of my raſh Subſcription; I may ſay Commiſeration, but all without Oſtentation; that is far from me; but rather for the Conſolation of my perplexed Soul, for the great Affliction, Reſtraint, and Diſgrace, which I have long ſuſtained (which is far greater, than ever I endured before, and tranſcends the Dangers and Jeopardies of the Seas, and the Miſeries of the Wars, whereof I have had my Share) and partly for the Vindication of my former Reputation, Calling, and Profeſſion, which is now ſo clouded, eclipſed, and blacked in the Eyes of the World, and ſcandaliſed in the Mouths of the vulgar Multitude, that, without Reparation, and Reſtoration to my former Eſteem, I ſhall never have Heart to ſhew my Face in a Pulpit any more, wherein I have wiſhed to end my Days. But I wave them all, becauſe I will not detain you from other Occaſions of greater Importance, and deſire my Ways may be made known unto you rather by Inquiſition, than my own Relation: Only I ſhall appeal to the noble Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Dioceſe where I now live, and of the other, wherein formerly I did live, as, namely, the honourable City of *Briſtol*; which I can never name without that Title, not only in Reſpect of their Piety, Unity, and Conformity, but alſo in Reſpect of their Love, Kindneſs, and extraordinary Bounty unto me: I appeal to them for their Teſtimonies, and Knowledge of my Courſes amongſt them; nay, I appeal to the Records of the honourable Houſe, where, I am confident, after ſixteen Months Sitting, there is nothing found, that can trench upon me; neither, I hope, will, or may be.

And therefore my humble Suit is for Expedition, if you intend Accuſation; or rather for your Mediation, that I may ſpeedily return to my own Home and Cure, *to redeem the Time, becauſe the Days are evil*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, and to regain the Eſteem and Reputation, which I was long in getting, and long enjoyed, but loſt in a Moment; for, if I ſhould out-live, I ſay not my Biſhoprick, but, my Credit, my grey Hairs and many Years would ſoon be brought with Sorrow to the Grave.

I have done, Maſter Speaker, and there remains nothing now, but that I become a Petitioner unto Almighty God, That he will be pleaſed to beſtow upon you all the Patriarch's Bleſſing, even the Dew of Heaven, and Fatneſs of the Earth; and I end with that of St. *Jude*, *Mercy, Peace, and Love be multiplied unto you*; I ſay again, with a religious and affectionate Heart, *Mercy, Peace, and Love be multiplied unto you.*

Certain ſelect OBSERVATIONS on the ſeveral Offices, and Officers, in the Militia of *England*, with the Power of the Parliament to raiſe the ſame, as they ſhall judge expedient, &c. Collected and found among the Papers of the late Mr. *John Pymm*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons. Writ in the Year 1641. MS.

WHEN Kings were firſt ordained in this Realm, the Kingdom was divided into forty Portions, and every one of thoſe Portions or Counties was committed to ſome Earl, to govern and defend it againſt the Enemies of the Realm. *Mirror of Juſtice*, p. 8.

Thoſe Earls, after they received their Government in each County, divided them into Centurians or Hundreds; and in every Hundred was appointed a Centurian or Conſtable, who had his Portion and Limits aſſigned him to keep and defend with the Power of the Hundred, and were to be ready, upon all Alarms, with their Arms, againſt the common Enemy. Theſe, in ſome Places, are called *Wapentakes*, which, in *French*, doth ſignify Taking of Arms. *Mirror*, *p.* 10. 12. *H.* VIII. *fol.* 16, 17.

King *Alfred* firſt ordained two Parliaments to be kept every Year, for the Government of the People, where they were to receive Laws and Juſtice. *Mirror*, *p.* 10, 11.

The Peers, in Parliament, were to judge of all Wrongs done by the King to any of his Subjects. *Mirror*, *p.* 9.

The ancient Manner of chooſing and appointing of Officers, was by thoſe over whom their Juriſdiction extended.

INSTANCES.

1. Tythingman: This Man was, and at this Day is, choſen by the Men of his own Tything, and by them preſented to the Leet, to be ſworn for the true Execution of his Office.

2. Conſtable: This Officer is choſen by the Inhabitants who are to be governed by him, and thoſe of the Place where his Juriſdiction lieth, and preſented unto the Leet to be ſworn.

 3. Coroners:

3. Coroner: This Officer hath Juriſdiction within the whole County, and therefore was choſen by the Freeholders of the County-Court. *Cook*'s *Magna Charta*, *p.* 174, 175, 559,

4. Such as had Charge to puniſh ſuch as were Violaters of *Magna Charta*; theſe were choſen in the County-Court, as appeareth by Stat. 28. *Ed.* I. *c.* 1. 17.

5. Sheriffs: Were, in Time paſt, and by the Common Law, to be choſen likewiſe in the County-Court. *Lamb. Saxon Laws. fol.* 136. Stat. 28. *Ed.* I. *c.* 8, 13. *Cook*'s *Magna Charta*, *p.* 175, 559. *Mirror*, *p.* 8.

6. Lieutenants of Counties (anciently known by the Name of *Heretoch*) were choſen in the County-Court, which *Cook* upon *Magna Charta*, *p.* 69. calls the *Folkmote*. *Lamb. Saxon Laws*, *fol.* 136, *Mirror*, *p.* 8. 11, 12.

7. Majors and Bayliffs, in Boroughs and Towns Corporate, are choſen by the Commonality of the ſame Corporation within their Juriſdiction.

8. Conſervators of the Peace were anciently choſen by the Freeholders in the County-Court. *Cook*'s *Magna Charta*, 558, *&c.*

9. Knights for the Parliament are to be choſen in the County-Court, Stat. 7. *H.* IV. *cap.* 15. 1 *H.* V. 1. 8 *H.* VI. *cap.* 7. 10 *H.* VI. *cap.* 2.

10. Verdurers of the Foreſt are choſen within their Juriſdiction, by the Inhabitants. *Cook*'s *Magna Charta*. 559.

11. Admirals, being the Sheriffs of the Counties, as *Selden* in his *Mare Clauſum*, *p.* 169, 118, affirms, muſt be choſen as the Sheriffs were, *viz.* in the County-Court. But the Parliament of *R.* II. *fol.* 29. ſaith, they are choſen in the Parliament, the Repreſentative Body of the Realm, becauſe they had the Defence of the Realm by Sea committed unto them.

12. The Captain of *Calais*, viz. *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, in the Time of *H.* VI, refuſed to give up his Captainſhip of *Calais* unto the King, becauſe he received it in Parliament. *Cowel*'s *Interpretrer in the Word* Parliament.

13. The Lord Chancellor: To whom is committed the Great Seal of *England*, being the Publick Faith of the Kingdom, was in former Times choſen in Parliament. *Lamb. Archeion*, *p.* 48. *Dan. Chronicle*, *p.* 139, 148, 195.

14. Lord Treaſurer: An Officer to whom is of Truſt committed the Treaſure of the Kingdom, was, in like Manner, choſen in Parliament.

15. Chief-Juſtice, an Officer unto whom is committed the Adminiſtration of the Juſtice of the Realm, was choſen in Parliament. *Lamb. Archeion*, *p.* 48; *ut ſupra*.

Anno 15. *Ed.* III, the King was petitioned in Parliament, That the high Officers of the Kingdom might, as in former Times; be choſen in Parliament. To which the King yielded, that they ſhould be ſworn in Parliament. *Dan. Chronicle*, *p.* 195. *Quære* the Parliament Roll and Petitions.

And it appeareth, by a printed Statute, *Anno* 15 *Ed.* III. *cap.* 3, That the great Officers of the Kingdom were ſworn to maintain *Magna Charta*.

16. The great Council of the King and Kingdom, namely, the Parliament, is choſen by the Commons; for they chooſe the Knights and Citizens, and Burgeſſes, or Barons, for ſo the Citizens were anciently called; and the *Cinque-ports* retain the Name to this Day.

And

And this was, as I conceive, the ancienteſt Conſtitution of the Kingdom, for Chooſing of their Officers.

In the next Place, it will be requiſite to inquire, which of theſe Officers are nor altered, and by what Authority. And, *Firſt*, of Sheriffs:

The Choice of Sheriffs was firſt taken from the Freeholders by the Statute of 9 *Ed.* II, and the Choice of them committed to the Lord Chancellor, Treaſurer, the Barons of the *Exchequer*, and the Juſtices of either Bench. *Cook*'s *Magna Charta*, 559.

This Election is to be made the Morrow after *All-Souls* Day in the *Exchequer*, by Stat. 14 *Ed.* III. *c.* 7.

Quære 1. If they chooſe none at that Day and Place, but at ſome other Time, Whether the Choice be good? Or if he be choſen by any other?

Objection. The King himſelf doth uſually make and appoint Sheriffs in every County by his Prerogative.

Solution. It hath been agreed by all the Judges, that the King cannot appoint any other to be Sheriff, than ſuch as are named and choſen according to the Statute of *Lincoln*. *Cook*'s *Magna Charta*, p. 559.

If ſo, then it is queſtionable, Whether the Making of Mr. *Haſtings* Sheriff of *Leiceſterſhire* be warrantable by Law, or not?

Query 2. If no Sheriff be legally choſen, Whether the Freeholders of the County ſhall not chooſe one, as they were accuſtomed, before the making of the Statute of 9 *Ed.* II. for theſe Reaſons.

1. If there be no Sheriff legally choſen, there will be a Failure of Juſtice, which the Law will not permit.

2. Becauſe the Statute is in the Affirmative, and therefore doth not altogether take away their Power of Chooſing, becauſe affirmative Statutes do not alter the Common Law.

Next, let us conſider the Choice of Juſtices of the Peace, who, as they are Commiſſioners of the Peace, are not Officers by the Common Law; and, therefore, this Caſe will differ in ſome Reſpects from the former, it being an Office created by Statute.

1. I conceive that no Court may be erected without the Authority of Parliament: For the Court of *Firſt Fruits* was erected by Stat. 32. *H.* VIII. *cap.* 45. The Court of *Wards* by Stat. 32 *H.* VIII. *cap.* 46. The Court of *Juſtice* in *Wales* by Stat. 34 *H.* VIII. *cap.* 26. And Power to erect Courts given 1 *Mar.* Seſſ. 2. *cap.* 10. And it was reſolved in this Parliament, at the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford*, That the Court at *York* was againſt Law, albeit it hath had Continuance theſe hundred Years, becauſe it was not erected by Parliament.

And Juſtices of Peace, being Judges of Record, were firſt ordained by Statute, as appeareth by 18 *Edw.* III. *cap.* 2, and 34 *Ed.* III. *cap.* 1, with ſuch other Additions of Power, as later Statutes have given unto them.

Juſtices

Juſtices of Peace then having their Being by Vertue of the Statute-Law, they are to be ordained in the ſame Manner as the Statutes preſcribe, and not otherwiſe:

1. After their firſt Inſtitution, the Statutes did leave the Choice of them indefinitely in the Crown, as I conceive, until the Statute of 12 *R.* 27, which Statute doth inſtruct the Chancellor, Treaſurer, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Steward and Chamberlain of the King's Houſe, the Clerk of the Rolls, the Juſtices of both Benches, Barons of the Exchequer, and others, to name and make them.

2. Other Statutes do appoint what Perſons ſhall be choſen to be Juſtices of the Peace; namely, ſuch as reſide in the ſame County where they are Juſtices of Peace, as Stat. 12. *R.* II. *c.* 10. And they muſt be of the moſt ſufficient Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen of the ſame County, Stat. 17 *Rich.* II. 10. and dwelling in the ſame County, 2 *Hen.* V. Stat. ii. *cap.* 1. (except Lords, and Juſtices of Aſſizes) upon this laſt Statute, it may be doubted if Choice may be made of any Lords, and Juſtices of Aſſizes, which have no Reſidence or Eſtate in the County where they are ſo made Juſtices of the Peace; which, if it doth, it doth repeal all former Statutes, which confines them to ſuch Perſons as are of the ſame County; which I conceive is againſt their Meaning, for that Statute doth only diſpenſe with the Reſidence of Lords and Juſtices of Aſſize, becauſe Men of the ſame County, inhabiting in the County where they are Juſtices of Peace, in regard of their other Employments in the Commonwealth, which neceſſarily requireth their Abſence, and ſo it amounteth only to a Diſpenſation for their Reſidency.

Objection. The common Practice is, That the Lord Keeper doth appoint whom he pleaſes, and that by vertue of the Statute of 18 *Hen.* VI. *cap.* 1.

Solution. True! ſuch is the Practice; but the Doubt is, How warrantable his Act is? For the Statute of 18 H. VI. doth give the Lord Chancellor (alone by himſelf) no other Power, but in caſe there be no Men of Sufficiency in the County, and where none of twenty Pounds *per Annum* are to be found. For, in ſuch Caſe, he hath Power to appoint ſuch as he conceives are Men moſt fit. But, in Caſe there are Men of ſufficient Eſtates in the County to be found, he muſt join with the others mentioned in the Statute, *viz.* the Treaſurer, Privy-Seal, *&c.* who have a joint and undivided Power with him.

If this be ſo, then it may be doubted, Whether the Lord Viſcount *Faulkland*, being no Peer of the Realm, Sir *Peter Miche*, Sir *Edward Nichols*, of late put into the Commiſſion of the Peace, in many Counties of this Kingdom, are, by the Law, capable of being Juſtices of the Peace in thoſe Counties where they do not reſide? *Et ſic de ſimilibus.*

Query alſo, Whether a Juſtice of the Peace, being once legally choſen according to the Statute beforementioned, may be put out at the Pleaſure of the Lord Keeper alone, without any juſt Cauſe alledged, for being a Juſtice of Record, Whether ſome Matter of Record muſt not appear to diſable him? For, being ſettled by Law, he is to be diſplaced by Law, and not upon Diſpleaſure or Surmiſe.

3. A third Office is, the Lieutenants in every County, in former Times known (for the Name only is out of Uſe) by the Name of *Heretoch*, *Lamb. Saxon Laws*, *Fol.* 136. And here will fall into Debate the Ordinance of Parliament, about the Settling of the Militia of the Kingdom.

The Choice of theſe, as was formerly mentioned, was by the Freeholders in the County-Court: But, of later Times, they have exerciſed the ſame Power, being appointed by the King, under the Shadow of his Prerogative.

Firſt, It is to be demanded, Whether the King's Prerogative can take away that ancient Right, which the Subjects had, by Law, inveſted in them? If ſo, then the King, by his Prerogative, may do Wrong, which is contrary to a Maxim in Law, *Forteſcue de legibus*, *&c. fol.* 25. If not, then Whether the Power of chooſing a Lieutenant, or Heretoch, doth not yet remain in the Subject, ſo as they may now chooſe one as well, and by the ſame Right they did in former Times?

If Freeholders of a County may yet chooſe, then I conceive the Parliament, being the Repreſentative Body of the whole Kingdom, may appoint Lieutenants; becauſe they include them, or, at leaſt, they are not excluded from ſuch a Power, no more than where the Statute, giving Power unto Juſtices of Peace to inquire of a Riot, doth exclude the Power of the King's Bench, which no Man will affirm. And therefore the Ordinance of the Militia is legal.

That the Parliament hath Power to make an Ordinance, may be proved *A minori*. For,

If the Inhabitants of a Town, without any Cuſtom to inable them, may make an Ordinance, or bye Law, for the Reparation of their Church, Highway, or Bridge in Decay, or any the like Thing, being for their publick Good, and upon a pecuniary Pain, in Caſe of Neglect, and if it ſhall bind all within the Town, as hath been agreed for Law, 44 *Ed.* III. *fol.* 19. *Cook. Lib.* V. *fol.* 63, the Chamberlain of *London*'s Caſe, *Clarke*'s Caſe, and *Jefferys*'s Caſe, *ibid. fol.* 64, 65.

If a Townſhip be amerced, and the Neighbours, by Aſſent, ſhall aſſeſs a certain Sum upon every Inhabitant, and agree, that if it be not paid by ſuch a Day, that certain Perſons, thereto aſſigned, ſhall diſtrain; and, in this Caſe, the Diſtreſs is lawful. *Doctor and Student*, *fol.* 74, *cap.* 9.

If a bye Law, that every one that holdeth Land ſhall pay one Penny towards the Reparation of a Church, and, for Non-payment, ſhall forfeit to the Churchwardens twenty Shillings, be good and doth bind, as the Book ſaith, 21 *H.* VII, *fol.* 20. holdeth.

If a Town make bye Laws, and they ſhall bind every one of the Town, if it be for the common Good, as 11 *H.* VII, *fol.* 14, then, by the ſame Reaſon, may the Parliament make Ordinances, and by Laws, for the common Good of the Kingdom, as ſhall bind all. For, if a Town may make Ordinance, much more may the Knights and Burgeſſes of the Parliament, becauſe they have their Power *ad faciendum & conſentiendum*; as appeareth of Record under their Hands, and Seals in *Chancery*, in the Return of their ſeveral Elections for Knights and Burgeſſes.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, As every private Man is, by Law, bound to preſerve the Peace; as in Caſe an Affray be made by two, and a third Man ſtanding by ſhall not uſe his beſt Endeavour to part them, and preſerve the Peace, he may be indicted and fined for it: Why may not the Parliament, being intruſted with the Preſervation of the Peace of the Realm, make an Ordinance for the Preſervation of the Peace in Caſe of apparent Danger?

Ordinances made in Parliament 8 *Ed.* II, for the Preſervation of the Alienation of the King's Land, and Fines ſet upon ſuch as preſume to break them. *Rot Parl.* 28 *H.* VI. *Art.* 29.

The Judges and Courts at *Weſtminſter* may make an Ordinance, For Fees to be paid unto the Clerk of their Courts, and for Bar Fees taken by Sheriff and Gaolers, 21 *H.* VII. *fol.* 17.

An Ordinance made in Parliament, 21 *Ed.* III, *fol.* 60, for Exemption of the Abbot of *Bury* from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Selden*'s *Titles of Honour*, Pape 702, 12 *H.* VII, *fol.* 25.

Heyborne and *Keyland*'s Caſe, *M.* 14 *Ed.* IV, *Rot.* 60, in *Banco Reg. Crook*, Page 25, who had his Money taken away from him by Vertue of an Ordinance, and was adjudged, that the Ordinance did bind him.

Whether an Infant may be a Colonel, Admiral, *&c.*

1. None, by the Intention of the Law, can do Knights Service, before he be twenty-one Years of Age. And this is the Reaſon of Wardſhip.

2. It is an Office of Truſt, which may not be executed by a Deputy.

3. Such an Office requires perſonal Attendance, for, otherwiſe, the County may be overthrown unawares, in the Abſence of ſuch a Governor from his Charge.

The BILL of ATTAINDER that paſſed againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*. Printed in the Year 1641.

WHEREAS the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, have, in the Name of themſelves, and all the Commons of *England*, impeached *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* of High Treaſon, for endeavouring to ſubvert the Ancient and Fundamental Laws and Government of his Majeſty's Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government againſt Law in the ſaid Kingdoms; and for exerciſing a tyrannous and exorbitant Power over, and againſt the Laws of the ſaid Kingdoms, over the Liberties, Eſtates, and Lives of his Majeſty's Subjects; and likewiſe for having, by his own Authority, commanded the Laying and Aſſeſſing of Soldiers upon his Majeſty's Subjects in *Ireland*, againſt their Conſents, to compel them to obey his unlawful Commands and Orders, made upon Paper Petitions, in Cauſes between Party and Party, which accordingly was executed upon divers of his Ma-

jeſty's Subjects, in a warlike Manner, within the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*; and, in ſo doing, did levy War againſt the King's Majeſty, and his liege People in that Kingdom: And alſo, for that he, upon the unhappy Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, did ſlander the Houſe of Commons to his Majeſty, and did counſel and adviſe his Majeſty, that he was looſe and abſolved from Rules of Government, and that he had an Army in *Ireland*, which he might employ to reduce this Kingdom; for which he deſerves to undergo the Pains and Forfeitures of High Treaſon.

And the ſaid Earl hath been alſo an Incendiary of the Wars between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*: All which Offences have been ſufficiently proved againſt the ſaid Earl upon his Impeachment.

Be it therefore enacted by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, and by the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*, for the heinous Crimes and Offences aforeſaid, ſtand and be adjudged and attainted of High Treaſon, and ſhall ſuffer the Pain of Death, and incur the Forfeitures of his Goods and Chattels, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, of any Eſtate of Freehold or Inheritance, in the ſaid Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, which the ſaid Earl, or any other to his Uſe, or in Truſt for him have or had, the Day of the firſt Sitting of this preſent Parliament, or at any Time ſince.

Provided, that no Judge or Judges, Juſtice or Juſtices whatſoever, ſhall adjudge or interpret any Act or Thing to be Treaſon, nor hear or determine any Treaſon, nor in any other Manner than he or they ſhould or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been had or made.

Saving always unto all and ſingular Perſons and Bodies Politick and Corporal, their Heirs and Succeſſors, others than the ſaid Earl and his Heirs, and ſuch as claim by, from, or under him, all ſuch Right, Title, and Intereſt, of, in, and to all and ſingular ſuch of the ſaid Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, as he, they, or any of them, had before the firſt Day of this Parliament, any Thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Provided, that the Paſſing of this preſent Act, and his Majeſty's Aſſent thereunto, ſhall not be any Determination of this preſent Seſſions of Parliament, but that this Seſſions of Parliament, and all Bills and Matters whatſoever, depending in Parliament, and all Statutes and Acts of Parliament, which have their Continuance until the End of this preſent Seſſion of Parliament, ſhall remain, continue, and be in full Force, as if this Act had not been.

A LETTER from Archbiſhop *Laud* to the Vice-Chancellor.

Maſter Vice-Chancellor,

AND you Gentlemen, the reſt of my ancient friends aud fellow-Students, God, whoſe Judgments are inſcrutable, before whom the wiſdom of the Children of Men is but fooliſhneſs, hath been pleaſed to lay his Afflictions on me with a heavy Hand, glorified be his Name in all his Works; But no one among all the Numbers of my Miſeries hath, or does more, afflict me, then that I am by my Misfortunes made incapable of ſerving you and that famous Nurſe of good Letters, your Univerſity (of which I had ſometimes the honour to be Chancellor) with that intire Zeal and Devotion, which my intentions aimed at: Man purpoſeth and God diſpoſeth, otherwiſe had his Almighty Will been concurrent to my wiſhes, my endeavours ſhould have rendred *Oxford* the glory of the Chriſtian World for good Literature; but Mens hopes reſemble much Sun, that at his riſing and declenſion caſts large ſhadows at noon, when he is cloathed in all his brightneſs caſts little or none at all; when We are fartheſt from our expectations, they appear neareſt to our Hopes: Our Hopes feeding our imagiaations with the Proſperity of our intents, which then approach ſwiftly to ruin, like quite ſpent Tapers, that give a ſudden flaſh ere they extinguiſh. It was juſt ſo with me, who now inſtead of all the honours I poſſeſſed, am a priſoner; and ſo like to continue, and would take it as an ample teſtimony of God Almighty's Mercy to me, were I but aſſured to carry my grey Hairs down to the grave in peace; but his Will be done, in Earth as it is in Heaven, I ſhall endeavour to make the beſt of my ſufferings, that I may ſay with the Plaſmiſt, *It was good for me that I was in Trouble.* And ſurely, I ſhall ſo demean myſelf towards God, my King, and the Commonwealth in this my durance, that in my very Enemies I ſhall beget compaſſion, in you my friends a hearty ſorrow for my Miſeries, which have taught me that true *Dictamen* of Wiſdom, that I ſhall adviſe all, eſpecially you of mine own Calling, the Clergy, never to meddle with Things above your reach, I mean State affairs, but to devote yourſelves ſolely to the ſervice and worſhip of God, the true feeding the flocks committed to your Charge; for dangerous it is to meddle with the Councel of Kings, eſpecially for thoſe who have profeſſed themſelves Miniſters of the Almighty, on whoſe Laws they ought only to meditate; the Affairs of State being Theatres on which whoſoever acts his Part, tho' it appear to him comical in the beginning, the End will produce his own Tragedy, if he look not with the greater Care to his performance; as it happened to that moſt famous Clergyman of all our Nation, that great Cardinal *Woolſey* (whom ſome in a merry mockery) have unaptly made my parallel in dignity and fortune, who loden with diſgraces, *jam ſumus ergo pares*, not long before his departing-minute exclaimed, that if he had ſerved God but with half that integrity he had done the King, he would not have ſo deſerted him in his old Age. How I have ſerved my King, then whom

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no Man ever had the happineſs to ſerve a more gracious Maſter, the World muſt be my judge, how I have performed my duty to God of that, my own Conſcience; nor ſhall I ſtrive to give the World ſatisfaction in that Point, only deſire them to remember that divine command; *Judge not, leſt you be judged*: Howſoever I have demeaned myſelf, it is enough I now ſuffer, without either repining at the Will of the Almighty, or exprobating mine accuſers with the leaſt accuſation of Malice, tho' never Man hath had ſo many ſcandalous abuſes caſt upon him: none ever (conſidering my Calling) having been made ſo notorious a ſubject for ridiculous Pamphlets and Ballads; but it is not I alone that have indured injuries of that Nature, they have fallen with the ſame licencious petulancy upon betters, and I have long ſince ſtudied that Precept of the Wiſe Man, *when a fool reviles thee, regard him not*, and ſo enough of this Matter, and all other; but the main cauſe of my writing to you, impute this needleſs *Exordium* to my human weakneſs, which is always prone to tediouſneſs in relation of its misfortunes, to thoſe it is confident will lament and pity them: An inſtance whereof we have in Children, who uſe to bemone themſelves to their Mothers and Nurſes, purpoſely to have them bemone them. But to my buſineſs: It is not unknown to you Gentlemen, nor to me, tho' darkneſs and the ſhadow of Death have even incompaſſed me round, what *Myriads* of increaſing Miſchiefs theſe Times have produced in this languiſhing and almoſt expiring Kingdom, diſſentions, Wars, blood-ſheds, reigning in every Place, fellow Subjects, like the ancient Sword-players, in the *Roman Cirques* and *Amphitheatres*, butchering one another merely for their delight in blood,

Fraternus acies alternaque jura profanis,
De certata odiis,

May fitly be applied to the Condition of our diſtreſſed Country, whoſe Soul is, as it were, divided from the body, and itſelf only the Carcaſe of that *England* it was formerly. The Kings gracious Majeſty by fatal fears and miſconſtructions being ſeparated from the body of the Common-wealth, the Honourable the high Court of Parliament; and if any comfort can arrive to make a Man love his Miſery, or take delight in his enthralment, certainly I have, that my durace was inflicted on me before this ſad and Lamentable breach (which Heaven in its great Mercy ſoon knit up) happened betwixt his Majeſty and his Parliament; for, had I been at Liberty, and enjoyed the gracious Ear of my Sovereign as formerly, ſurely I had not been to have had that Aſperſion caſt upon me as the Author of this diſtraction, ſuch a fatality as always attendant on Perſons high in the favour of their Prince, to have all the Misfortunes of the Commonwealth inflicted on them, who may be perchance, not only innocent, but have alſo indeavoured to have diverted from the State thoſe Miſchiefs of which they are ſuſpected by ſome, and by ſome concluded to have been the main incendiaries: And ſurely I could wiſh, ſo my ſufferings might have impeached the impetuous current of the Kingdoms Miſeries, that I had undergone a Thouſand Deaths before this disjunction had fallen out between the high Court of Parliament and his Majeſty, who being, as I am informed, now with you at *Oxford*, and intending

tending there to reſide, I thought myſelf ingaged in conſcience to intimate my intentions to you, and to give you that Counſel, which if any one had given me in my proſperity, I might, perchance at this inſtant, not have been unhappy. I know there are among you divers of great and able Souls, take heed, I beſeech you, leſt you pervert thoſe excellent Gifts which God and Education hath conferred upon you, by intruding yourſelves into the Affairs of the State, and inverting Religion to advance and cheriſh the preſent diſtractions. The King is now amongſt you, a good and gracious Prince he is, as ever Heaven bleſt this Land with, do not you by any ends whatſoever, increaſe the Number of thoſe Malignants, who have given fire to all the Cedars of Lebanon at once kindled a flame, which in a moment hath almoſt burn'd up all the glories of this Kingdom; let neither the diſgraces caſt on the Clergy by ſome factious Spirits without the Licence or patronage of the Parliament, incenſe you to cheriſh the diſtractions betwixt his Majeſty and that Honourable and wiſe Aſſembly, nor Hope of preferment ſeduce you to it; for Credit me, who hath more experience in ſuch Affairs then many of you tho' the beginning of proceedings of that Nature may in fair and ſpecious outſides court your Imaginations, their period will be nothing but confuſion and bitterneſs to the Undertakers, as other Sins are, which like ſubtile Panthers, diſplay their gorgeous ſpots to intice the Traveller to gaze upon them, till the careleſs wretches are ſurely in their reach, and then they aſſault and devour them. It is ill going between the Bark and the Tree, (ſays the Proverb) take heed of it; there is as near a Relation betwixt the King and his Parliament, and tho' they may a while be ſeparated, that violence cannot be long lived; it will at laſt conclude in the Ruin of thoſe that have cauſed this ſeparation, they will be ſure to ſuffer. It cannot be but Offences muſt come, but woe be to them from whom they come; Miſchiefs always meet their Cataſtrophes in the deſtruction of their Authors. Since then his Majeſty hath graciouſly been pleaſed to Honour your Univerſity and City with his Royal preſence, like good *Samaritans*, endeavour to pour Balm and Oil into the wounds of the Commonwealth; labour as much as in you lies, to compoſe theſe diſſentions: It is your Calling to propagate Peace as well as the Goſpel, which is the teſtimony of Peace, given by the King of Peace to the Children of Men; you may inform his Majeſty even out of your Pulpits, and boldly, that nothing is more perquiſite to the Duty of a Sovereign than to acquire and advance the good of his Subjects, which can no way ſo well and ſuddenly be effected as by a fair Accommodation of Peace between his Royal Self and his high Court of Parliament: And as an incitement to move His Majeſty to think of it, if ſuch a wretched Man as I be not quite loſt to his memory, tender this to him as the humbleſt Petition of his unfortunate ſervant, that his goodneſs would vouchſafe to reflect on my ſufferings, who am impoſſibilited by his Abſence of ever coming to my Tryal, and ſo likely to end my Days in a priſon. But this only as the leaſt Motive, becauſe it is for myſelf, but further beſeech his Highneſs from me, to look with a compaſſionate and tender Eye on the Religion, Nobility and Commons of this unhappy Kingdom, and by a ſpeedy reconciliation with the Honourable the High Court of Parliament at

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once finiſh all their Miſeries. And laſtly, pray you ſignify to His Majeſty, that I lay my Life down in all humility at his Royal feet, beſeech God Day and Night for his proſperity, peace and happineſs, deſiring no longer Life for any end, but this, to ſee His Majeſty, the glory of our *Iſrael*, return to his *Jeruſalem*, all differences attoned betwixt him and his Parliament, which are the continual prayers of His Highneſs's humbleſt ſervant, and your true Friend,

W. C.

F I N I S.